ORATORIAN HISTORY IN MEXICO CITY, 1659-1821:
A POLITICAL CULTURE OF RELIGIOUS IDENTITY

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ABSTRACT

Benjamin Daniel Reed: Oratorian History in Mexico City, 1659-1821:
A Political Culture of Religious Identity
(Under the direction of Cynthia Radding)

This dissertation adds fresh insights into the creation of popular religion in colonial Mexico, beginning in the most neglected time period -- the seventeenth century -- and by conducting original research on the most neglected religious authorities of the Catholic Church: the secular clergy. I draw from diverse manuscript and print sources gathered from more than thirty archives in Mexico, Spain, the United States, Chile, Germany and England to trace a continuous thread of Oratorian identity across a dynamic set of institutional cultures in Mexico City. Oratorians worked along the cultural and spatial borderlands of colonial Mexico City, experimenting with innovative and controversial forms of Catholic ritual and adapting a religious culture in the throes of the Catholic Reformation to appeal to subjects long marginalized by the normative authorities. Wealthy and poor women, new Catholic subjects of Indigenous and African descent, and a broadly burgeoning Hispanic lay population eagerly embraced opportunities offered by Oratorians to take active roles in the interpretation and practice of their own religion. Oratorian religion opens access to new ways of understanding the role of Catholicism in Early Modern society, at once alongside a wide array of spiritual traditions alive in the Americas, out from under the definitional thumb of Protestant frameworks of religious studies, and shed of its hierarchical relationship designed by the political culture of world religions. Oratorian identity was a dynamic culture in colonial Mexico City that used Catholic

spirituality and its priesthood to shape the formation of the colonial state through printed and manuscript documents, oil paintings, material texts and church architecture.

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Traveling research and studies is on the other hand often lonely and isolating, and I certainly would have stopped altogether more than once were it not for new friendships made along the way. It is hard to imagine Bloomington without memories of Irasema Rivera, Matt Van Hoose, Michael Grove, Gabrielle Berlinger, Alfio Saitta, Jordan Lauhon, José Espericueta, Siobhan Carter-David, Dena Williams, Carmen García Prieto, Kaileah Christie, Pam Sanders and Christi Ochoa. Albuquerque became a familiar home in the warm company of Maria José Bosanko Garcia, Yann Kerevel, Katie MacIntyre, Carson Morris, Lucy Grinnell, Will Veeder, Alicia Peterson, Hilda Gutiérrez, Nydia Martinez, and Frank Alvarez. Here in Chapel Hill, Jessie Wilkerson, Shannon Eaves, Sarah McNamara, Kelly Morrow, Brad Proctor, Liz Lundeen, David Palmer, Angelica Castillo, Justin Blanton, Daniele Lauro, Ann Halbert Brooks, Jeff Erbig, and Liz Ellis helped make another move into another home. Traveling to dozens of temporary homes became fun adventures thanks to the companionship of Paul Conrad, César Manrique, Guadalupe Pinzón, Julia Gaffield, Mauro José Caraccioli, Sam Seeley, Sarah Schuetze, Emma Stapely, Matt Goldmark, Greta LaFleur, Frances Ramos, Zeb Tortorici, Ana Hontanilla, Celine Carayon,

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AGI	Archivo General de Indias
AO	Arzobispos y Obisops
AGN	Archivo General de la Nación
AHAM	Archivo Histórico del Arzobispado de México
BANC	Bancroft Library
BN	Bienes Nacionales
CEHM	Centro de Estudios Históricos de México
CESU	Centro de Estudios sobre la Universidad
CIESAS	Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiors de Antropología Social
CSIC	Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas
HM	Huntington Manuscript
INAH	Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia
IV	Indiferente Virreinal
JCBL	John Carter Brown Library
MS	Manuscript
UCLA	University of California - Los Angeles
UNAM	Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México
UNC	University of North Carolina - Chapel Hill

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

My dissertation project is a social and cultural history of colonial Mexico City's Congregation of the Oratory. I trace the lives and work of an aggregate population of hundreds of members devoted to their Italian patron, Saint Philip Neri (1515-1595, canonized 1622), and the changes in the structure of their collective corporate institution to understand what it meant to be Oratorian. Transferring a locally centered Italian devotion tradition of Catholic spirituality into a Spanish political culture and American territorial context dramatically changed the forms and meanings of Oratorian identity.

Background on the European Tradition of Oratorian History

Oratorian tradition began in sixteenth century Italy as one part of the "striking vitality and experimentation in the formation of religious confraternities and congregations" that characterized Catholic renewal. The Oratorian patron saint, Philip Neri (b. 1515 - d. 1595, canonized 1622) moved from his native Florence to Rome at age eighteen, where he lived "the life of an urban hermit, eating and sleeping sparsely and spending most of his time in prayer, visiting churches and the catacombs of San Sebastiano [, and] walked the narrow streets in silence, usually by night, as he made the rounds of Rome's seven major pilgrimage churches, a journey of some twelve miles." Neri placed great importance on frequent communion and confession, which contemporary canon law did not require and contemporary Catholics often did not undertake of their own will. To these ends, Neri frequented the city's public hospitals alone

and in the company of like-minded clergy and laity, and in 1548 founded a Confraternity of the Most Holy Trinity with his confessor.[1]

Descriptions of Neri's character attest to his unique stature within the larger milieu of secular clergy, as they often feature beliefs and behaviors in direct contradiction with common tropes of obedience to formal hierarchy. Neri "was well-known for his humor to mortify the spirit of his favorite disciples."[2] Some aspects of contemporary accounts portray him as an eccentric trickster. Visitors to Neri's home recalled an old red shirt that he wore indoors for years until it was beyond threadbare. Conversely, at other moments navigating the city he would wear an expensive fox fur coat even during the height of summer temperatures.

> He deliberately used homely and humorous language in speaking to the high and mighty, even to popes. Often he went about singing a ditty: 'I am a dog chewing on a bone 'cause I can't have meat to chew on.' When stuffy, high-born guests came to the Oratorian community, Neri made one of the lay brothers dance a jig for them and...sometimes made penitents kiss the feet of a lay brother. For a time, he went about with half of his beard shaved off. Once he went up to one of the Swiss guards in a solemn procession and pulled his beard.[3]

Neri's particular blend of humorous behavior and infusion of non-liturgical devotional services with elements of local popular culture amounted to less of a reformation of Catholicism than a renewal of tradition that incorporated innovations and novelty within an overarching discourse of sameness.

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[1] John Patrick Donnelly, "The Congregation of the Oratory" in *Religious Orders of the Catholic Reformation, In Honor of John C. Olin on his Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, Ed. Richard DeMolen (New York: Fordham University Press, 1994), 189-192.

[2] Simon Ditchfield, "Giving Tridentine Worship Back Its History" in *Continuity and Change in Christian Worship*, ed. R. N. Swanson (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1999), 199.

[3] Donnelly, "The Congregation of the Oratory," 193.

The signature services and devotions that came to define Neri and his followers as Oratorians crystallized as a program around 1554-1558, and grew out of Neri's contact and relations with his penitents.[4]

> [S]ervices often ran three hours, but people could come and go. Part of the time was devoted to silent prayer and vernacular hymns. The meetings began with a reading, often a devotional work or the life of a saint or even a letter from a Jesuit missionary. Anyone in attendance, including laymen, could be asked by St. Filippo [Neri] to share his reflections on the subject. Another might then comment further, often in dialogue with the speaker. A prepared discourse followed, usually presented sitting down and without the rhetorical flourishes of Renaissance sermons...On Sundays and feast days the meetings were open to women and children and often included an organized walk to various churches, singing, perhaps a sermonette by a child, and a visit to a hospital to distribute sweets. Sometimes as many as four thousand people joined the procession. Neri was the presiding spirit at these meetings but seldom seems to have made presentations.[5]

By the 1570s, the population of attendees of Oratorian services changed from a predominantly artisanal and working-class membership to more elite, aristocratic persons, including bishops and prelates. Variations in Oratorian tradition generated variations in opinion among the community's membership, some favoring the traditional informality and spontaneity and others inclined to formalize Oratorians spirituality through creation of rules, constitutions, and the endorsement of papal authority.

Oratorian devotional practices broke with contemporary traditions in many ways. In addition to Neri's emphasis on unusually frequent communion and confession, his democratic approach to readings of sacred history, especially participation of the laity and inclusion of women and children, perhaps made Oratorian services more appealing to Rome's devout and

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[4] Howard Smither, *A History of the Oratorio*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977), 48.

[5] Ibid, 193-194. Christopher Black, "The Development of Confraternity Studies Over the Past Thirty Years" in *The Politics of Ritual Kinship: Confraternities and Social Order in Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 16, notes that sermons delivered by a given community's youth, once thought to be a rarity, are now recognized as a fairly common practice in early modern Italy.

religiously curious public than a distant preacher at the pulpit, speaking in Latin with his back turned to the congregation. Although Neri was apparently reluctant to exercise much direct control over Oratorian services, disengagement from traditional priestly behavior says much about his public figure. His lack of interest in writing a rule for his followers diverged even from the other "new religious orders" of the era, and as Donnelly argues, the Oratorians were not even technically a religious order at all: "[t]he ambiguity of the Oratorian lifestyle and canonical status allowed the Oratorians to enjoy some advantages of both the diocesan and the regular clergy...By not claiming status as religious, they avoided the hostility toward religious communities found in many circles and their actions were not challenged, as were those of the Jesuits, when they did not perform all the practices traditionally associated with religious orders..."[6]

Tensions among Italy's Oratorians arose in the late sixteenth century regarding the present and future state of Oratorian culture. While Neri intended Oratorian services to cater to the needs of the urban community in Rome, others envisioned a transfer of the community to Milan, and a distinct Oratorian community in Naples was formed in 1586 by two of Neri's closest allies, Francesco Maria Tarugi and Antonio Talpa. The Neapolitan Oratorians further imagined a future Oratorian model for reforming the diocesan clergy of Catholics more broadly in Europe, a vision Neri again did not share. Moreover, the financial statuses of Oratorians in Rome and Naples were significantly different. The former organization was composed primarily of a few elder clerics with secure incomes based on chaplaincies, while the latter consisted of a larger number of young priests with less training and little personal income, resulting in their dependence upon external donations to fund the services of the Oratory. Finally, the younger

[6] Ibid, 193, 195-196.

Oratorian community favored the sponsorship of convents, seminaries and colleges, while the elder Oratorians rejected any such direct stewardship out of respect for Neri's last known wishes.

After the renowned historian and scholar Cesare Baronio succeeded an aging and infirm Neri as prefect of the Roman Oratory in 1593, and Neri himself passed in 1595, the differences between Roman and Neapolitan Oratorian cultures sharpened, leading to a series of epistolary exchanges and negotiations in the early seventeenth century aimed at deciding the fate of Oratorian identity among the divergent possible examples. While the Roman Oratorians peacefully agreed that their Neapolitan brothers should be independent, and many other independent communities had begun to emerge in other Italian cities, the local juridical superiors in Rome maintained that legal identification as a Congregation required adherence to the Roman Constitutions in 1602, which were still being re-drafted. By February of 1612, Pope Paul IV ratified what would remain the Congregation's governing document until 1938, and a month later supported the decision of a council of Cardinals that definitively decreed a permanent separation between the Roman and Neapolitan Congregations. Thereafter, "every Oratorian community was to be self-governing, including those already founded. Communities that later took the name of the Congregation of the Oratory were independent and under the jurisdiction of the local bishop but were expected to model their constitutions on those of the Roman Oratory..."[7]

The grant of self-government in the sixteenth century fundamentally influenced the shaping of Oratorian culture thereafter, as some 150 Congregations emerged worldwide during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, especially in the wake of Neri's 1622 canonization.

[7] Ibid, 201-202.

Large contingents of Spaniards residing in Naples and Sicily, in coordination with local minor orders such as the Franciscan Padres Caracciolos, helped foment the initial spread of devotion from the Italian peninsula to the Iberian. [Figures 1.1 & 1.2] In addition to the Dominican influences from Florence mentioned above, Neri also embraced and valued the very different methods of Catholic devotion employed by Jesuits like Saint Ignatius of Loyola Saint Francis Xavier, and the Carmelite Saint Theresa of Ávila.[8] An ambiguous and non-unitary identity inspired by a variety of devotional approaches thus defined the meaning of Oratorian identity from its sixteenth century inception. Rather than capitulate to one version or another in Rome or Naples, Oratorians on both sides of the divide agreed to disagree about their interpretations of

[8] Ángel Alba, *San Felipe Neri en el Arte Español* (Alcalá de Henares: Gráficas Ballesteros, 1996), 7-15. Indeed, all four saints were canonized in a single, elaborate ceremony. *Relaciones* describing the events were printed widely in Spain. See, for example, Manuel Azevedo y Zuñiga, *Carta de como el Conde de Monterrey desembarcò en Ciuita Vieja, y el recebimiento q se le hizo en Roma, hallandose en la canonizacion de San Isidro, S. Ignacio, S. Francisco Xauier, Santa Teresa, y S. Felipe de Neri*, (Granada: Bernardo Heylan, 1622); *Relación de lo que se hizo en Roma á la Canonización de los Santos Isidro de Madrid, Ignacio de Loyola, Francisco de Xavier, Teresa de Jesús y Felipe Neri: Canonizados por N. muy S.P. Gregorio XV en 12 de Março de 1622 años,* (Biblioteca Nacional-Madrid); Miguel de León, *Fiestas de Madrid, celebradas a XIX de Junio de 1622 años en la canonización de S. Isidro, S. Ignacio, S. Francisco Xavier, S. Felipe Neri...y Santa Teresa de Jesus,* (1622); Luis Sánchez, *Breve relación de las ceremonias hechas en la canonización de los santos Isidoro Labrador, Ignacio de Loyola, Francisco Xavier, Teresa de Jesus, y Felipe Neri: canonizados por...Gregorio Papa XV en 12 dias del mes de Março, año de 1622*, (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1622); *Breve relación de las ceremonias hechas en la canonización de los SS. Isidro Labrador, Ignacio de Loyola, Francisco Xavier, Teresa de Jesus, y Phelipe Neri: canonizados por ...Gregorio Papa XV en 12 dias del mes de março año de 1622...*, (Malaga: Juan René, 1622); *Relación al viaje que el conde de Monterrey hizo a Roma para asistir a la canonizacion de San Isidro, San Ignacio, San Francisco Hauier, Santa Teresa i San Felipe Neri* (Murcia: L. Berós, 1622); *Relación verdadera , de las solemnes fiestas qve se han celebrado en la Ciudad de Roma à 18. de Março en las Canonizaciones de los Santos Isidro, San Ignacio, S. Francisco Xauier, Santa Teresa de Iesus y San Felipe Neri, y de la entrada del Conde de Monterrey en dicha Ciudad* (Barcelona: Esteuan Liberos, 1622); *Sumptuosas Fiestas que la villa de Madrid celebró á XIX de Junio de 1622 en la canonización de San Isidro, San Ignacio, San Francisco Xavier, San Felipe Neri, Clerigo Presbítero Florentino, y Santa Teresa de Jesús* (Sevilla: Simon Faxardo, 1622).

Oratorian identity, and the Council of Cardinals agreed with their embrace of flexibility. Emphasis on interpretation over obedience is an important departure from the images of Catholicism popularized by faithful and Protestant critics alike. Moreover, it opened the possibility for future generations of Oratorians to pursue their own theories of Oratorian identity, and a chance to perform those theories publicly in efforts to secure authentication from both other Oratorian communities and informed outsiders. The freedom to found claims of Oratorian identification through interpretive citationality became a hallmark of the developing community in Mexico City, and indeed makes the variety of Oratorian cultures that developed across Spanish America legible, rather than chaotic.[9]

In the Americas, local institutions organically emerged among the Creole populations of such diverse cities as Havana, Cuzco, Lima, Panama, and Manila. The Oratorian community in Mexico City borrowed familiar elements from other Oratorian communities that preceded it, yet remained unique due to the circumstances of their own local corporate formation. The motivation for the initial establishment of Oratorian devotion, according to legend, derived from Antonio Calderón Benavides's return to health after falling ill and vowing to God to create an Oratorian institution in the event of his recovery. Yet surely the circumstances of the first Oratorian meetings, organized around providing healthcare to infirm secular priests in Mexico City, was also a practical eventuality created in response to the growing number of secular clergy

[9] Here I have borrowed and adapted Judith Butler's concept of citationality from *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 12-16. Butler frames citationality as the accumulated performances compelled by a regulatory apparatus designed to bodily identity – male or female "sex" in that context. In the context of distinct corporate communities striving to represent a legally legitimate version of Oratorian identity, the concept of citationality productively highlights the inherent tensions between theatricality and historicity in the production of Oratorian identity.

citywide.[10] Local needs spurred a quick transformation from a hospice to a confraternity called the Venerable Union. By the dawn of the eighteenth century Mexico City's Oratorians successfully transformed yet again to a full, legally authenticated Congregation of the Oratory, and enjoyed the privileges and responsibilities of their status until 1768, when natural disaster struck and forced further adaptation to local circumstances. In the immediate wake of an earthquake that devastated both their primary church and the foundations of what Oratorians hoped would be a new, more glorious edifice, and in the recent aftermath of the Jesuit expulsion from New Spain in 1767, the Congregation of the Oratory purchased access rights to Mexico City's *Casa Profesa* and subsequently lived for the remainder of Spanish rule as a Royal Congregation of the Oratory.

Contributions to Scholarly Literature

Oratorian historiography in Latin America is sparsely recorded, and comes in widely varied forms. Since the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, synthetic histories of the church in colonial Mexico and localized histories of Mexico City have included passing mention of Oratorians, painting them as a minor order in the larger scheme of the Catholic Church, and a relative late-comer in comparison with the more famous mendicants and the Jesuits.[11] These

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[10] John F. Schwaller, "The Ordenanza del Patronazgo in New Spain, 1574-1600" in *The Church in Colonial Latin America* (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 2000), 49-70;` Stafford Poole, *Pedro de Moya y Contreras*, and Cummins, "After the Spiritual Conquest" discuss the gradual development of secular clergy in Mexico City in the wake of the Third Provincial Council's mandate for transition to secular administration of parishes. The prominent and pervasive presence of Oratorians as parish priests and chaplains mark a watershed of this process in the mid-seventeenth century, before widespread secularization of rural parishes but after the dismaying turnouts of the initial *oposiciones* of the late sixteenth century.

[11] Mariano Cuevas, *Historia de la iglesia en México* (El Paso: Editorial "Revista Católica, 1928); José María Marroquí, *La ciudad de México* (México: Tip. y Lit. "La Europa", 1900).

narratives largely rely on the information recorded in the chronicle of Mexico City's Oratorian community, Julián Gutiérrez Dávila's *Memorias históricas de la Congregación del Oratorio de la ciudad de México*.[12] Other scholars have provided glimpses of Oratorian history through biographical treatments of individual Oratorians, revealing some of their involvement in major movements of the religious culture of colonial Mexico, such as the cult of the Virgin of Guadalupe, and the development of the printing press in Mexico City. These studies occasionally omit or seem unaware of Oratorian affiliations, as their primary considerations are focused on other themes.[13] The local Oratorian community itself (Luis Ávila Blancas in particular) has produced a considerable amount of scholarly and memorial literature related to Oratorian history in Mexico. These texts seem primarily oriented toward maintaining knowledge of the historical progression of Oratorian institutional developments, including the physical edifices of their churches, the governmental structure, historical leadership, and current cultural patrimony.[14] Art historians, too, have conducted extensive research in efforts to historicize the creation of

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[12] Julián Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas de la Congregación del Oratorio de la Ciudad de México* (México: Imprenta Real, 1736).

[13] `Stephanie Merrim, *The Spectacular City, Mexico, and Colonial Hispanic Literary Culture* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010), 169, recognizes the importance of Miguel Sánchez's printed literature in promoting the cult of the Virgin of Guadalupe among Creole elites, but frames him as a Jesuit writer, rather than as an Oratorian. Likewise, Moises Ochoa Campos, *Juan Ignacio María de Castorena Ursúa y Goyeneche, primer periodista Mexicano* (México: Talleres de impresión de estampillas y valores de la Secretaría de Hacienda Y. C. P., 1944), 37-50, provides an ample portrait of Castorena y Ursúa's career and writings as a cleric, but makes no mention of his affiliation with the Venerable Union.

[14] Luis Ávila Blancas, *Iconografía* (Puebla: Ediciones López. 1955); *Bio-bibliografía de la Congregación del Oratorio de la ciudad de México* (México: Miguel Ferro, 2008); *La Pinacoteca de la Casa Profesa* (México: Pinacoteca de la Casa Profesa, 1993); Mariano Monterrosa, *Oratorios de San Felipe Neri en México* (México: Talleres Offset Setenta, 1992).

Oratorian churches and other art forms in colonial Latin America.[15] All together, these different types of Oratorian historiography contribute valuable but fragmented visions of the religious and cultural practices of Mexico City's Oratorian community. My dissertation aims to bridge these disparate fields by combining both individual and collective approaches to defining and analyzing Oratorian identity, and bringing the critical lenses of colonial Latin American cultural studies to bear on the hagiographical and memorial modes of Oratorian historiography produced by the Catholic Church.

Connecting and expanding the disciplinary approaches to Oratorian history provides an opportunity to combine recent contributions from (and engage with) scholarly conversations about Early Modern Catholicism, World Religions and the interdisciplinary concept of Christian Animism, and in doing so fruitfully complicates long-standing narratives in the history of religion in Latin America. John O'Malley's term *Early Modern Catholicism* does the best job of connecting locally and globally scaled research on Catholicism, and retaining a coherence of Catholic culture and identity without recourse to the reactionary stance entailed by Reformation scholarship. Oratorian history joins other recent research by drawing focus away from concerns with Protestantism, and questions of reformation as a framework for understanding

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[15] Francisco de la Maza, *Los templos de San Felipe Neri de la Ciudad de México, con historias que parecen cuentos* (México: Editorial Libros de México, 1970); Manuel Sánchez Santoveña, *La ciudad de México y el patrimonio histórico. Proyecto del conjunto de San Felipe Neri* (México: UNAM, 1965); Efrain Castro Morales, "Algunos datos acerca de la construcción del templo de San Felipe Neri 'El Nuevo' de la ciudad de México" *Noticias y documentos históricos* 1.2 (abril, 1980), 7-23; Guillermo Tovar de Teresa, "Estudio biobibliográfico sobre el Dr. Isidro Sariñana y Cuenca" in *Llanto del occidente del más claro sol de las Españas y noticia breve de la deseada última dedicación del Templo Metropolitano de México* (México: Bibliofilos Mexicanos, 1977), np; and Martha Fernández*, Cristóbal de Medina Vargas y la arquitectura salomónica en la Nueva España durante el siglo XVII* (México: Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, 2002).

Catholicism.[16] Instead, it features issues revolving around the Spanish Empire as a providential monarchy, one that needed new rhetorics of belonging to accommodate a global theater of imperial subjects by simultaneously signaling a universal need for salvation and particular needs emerging from differences borne of genealogy, climate, education, and other factors. My account of Oratorian institution-building in Mexico City joins many recent works focus on local episodes in the larger traditions of religious orders.[17] In the wake of William Christian Jr's influential concept of local religion, more recent works have focused on relations between Indigenous and African-descended peoples with Spanish clergy in rural regions and urban centers, and highlighted the ways doctrine and theology intersect with popular religion. The dual strands of doctrinal and popular Catholicism "do not lie in direct contradiction, but rather overlap, sometimes officially tolerated, other times officially ignored, still other times formally prosecuted."[18]

My dissertation connects several themes that highlight the lingering remainders of religion in early Latin America left unexplored by both the older and newer trends. While retaining a focus on Catholicism and church officials, I turn attention away from religious orders and instead explore the lives and institutional formation of the diocesan church. Diocesan clergy

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[16] John O'Malley, *Trent and All That: Renaming Early Modern Catholicism*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000); J. Michelle Molina, *To Overcome Oneself: The Jesuit Ethic and Spirit of Global Expansion, 1520-1767* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013); Jessica Boon, *The Mystical Science of the Soul: Medieval Cognition in Bernardino de Laredo's Recollection Method* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), especially pp. 31-33.

[17] See, for example, Daniel Ulloa, (México: El Colegio de México, 1977); and Antonio Rubial García, *Una monarquía criolla. La provincia agustina de México en el siglo XVII* (México: Dirección General de Publicaciones, Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 1990).

[18] Martin Nesvig, "Introduction" in *Local Religion in Colonial Mexico*, ed. Martin Nesvig (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006), xix.

were also known as *secular* clergy, and their installation as the working clergy in Latin America is known historiographically as *secularization*. These terms often appear contradictory to readers more familiar with nineteenth and twentieth century usages that imply a declension of religion and religiosity. On one hand, a simple clarification may suffice to distinguish my use from such later uses. However, the term had a range of layered meanings that may prove useful to explore intersections between the ways that the Catholic Church reorganized to retain power in the late colonial period, that nation-states in Latin America consolidated, and that "secular" state power arose. As a contribution to local religion, my dissertation features a locally grown organization fostered primarily through the agency of priests born in New Spain and educated at the Royal University in Mexico City. Within the diocesan ranks, my emphasis on the Oratorians draws attention to a seemingly contradictory organization; an influential *lay* organization of *clerics*. The noteworthy absence of vows in the structure of Oratorian Catholicism joined with its exclusive membership of ordained clergymen, many of whom were trained as lawyers to produce a community engaged with colonial civil society through its legal policies and courtroom practices that embedded local adaptations of Tridentine Catholicism in the legal codes of *derecho indiano*.

A study of the Oratorian clergy in Mexico City also challenges long-standing narratives about the roles of the secular clergy in the colonial period. As Rodolfo Aguirre has recently argued, the image of the secular clergy as scarcely present, undereducated, and corrupt, presented in the early twentieth century by writers such as Mariano Cuevas and Antonio Domínguez Ortiz remains largely intact in the twenty-first century despite some valuable

piecemeal efforts to complicate the time-worn stereotypes.[19] Oratorians combined the powerful roles of the courts with other institutional labors to develop a reputation as important mediators in colonial society. Oratorians embodied familiar roles of Catholic clergy, but used them to mediate transmission of devotions that walked a fine line between sanctioned and unsanctioned domains of power.[20] As confessors they provided access to the systems of admitting guilt, seeking penance, and receiving pardon that structured the fundamental continuity of religious daily life for early modern Catholics.[21] As preachers they provided access to an essential component of urban culture and Spanish concepts of civilization. Through delivery of masses, they connected the pious to the body of Christ through the Eucharist, and forged connections

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[19] Rodolfo Aguirre Salvador, "En busca del clero secular" in *La iglesia en la Nueva España* (México: UNAM, 2010), 185-213. Important exceptions include William Taylor, *Magistrates of the Sacred: Priests and Parishioners in Bourbon Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996); Magnus Lundberg, *Church Life Between the Metropolitan and the Local: Parishes, Parishioners, and Parish Priests in Seventeenth-Century Mexico* (Orlando: Iberoamericana Vervuert, 2011); Adrian Van Oss, *Catholic Colonialism: A Parish History of Guatemala, 1524-1821* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); *Church and Society in Spanish America* (Amsterdam: Aksant, 2003); Adriana Salas, *La disputa por las almas: las órdenes religiosas en Campeche, siglo XVIII* (México: CONACYT, 2010); and Jorge Traslosheros, *Iglesia, justicia y sociedad en la Nueva España. La audiencia del arzobispado de México, 1528-1668* (México: Editorial Porrúa, 2004)

[20] On sanctioned and unsanctioned domains of power, see Laura Lewis, *Hall of Mirrors: Power, Witchcraft, and Caste in Colonial Mexico* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).

[21] Pilar Gonzalbo, *Vivir en Nueva España: Orden y desorden en la vida cotidiana* (México: El Colegio de México, 2009); Estela Roselló Soberón, *Así en la vida como en el cielo: manifestaciones cotidianas de la culpa y el perdón en la Nueva España de los siglos XVI y XVII* (México: El Colegio de México, 2006); Linda Curcio-Nagy, "We Noticed Unusual Comings and Goings: Gossip and Reputation in Seventeenth-Century Mexico" Paper Presented at the Rocky Mountain Conference on Latin American Studies, Saturday, April 8th, 2011, Santa Fe, New Mexico, and "The Language of Desire in Colonial Mexico" in *Emotions and Daily Life in Colonial Mexico*, ed. Javier Villa-Flores and Sonya Lipsett-Rivera (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2014), 4-65.

between the living and the dead.[22] During their formative years, Oratorians occupied powerful roles in local court systems in New Spain, and played a prominent role in the "clericalization" of the middling roles of elite governance.[23]

The influential roles and contacts of Oratorians in both civil and ecclesiastical branches of government made them ideal go-betweens that sought consensus between the Archdiocesan authorities and the regular orders, especially important in the wake of Bishop Juan de Palafox's controversial efforts in the 1640s to divest Franciscans of their control over parishes in the diocese of Puebla in order to secure regular employment for a new generation of locally trained secular priests.[24] Oratorians in Mexico City took a different route toward secularization, working instead through the expansion of licensure practices that confirmed their authority as priests, and oversaw the production of normative literature in local printing presses. They also worked as chaplains and convent treasurers in a number of the regular orders' urban establishments, making them simultaneously insiders and allies in one sense, and regulatory outsiders in another. My work thus joins J. Michelle Molina's recent call to analyze religiosity and secularization as

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[22] Jaime Morera, *Pinturas coloniales de ánimas del purgatorio: Iconografía de una creencia* (México: UNAM, 2001), 47-80; Gisela Von Wobeser, *Vida eterna y preocupaciones terrenales: las capellanías de misas en la Nueva España* (México: UNAM, 2005); Nancy Van Deusen, *The Souls of Purgatory: The Spiritual Diary of a Seventeenth-Century Afro-Peruvian Mystic, Ursula de Jesús* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), 32-37; and María Concepción Lugo Olin, *Relatos de ultratumba. Antología de ejemplos sobre el purgatorio* (México: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2007).

[23] Rodolfo Aguirre Salvador, *Por el camino de las letras* (México: UNAM 1996); and *El mérito y la estrategia* (México: UNAM, 2003); and Leticia Pérez Puente, *Universidad de doctores* (México: UNAM, 2000); and *Tiempos de crisis, tiempos de consolidación* (México: UNAM, 2005).

[24] Antonio Rubial, "La mitra y la cogulla. La secularización palafoxiana y su impacto en el siglo XVII" *Relaciones* 19.73 (invierno, 1998), 239-272.

complementary, simultaneously evolving processes, but draws attention to a form of secularization championed by the Catholic Church's bureaucracy.[25] The role of the Oratorians in society showed clerics and laypeople alike how to be exemplary Catholics in local terms, which allowed social investment in Catholicism to weather the critiques of Protestantism and Enlightenment philosophy that posed challenges to early modern Catholicism over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

An important factor enabling the endurance and resilience of Catholicism was its imbrication with daily life practices and fundamental aspects of world-view. Oratorian Catholicism drew on *longue durée* trends of Catholic reform dating back to at least the twelfth century, defined some distinct features of Tridentine Catholicism, and founded one enduring strain of post-Tridentine Confessional Catholicism that sought to lead Catholics into futures that balanced the Apostolic traditions of early Christianity with pragmatic recognitions of and responses to new features of the known world in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[26] Oratorians played important roles in actualizing the conceptual middle grounds that defined Early Modern Catholicism in a sustained manner over the course of their own corporate changes. Through prayer manuals, sermons, testaments and chaplaincies, Oratorians contributed to local consolidation of the ideas of and investments in purgatory.[27] During the eighteenth century,

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[25] J. Michelle Molina, "Spirituality and Colonial Governmentality: The Jesuit *Spiritual Exercises* in Europe and Abroad" in *Postcolonial Moves: Medieval Through Modern*, ed. Patricia Clare Ingham and Michelle Warren (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 138-139.

[26] John O'Malley, *Trent And All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000). I have found O'Malley's concluding remarks on pp. 126-140 especially helpful in sorting out the most common usages of the different terms used to describe Catholicism in the periods under consideration here.

[27] On the concept of purgatory and the lucrative enterprise of financing masses to aid souls languishing in purgatory, see Gisela Von Wobeser, *Vida eterna y preocupaciones terrenales. Las*

Oratorian memorial texts featured individuals who straddled the normative position between criminal and saintly, instead representing exemplary models that embodied virtues commonly attainable to all of the faithfully devoted. Whether as parish priests, cathedral canons, bishops or archbishops, Oratorians worked as navigators through sacramental aging processes, guiding their charges through the stages of baptism, confirmation, marriage, confession and penitence, last rites and eternal salvation.[28]

As helpful and flexible a category as Early Modern Catholicism is, it does leave Catholicism at center stage in a way that is problematic for retaining an implicit assumption of the primacy of a World Religion that turning away from Reformation models does little to uproot. Even emphases on tensions between local and universal Catholicism, or Popular and Tridentine Catholicism ultimately reinforce Catholicism's centrality to understanding religiosity. Oratorian history in the Americas can make a strong contribution to explicit, critical investigation of the politics of investment in the coherence of a world religion. Although the

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capellanías de misas en Nueva España, 1600-1821 (México: UNAM, 2005); Nancy Van Deusen's detailed introduction to *The Souls of Purgatory: The Spiritual Diary of a Seventeenth-Century Afro-Peruvian Mystic, Ursula de Jesús* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007), XX-XX; María Concepción Lugo Olin, *Relatos de ultratumba. Antología de ejemplos sobre el purgatorio* (México: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2007); and Jaime Morera, *Pinturas de ánimas en el purgatorio* (México: UNAM, 2001).

[28] Jodi Bilinkoff, *Related Lives: Confessors and their Female Penitents, 1450-1750* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005); Brian Larkin, *The Very Nature of God: Baroque Catholicism and Religious Reform in Bourbon Mexico City* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2010); Linda Curcio-Nagy, "The Language of Desire in Colonial Mexico" in *Emotions and Daily Life in Colonial Mexico*, ed. Javier Villa-Flores and Sonya Lipsett-Rivera (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2014), 44-65; Estela Roselló Soberón, *Así en la tierra como en el cielo. Manifestaciones cotidianas de la culpa y el perdón en la Nueva España de los siglos XVI y XVII* (México: El Colegio de México, 2006); and Pilar Gonzalbo Aizpuru, *Vivir en Nueva España: Orden y desorden en la vida cotidiana* (México: El Colegio de México, 2009), especially pp. 319-363.

Iberian monarchs were known as the "Catholic Monarchs" even during the Early Modern period, their particular religious practices and ideas attracted attention and suspicion from the papacy. The controversy surrounding the theory of the Royal Vicariate (*Regio Vicariato*) is perhaps the most famous account of what we might term "unsettled Catholicism" in the Americas, but Oratorians were directly involved in other prominent adaptations of Tridentine Catholicism to Spanish civil *derecho indiano* as a result of Royal Patronage.[29] This does not mean we should or could abandon the notion of Catholicism. Rather, I am to take up the call and project of Tomoko Masuzawa and others to create an intellectual framework for studying religion less fettered with ideologies of coherence and dominance.[30]

The image of Philip Neri and the legacy of Oratorian spirituality is an ideal site for critiquing the primacy of Catholicism in the Early Modern period. Neri himself embodies a spirit of contradiction and confrontation toward the doctrinal church and its solemn figureheads, and the diversity of the Congregations of the Oratory worldwide represent a distinct manifestation of the same tendency. It seems critically reasonable to engage the lives and stories of Oratorians who built their own livelihoods on religion explicitly at odds with doctrinal Catholicism through a triangulated framework of analysis that *also* questions the utility of Catholicism for explaining their qualities and power.

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[29] My use of unsettlement translates Anna Brickhouse's dual sense of the term as confrontation with official Papal Catholicism and as a broadly conceived heuristic device designed to connect discourses from diverse civil and ecclesiastical institutions. See Anna Brickhouse, *The Unsettlement of America: Translation, Interpretation, and the Story of Don Luis de Velasco, 1560-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).

[30] Tomoko Masuzawa, *The Invention of World Religions, or, How European Universalism was Preserved in the Language of Pluralism*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

The soul in Early Modern Catholicism acquired a distinctly local set of representations in colonial Mexico City. From the earliest years of contact and invasion, Europeans particularly employed the metric of the natural soul to assess the basis and extent of humanity of the Indigenous peoples of the Americas. Over the course of the Early Modern period in Latin America, moreover, scholars have long focused on the history of Catholicism as the development of the rational soul as the prime test of acculturation, especially for Indigenous and African-descended subject. In both historiographic contexts, scholars concede the terms for defining Catholicism and its operations to doctrine and theology, rather than being subjected to cultural criticism – this is the effect of the power and status of a world religion. Likewise, regional studies of Indigenous religion consequently construct their terminologies and concepts in translation to interface with the concepts of Christianity to establish legitimacy and coherence in a comparative framework. In an effort to de-center these paradigms, I propose to focus on souls in Early Modern Latin America through the lens of the interdisciplinary concept of Christian Animism to interpret representations of Oratorian identity in a broad array of bureaucratic contexts.

Originally, animism denoted anthropological consideration of a transcultural human experience of spiritual essence, first described among Indigenous peoples worldwide by Edward Tylor in his efforts to supplement attention to critical studies of religion among societies excluded from the privileged category of world religions. The soul, in Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, is a basic unit of religious experience. Tylor has since been soundly criticized for consolidating and even advancing hierarchical models of evolution based on cultural difference,[31] but some

[31] Seth Kunin, "Anthropological and Sociological Theories of Religion" in *A Companion to Religious Studies and Theology*, ed. Helen Bond, Seth Kunin and Francesca Murphy (Edinburgh:

recent anthropological work engaged directly with the concept of animism has questioned the precision of such criticisms. Alternately, while Tylor did little to actively challenge the evolutionary frameworks in vogue in the late nineteenth century, the bulk of his work focused on animism actually imparted Indigenous peoples a shared space in the realm of legitimate religion, in contrast to frameworks of World Religion.[32]

Literary critics have also adapted the language of animism, beginning with Gaston Bachelard's poetic readings of elemental language in nineteenth- and twentieth-century scientific treatises.[33] In the 1970s, Juan Carlos Rodríguez borrowed Bachelard's lexicon to interpret changes in the ideological presumptions of sixteenth century poetry to argue that a new transitional ideology developed within the rift created by simultaneously existent feudalist and capitalist economies in early modern Europe. According to Rodríguez, although the Crown and feudal nobility and high clergy quickly collaborated to crush social uprisings like the *Comuneros* rebellion and other emergent middle-class social uprisings organized to empower social mobility based on merit and wealth, the need to discursively refute their causes as well forced the ruling class to embody the rhetoric of their opponents in the process of negation. The result, at the level of courtly and mystical poetry, was literally the birth of the notion of the subject, articulated as a

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Edinburgh University Press, 2003), 57-64; Ranjana Khanna, *Dark Continents: Psychoanalysis and Colonialism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 68-80.

[32] Martin Stringer, "Rethinking Animism: Thoughts from the Infancy of Our Discipline" *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 5.4 (December, 1999), 541-555; *Contemporary Western Ethnography and the Definition of Religion* (London: Continuum, 2008).

[33] Gaston Bachelard, *The New Scientific Spirit* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1984); *The Psychoanalysis of Fire* (London: Quartet, 1984).

"beautiful soul."[34] Rodríguez's analysis of the discourse surrounding the beautiful soul outlines a framework for critical readings of the soul based upon its modifiers, metaphors and social context rather than ceding its definition to the authority of theologians. At the same time, it turns the traditional use of Animism – structural analysis of Indigenous peoples' religious systems – on its head by steadfastly holding a critical lens to Christian concepts. While Rodríguez restricts his source base and analyses to continental Europe, his assertion that the "ideological unconscious" manifested by the bourgeois beautiful soul was but a single part of a larger apparatus suggests that related analyses should find the same discourses and principles articulated in other dimensions of the Spanish Empire.[35]

In recent years, Malcolm Read has extended Rodríguez's analytical framework to early Latin American contexts in a number of articles. Read enhances the terms of conversation by engaging with the more complicated economic structures at play in the much larger territory of Latin America, especially the importance of the slave economy, and emphasized the emerging importance of eyewitness accounts to early Latin American narratives.[36] But although Read grounds his portrayal of Latin American society in the work of historians, his choice of texts to

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[34] Juan Carlos Rodríguez, *Theory and History of Ideological Production: The First Bourgeois Literatures (the 16th Century)*, trans. Malcolm K. Read (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2002), 106-113.

[35] In a subsequent monograph, *Introducción al estudio de la literatura hispanoamericana: las literaturas criollas de la indepencia a la revolución* (Madrid: Ediciones Akal, 1987), Rodríguez does extend the scope of analysis to Latin America, but only after the end of the colonial period.

[36] Malcolm Read, "From Organicism to Animism: (Post)colonial or Transitional Discourses?" *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 77.2 (2000), 551-570; "Changing the Subject: Towards a Reconfiguration of Latin-American Colonial Studies" *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 79 (2002), 499-523; and "From Feudalism to Capitalism: Ideologies of Slavery in the Spanish American Empire" *Hispanic Research Journal* 4.2 (June, 2003), 151-171.

consider remains squarely within traditional considerations of literature and largely confined to treatment of the sixteenth century.

The Oratorian history of Mexico City is an ideal site for assessing the impact of Rodríguez's concept of Christian animism in a broader early modern context. As a development of mid-colonial society, it provides a case for determining how a Renaissance Italian cultural movement developed anew in a Spanish Imperial context a century later. The corpus of Oratorian discourses in Mexico City, moreover, includes print and manuscript literature, as well as the so-called "mundane" notarial documents of the imperial bureaucracy, and spans from the mid-seventeenth century through the early nineteenth century. As a result, the sources can test the endurance of Christian animism's ideological impact across time, at great distance, and in multiple discursive forms.

Critical understanding of Christian Animism's development in Mexico City can provide an important complement to recent scholarship on the affective experiences of imperial identity, especially those shaped by notions of race and gender as markers of difference.[37] Across the markers of difference and distinction employed in Spanish America, Christian Animism focuses on the conceptual threads of sameness that wove imperial subjects together in a shared narrative fabric of salvation. The notion of sameness and common experience afforded imperial subjects space to create the public communities and private lives detailed in the following pages through religion that assumed mutual responsibility and accountability. The Christian Animism that endured in Spanish America recognized uncountable millions of souls in need of salvation, commonly connected by the bonds of shared spiritual qualities, and provides a means for

[37] Andrew Fisher and Matthew O'Hara thoroughly review the relevant literature in their introduction to *Imperial Subjects: Race and Identity in Colonial Latin America*, ed. Andrew Fisher and Matthew O'Hara (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009), 1-37.

understanding how an expansive empire built on racial and religious inequalities could maintain hegemonic authority for three centuries without facing widespread coalitions of rebellious subjects.

As traces from the archives, Christian Animism emerges through a variety of forms throughout the subsequent chapters. Animistic analogies, for example, describe one imperial subject as another symbolic figure in the Early Modern Catholic world. Such typological rhetoric emphasizes shared spirit between two distinct souls. The most common analogies liken individuals and groups to Philip Neri, but other connections to biblical figures and other contemporary Catholics also provided writers with important expressive tools.[38] Institutional positionalities such as interim and visitor appointments similarly frame imperial subjects at junctures of sameness and difference. Each served distinct but comparable purposes of maintaining the operations of Spanish America's imperial bureaucracies, as individuals acquired personal experiences of a given institution's practical realities and re-circulated them through collective channels to a larger interested community. Interim and visitor appointees expressed their corporate identities through representation, as parts standing momentarily for the whole. Likewise, executors of last wills and testaments, known as *albaceas*, legally represented the dead in the world of the living. Albaceas performed masses, sold, saved and rented properties, and performed a wide variety of other tasks and duties as though they personally embodied the will

[38] On other types of early modern typologies, see Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, "Typology in the Atlantic World: Early Modern Readings of Colonization" in *Soundings in Atlantic History: Latent Structures and Intellectual Currents, 1500-1830*, ed. Bernard Baylin and Patricia Denault (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 237-264, and Ruth Noyes, "'A Me Toccano Masticare Pillole Amare.' Rubens, the Oratorians and the Crisis Over the Beati Moderni in Rome Circa 1660: Towards a Revised Geography of the Catholic Reformation" Ph.D. Diss., Johns Hopkins University, 2010.

of the deceased. These roles, embodying spiritual sameness across individual souls, are only the most readily obvious ways Christian Animism infused the body politic of Spanish America.

Conceptual Organization

To chart the conceptual terrain of the dissertation, my analysis focuses on how Oratorians in Mexico City creolized the three central forms that underwrote their public identity – Congregation, Oratory, and the figure of Saint Philip Neri – in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to engage and shape local culture.[39] These forms define the central core of my dissertation, guide my readings of selected texts related to Oratorian history, and provide the subject material for describing how Oratorian identity changed over time. I focus on the interplay between the changing forms of congregation and oratory that Oratorians employed over time to define their identity in Mexico City, and consider the commonalities and continuities that emerge as the connective material that unites and aligns different senses of Saint Philip Neri across individual and collective bodies.

The term *congregation* comprised a field of dramatic change in colonial Latin America. For Oratorians in colonial Mexico City, it signified the contemporary intersection of three distinct forms of Catholicism that influenced their history and construction of local identity. Congregation could refer to a new urban settlement, a lay religious brotherhood (confraternity),

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[39] My understanding of creolization is indebted to David Buisseret's introduction to *Creolization in the Americas* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2000), 3-17. In this specific context, creolization refers to the different views of various generations and groups of Oratorians concerning their different interpretations of Neri's teachings and religiosity. Oratorians in Mexico City channeled their spirituality in Mexico City through devotional practices called Oratories, Rosaries, Novenas, and the exercises of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, and thus connected a Tridentine Catholic saint's cult with forms of popular religion that elicited common interest from Indigenous, African-descended, and Spanish subjects in the local environment.

or a body of legal expertise created to manage the Pope's jurisdiction, depending on the particular context of use. The Oratorian community synthesized key elements of each of these meanings through their self-identification as a Congregation of the Oratory. As a result, each of the three definitional traditions must be examined separately before the significance of the Oratorian synthesis can be fully understood.

In the civil sense, a congregation referred to the new urban settlements that colonial officials hoped to use to restructure the populations of New Spain – which drastically changed over the course of the sixteenth century – according to the aesthetics and aspirations of the new political elite.[40] At the theoretical level, civil congregations represented the form of civilized living Spanish administrators desired to impose, where citizen-neighbors (*vecinos*) lived in a sedentary community, surrounding a church and administrative center and accessible along a grid-like structure. In the wake of the famous debates between Bartolomé de las Casas and Juan Gines de Sepúlveda that legally affirmed the humanity of Indigenous peoples from the point of view of the Spanish Empire, imperial legal culture used the concept of *ius predicandi* to distinguish between sedentary communities willing and able to host Catholic preachers (who were thus viable candidates for integration as imperial subjects) and mobile peoples who

[40] The Spanish invasion disrupted the Mexica imperial system, allowing local Indigenous polities to re-emerge as coherent, autonomous corporate communities in some cases, and re-designing Indigenous sovereignty in others. For the former, see *Indigenous Conquistadors: Indigenous Allies in the Conquest of Mesoamerica*, ed. Laura Matthew and Michel Oudijk (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007); and Rene Castro García, *Indios, territorio y poder en la provincia Matlatzinca: la negociación del espacio político de los pueblos otomianos, siglos XVI-XVIII* (México: CONACULTA/INAH, 1999); María Elena Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza de Sangre, Religion and Gender in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), 91-122. For the latter, see Margarita Menegus, "El gobierno de los indios: señores o cabildo" in *Mestizajes tecnológicos y cambios culturales en México*, ed. Enrique Florescano and Virginia García Acosta (México: CIESAS, 2004), 313-339.

declined to congregate around the urban trappings that Spaniards understood as signs of civilization and *policía*.[41]

In practice, imperial congregation policies acquired a systematic character in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, in the wake of the worst of the early disease epidemics that devastated Indigenous communities in the Americas. Under the reign of the second Viceroy Luis de Velasco, local governors throughout central Mexico designed new settlements in efforts to bring fragmented communities together at new sites strategically positioned to facilitate Spanish urban design preferences, open large tracts of "unoccupied lands" ready for Spanish settlements and economic ventures, streamline tax collection, and assist missionaries in the formidable project of mass evangelization of millions of new Christian subjects.[42] The congregation program met with mixed success. Some settlement plans created viable and lasting communities, but Indigenous peoples quickly abandoned others in favor of their ancestral homes

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[41] John Schwaller, "Introduction" in *The Church in Colonial Latin America,* ed. John Schwaller (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 2000), xix; Jonathan Amith, *The Möbius Strip: A Spatial History of Colonial Society in Guerrero, Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), 72n22, 81; Marcelo Ramírez Ruiz and Federico Fernández Christlieb, "La policía de los indios y la urbanización del altepetl" in *Territorialidad y paisaje en el altepetl del siglo XVI*, coord. Federico Fernández Christlieb and Ángel García Zambrano (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2006), 119. These authors emphasize the inextricable connection between civilized urban living and Christian living in the Spanish imperial imaginary.

[42] Foundational scholarship on civil congregations includes Lesley Simpson, *Studies in the Administration of the Indians in New Spain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1934), part 2; Howard Cline, "Civil Congregations of the Indians in New Spain, 1598-1606" *Hispanic American Historical Review* 29.3 (August, 1949); Peter Gerhard "Congregaciones de indios en la nueva España antes de 1570" *Historia Mexicana* 26.3 (January-March, 1977), 347-395. See also Stephanie Wood, "Corporate Adjustments in Colonial Mexican Indian Towns: Toluca Region, 1550-1810" Ph.D. Diss., University of California-Los Angeles, 1984; Jonathan Amith, *The Möbius Strip*; Ernesto de la Torre Villar, *Las congregaciones de los pueblos de indios: fase terminal: aprobaciones y rectificaciones* (México: UNAM, 1995); David Tavárez, *The Invisible War: Indigenous Devotions and Dissent in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011), 65-68.

or other emerging opportunities for wage labor or settlement in colonial enterprises like mining *reales* and haciendas. In both cases, however, the legal framework of a new network of urban territoriality in New Spain would remain and have lasting implications in the longer duration of colonial society.

Over the course of the long eighteenth century, the population of New Spain stabilized and reorganized as Indigenous *pueblos de indios*, the *sociedad de castas* that grew in the wake of procreation and intermarriage among Indigenous, African and Spanish descendants in the Americas, and free towns descended from maroon communities in the circum-Caribbean. Irrespective of racial or ethnic classifications, all of these communities established legal authenticity, grew, and distinguished emerging head and subject towns in accordance with evolving congregation policy that continued to stress the importance of Christian urbanization and social practices.[43] The history of civil congregations is important to Oratorian history for several reasons. It illustrates how collective corporate societies formed and operated within the legal culture of the Spanish Empire, and provides a model for analyzing the spatial dimensions of Oratorian identity formation through architectural production, the material culture and ornamentation that furnished the interiors of private homes, devotional spaces, and the community church. Albeit at a smaller spatial scale, the Oratorians in Mexico City also created

[43] See *The Indian Community of Colonial Mexico*, ed. Arij Ouweneel and Simon Miller (Amsterdam: CEDLA, 1990), especially the chapters of Bernardo García Martínez, Danièle Dehouve, and Stephanie Wood; Jane Landers, "*Cimarrón* and Citizen: African Ethnicity, Corporate Identity, and the Evolution of Free Black Towns in the Spanish Circum-Caribbean" in *Slaves, Subjects and Subversives: Blacks in Colonial Latin America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006), 112. The "Ramo de Congregaciones, 1578-1790" manuscripts in the Henry Albert Monday Collection Related to Mexico at the Library of Congress (Box 4, Reel 3) also implicitly argues for the long-term evolution of Congregation policy by collating the foundational documents of the 1590s and early 1600s with later dated legal files from the *Ramo Tierras* in the AGN-Mexico.

legitimacy for their collective by building and maintaining a church and governing council that defended the municipal character of their proprietary micro-jurisdiction through the changing social and political dynamics of the city in the colonial period. All types of congregations, moreover, affirmed the centrality of Catholic priests and preaching to a sense of civilized, urban conduct. While civil congregations required social spaces designed to welcome and facilitate priests in order to affirm their community's identity, the Oratorian community served as a sort of workshop for priests to develop their skills in common.

In another popular use, congregation describes religious brotherhoods, or confraternities, used to organize lay devotional practices. In some scholarship, congregation is simply a synonym for confraternity, while in other work the term more specifically indicates a Jesuit organization.[44] As lay devotional societies, confraternities and congregations required members to abide by constitutions but contained no solemn vows. Thus, although the Congregations of the Oratory and San Pedro had target memberships of secular priests, membership and belonging did not constitute a religious state of being *per se*; rather, it entailed commitment to a mode of comportment in the world, and helped give definition to the *secular* experience of secular priests. Confraternities most basically and fundamentally provided a forum for caring for the dead. Members of a given brotherhood paid regular dues according to the stipulations of their

[44] Clara García Ayluardo, "Confraternity, Cult and Crown in Colonial Mexico City: 1700-1810" Ph.D. Diss., Cambridge University, 1989; García Ayluardo and Alicia Bazarte Martínez, *Los costos de la salvación* (México: AGN, 2001); Alicia Bazarte Martínez, "Las congregaciones jesuitas en la ciudad de México durante la época virreinal" in *Jesuitas: su expresión mística y profana en la Nueva España* (Estado de México: Patrimonio de Un Pueblo, 2011), 112-130; Michael Maher, S.J., "How the Jesuits Used their Congregations to Promote Frequent Communion" in *Confraternities and Catholic Reform in Italy, France and Spain*, ed. John Patrick Donnelly and Michael Maher (Kirksville: Thomas Jefferson University Press, 1999), 75-95.

particular institution's constitutions that provided resources for paying for priestly services associated with funeral rites, burial, and some financial assistance to the next of kin. Many confraternities formed community bonds through additional collective works, such as care for their own sick and infirm members, acts of charity within the broader community, providing hospitality to visiting travelers, and care for prisoners and the condemned, among other activities.[45]

The confraternal sense of congregation describes a great deal of Oratorian cultural production, yet still fails to fully circumscribe its identity for several important reasons. The Venerable Union was technically a confraternity, but only stood for Oratorian identity in Mexico City from 1659 to 1701. Moreover, the designation of Venerable Union was specifically chosen by the Oratorian founders, according to Gutiérrez Dávila, to distinguish their organization from other confraternities because of their express intent to transform over time into a fully-formed Congregation of the Oratory.[46] The Venerable Union was additionally peculiar in that it quickly came to house other archconfraternities and confraternities, namely the Archconfraternity of Christian Doctrine and the Confraternity of Apprenticed Children "of all offices" dedicated to Saints Justus and Pastor.[47] These features definitively complicate a simple designation of

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[45] Asunción Lavrin, "La congregación de San Pedro—Una cofradía urbana del México colonial, 1604-1730" *Historia Mexicana* 29.4 (April-June, 1980), 562-568.

[46] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas*, I: 2-3, cited in Melvin, *Building Colonial Cities of God*, 108.

[47] Archconfraternities had the ability to collate and organize the indulgences offered to their subsidiary, aggregate confraternities according to regulations and procedures established by the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences in Rome. See Alicia Bazarte Martínez and Clara García Ayluardo, *Los costos de la salvación*, 96-100.

congregation-as-confraternity and pave the way for critical attention to the details of corporate change that make Mexico City's Oratorian community so unique.

Beginning late in the sixteenth century, Pope Sixtus V and his successors established several divisions of the Roman curia called Congregations. These legally empowered bodies, staffed by local Cardinals, managed the temporal and spiritual affairs of papal jurisdiction. Each Congregation embodied and represented papal authority over a specific set of issues – rites, ceremonies, or the Inquisition, for example – in efforts to manage more efficiently the business of global Catholicism.[48] Thus, the development of the Congregation of the Oratory in Catholic history closely paralleled the development of legal bodies of knowledge called congregations, and in part drew inspiration from the Roman Congregations' organization to structure the development of Oratorian identity around its own discrete realm of expertise: oratory.

The meaning of oratory encompassed intertwined discourses that cultural critics typically separate through classifications of genre. Preaching, prayer and music were all referred to as oratory in specific times and contexts. Moreover, recent critical studies of each genre have emphasized the difficulties of definitively separating these genres on the basis of form. Anne Winston Allen's study of the making of Rosary prayers in medieval and early modern Europe ends by criticizing the divisions of genre that comprise a broader sense of spirituality, arguing that "categories like sacred and secular, spiritual and mechanical, qualitative and quantitative are

[48] McManus, "History of the Congregation of Rites", 25. See also Joseph Griffin, "The Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide: Its Foundation and Historical Antecedents" in *Christianity and Missions, 1450-1800*, ed. J. S. Cummins (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), 57-96; Benedetto Ojetti, "The Roman Congregations" in *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912), Vol. 13. 11 Jun. 2015 <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/13136a.htm>.

not so sharply drawn but, rather, overlapping."[49] The *oratorio,* a musical form that gave distinctive shape to Oratorian spirituality, blended with the *villancico* preferred in the Iberian empires, which was itself ever-changing and comprised many different inter-changeable forms. Such vagaries and intimate relationships between different genres has led Andrea Bombi, Álvaro Torrente, Bernardo Illari and others to theorize the villancico as a "place of cultural interface" or "metagenre" in efforts to do justice to the historical realities obscured by singular generic categorization.[50] Likewise, Grady Wray has recently challenged the generic categorization of some of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz's devotional writings, calling her famous spiritual exercises meditating on the Virgin Mary a clandestine form of preaching.[51] Oratorians created a broad variety of texts in colonial Mexico that combined elements of these three cultural forms, and collectively built a reputation as experts in the arts of oratory. My dissertation traces the contours of major themes in publicly celebrated cultural production through contemporary eyewitness accounts, normative constitutions defining ceremonial rules, and commemorative texts produced by, for, and about Oratorians.

Other sources reveal simultaneous efforts by Oratorians to police and criminalize instances of heterodox oratory through the local court systems. In the seventeenth century, priests like Archbishop Juan de Mañozca lamented the deep roots of Indigenous ancestor

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[49] Anne Winston Allen, *Stories of the Rose: The Making of the Rosary in the Middle Ages* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 134.

[50] Andrea Bombi, "'The Third Villancico was a Motet': The Villancico and Related Genres" in *Devotional Music in the Iberian World, 1450-1800: The Villancico and Related Genres*, ed. Tess Knighton and Álvaro Torrente (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 149-150.

[51] Grady Wray, "Los sermones escondidos de Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz" in *Mujeres que escriben en América Latina*, ed. Sara Beatriz Guardia (Lima: Centro de Estudios "La Mujer en la Historia de América Latina", 2007), 73-78.

worship, and seemingly commissioned a manual for instructing parish priests in the arts of discerning idolatry and extirpating religious specialists among the peoples of the Archdiocese of Mexico based on the experience and research of one of his most trusted aides, Jacinto de la Serna.[52]. An early member of the Venerable Union, Serna expressed grave concerns about private and clandestine oratories used for both syncretic adaptations or "elective processes" incorporating Christian worship and devotion to Indigenous ancestral deities.[53] Some of the earliest, regularly produced and archived licenses for maintaining oratories also date to the mid-seventeenth century, suggesting that the consolidation of a culture of licensure in the Archdiocese of Mexico paralleled efforts by many of the same clerical subjects to reform Catholic practice according to legal mandates.[54] I use the names of known Oratorians to browse Mexican print culture for texts related to the theme of oratory. I have also recorded their presence in the tribunal records of the Inquisition and Holy Crusade in order to track the Oratorian production of morally charged representations of oratory in colonial society. Both sets

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[52] AGI-Mex 337, Letters of Mañozca. Cited in Tavárez, *The Invisible War*, 92, note 124.

[53] Jacinto de la Serna, *Manual de ministros de indios* (México: Imprenta del Museo Nacional, 1898), 290, 300-301, 306, 361, 385. On Serna, see Magnus Lundberg, *Church Life Between the Metropolitan and the Local: Parishes, Parishioners, and Parish Priests in Seventeenth-Century Mexico* (Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2011), 166-172. Tavarez, *The Invisible War*, writes: part of the "growing interest on the part of extirpators regarding the empirical basis of native ritual knowledge" (68). Serna's *Manual* exhibits nuanced "appreciation of ecclesiastical administration policies" that form the rationale behind his classification of Indigenous devotions (93); Taylor, *Magistrates of the Sacred: Priests and Parishioners in Eighteenth Century Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 160, 209, 247, 276.

[54] "Nos D. Juan de Mañozca" CEHM-Carso, Manuscritos de asuntos eclesiásticos CIII.1.9.1, 1644; Leticia Pérez Puente, "El acervo colonial del archivo de la Curia Metropolitana" in *Teoría y práctica archivística II*, coord. Gustavo Villanueva Bazán (México: CESU, 2000), 65-90, and *Tiempos de crisis, tiempos de consolidación. La catedral metropolitana de la ciudad de México, 1653-1680* (México: UNAM. 2005), 325-327.

of records suggest that defining oratory as a domain of expertise in the Americas required continuous adaptability to the challenges of different competing claims to its production across different spaces and times.

Saint Philip Neri is the central axis of Oratorian identity, and a point of departure for understanding several layers of identification crucial to Oratorian culture in Mexico City. Philip Neri's social history and its hagiographical interpretations as a saint's life provide a foundational narrative of Oratorian identity. His spiritual afterlife, represented through returns to the mortal world during annual feast day festivals, miracles and apparitions, invites re-visitations of the foundational narrative through the performances and deviations from the traditions established in sixteenth century Italy. Congregations of the Oratory also claim a corporate connection to the spirit of Saint Philip Neri, one that gave rise to a shared identification.[55] Christian animism is especially apt for exploring the relationships between scales of Oratorian identity among individuals, between individuals and groups, and changing phases of group identity. Oratorians tied each of these identity formations together with the image and essence of Philip Neri through discourses of the (individual) soul and (collective) spirit. Such a broad rubric of sameness stretches the time-bound categories encompassed by early modern Catholicism beyond their usual scope, and begs for a new set of analytical tools that can address the discursive forms of the Spanish Imperial archive. To connect the diverse discursive traces of Oratorian animism to the larger socio-political context, I borrow and adapt the methods of historically oriented folklore

[55] For example, an anonymously authored novena (a nine-day prayer cycle) published in Mexico City for Philip Neri's feast day elaborates that although Neri's "Indies" was in Rome, "in all things he is present here, through the Venerable Fathers of his Congregation, heritors of his Spirit" (*con todo asiste aquí, mediante los Venerables Padres de su Congregación, herederos de su Espíritu*). *Novena del glorioso patriarcha San Felipe Neri*, (México: Francisco Ribera Calderón, 1711), pp. 4-5.

to account for discrepancies between performances of a culture that allegedly reproduces the same essence across time and place.[56]

Ditchfield skillfully illustrates how Oratorians in early modern Italy took a leading role in various aspects of revising the history and sanctity of the early Church, all the while beginning new production of sanctity narratives through the *beati moderni*. This project brings those same questions to bear on a distinct religious terrain in Mexico, where local religious specialists confronted the absence of deep Catholic history in the landscape in a variety of creative ways. In the seventeenth century Oratorians organized legal efforts to authenticate the sanctity of local holy men, miraculous objects and events through the new rubircs of authentication designed by the Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies. Once their own status as a Congregation of the Oratory was confirmed in the early eighteenth century, the Oratorian community then began to memorialize its own founders and prominent officials as saintly figures, albeit without attempting to advance them through the bureaucracy of authentication.[57] The life stories included in Oratorian hagiography from Mexico City are replete with records of quotidian orality in the form of sayings, prayers, institutional and individual stories that contribute to the granular

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[56] Santiago Cortés Hernández, Cecelia López Ridaura and Mariana Masera, "Sobre el proyecto *Literaturas y culturas populares de la Nueva España (1690-1820),* rescate documental y edición crítica de textos marginados" in *Construcción y crítica del corpus literario hispanoamericano. Estudios de aproximación*, coord. José Pascual Buxó (México: UNAM, 2011), 93-106; Mariana Masera and Santiago Cortés, "Introducción" in *Relatos populares de la Inquisición novohispana: Rito, magia, y otras "supersticiones", siglos XVII-XVIII*, coord. Enrique Flores and Mariana Masera (Madrid: CSIC, 2010), 23-35.

[57] Here, the Oratorians of the Venerable Union joined the ranks of other unauthenticated figures of devotion, a "literally uncountable (and usually anonymous) number of saints...who enjoyed only local or regional veneration" that Simon Ditchfield has argued can be found over "the length and breadth of the Roman Catholic world." See "'Historia magistra sanctitatis'? The Relationship Between Historiography and Hagiography in Italy after the Council of Trent (ca. 1574-1742)" *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 3rd series, 3.18 (2006), 166-167.

accumulation of Oratorian tradition's long reach from sixteenth century Rome to modern-day Mexico.[58]

Affiliated members of Oratorian communities served as mediums between their patron saint and the external world of faithful Catholics, and sought to repeatedly embody his style and essence through performance and emulation in their ritual labor and professional careers.[59] The subject positions and relations between individual Oratorians and the community identity of their shared institution also manifests as a distinctly gendered relationship, and thus provides a contribution to recent scholarship on gender performance in religious venues.[60] Life stories provide a distinct combination of desired and rejected masculinities, generated through homosociality and through relations with female individuals and institutions. At other moments,

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[58] Here I borrow the inclusive definition of folklore's oral components of song, narration, fable, divination, cure, prophecy, conjuration, blessing, proverb, saying, rumor, insult, blasphemy, recitation, refrain, legal code or rule, hierarchy and cosmos, from John Zemke, "Prólogo" in *Relatos populares*, 17-18, and Santiago Cortés Hernández, Cecelia López Ridaura and Mariana Masera, "Sobre el proyecto," 95.

[59] As García Ayluardo and Bazarte Martínez write, through prayer "a fortuitous, contractual relationship of communion and identification became established between brotherhood members and patron saints, and mediated by the confraternity" (*se establecía una suerte de relación contractual, una comunión, creando una fuerte identificación entre el suplicante y su santo patrón, mediado por la cofradía*). Clara García Ayluardo and Alicia Bazarte Martínez, *Los costos de la salvación,* 47.

[60] The broader archive of Oratorian history in Mexico City provides a rich variety of expressions of both masculinity and femininity from its member clerics throughout the colonial period. Essential works for analytical framing include Asunción Lavrin, "Los Hombres de Dios: Aproximación a un estudio de la masculinidad en Nueva España" *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura* 31 (2004), 283-309; J. Michelle Molina and Ulrike Strasser, "Missionary Men and the Global Currency of Female Sanctity" in *Women, Religion, and the Atlantic World* (1600-1800), ed. Daniela Kostroun and Lisa Vollendorf (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 156-179; and Barbara Newman, "God and the Goddesses: Vision, Poetry, and Belief in the Middle Ages" in *Poetry and Philosophy in the Middle Ages: A Festschrift for Peter Dronke*, ed. John Marenbon (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 173-196.

Oratorians reflected on their Congregation as a mother, and joined in corporate representations of the Royal University as a "Minerva Mexicana" or "Sabia Raquel", illustrating the more fluid contemporary repertoire of gendered performances required from corporate life in New Spain.[61]

I use the process of tracing the Spirit of Philip Neri, in and out of various representations, to assemble a theory of corporate performance operations in viceregal Mexico, based on roles, acts, and scenarios of institutional labor where the individual and collective bodies of corporate identity intersect. Oratorian history thus connects between recent theories of early Latin American history that conceive the *longue durée* of regional history in terms of corporate formations and evolutions, and theories of performance that put those bodies in motion. Studying moments and instances of corporate life that are temporal, ephemeral, and intermittent, and as such have been more often overlooked in favor of more seemingly stable representations that take the stage.[62]

Attention to embodiment allows for a more nuanced interpretation of professional life and labor in the institutional cultures of New Spain as a discrete set of temporal instances, in which a given professional acts as an institutional representative (and embodiment of the institution) for a short amount of time. Attention to the intermittent, temporal performances that form the aggregate events of professional, corporate life in turn makes sense for the study of

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[61] Brading, *Church and State*, 45. Luis Felipe Neri de Alfaro "had loved the Oratory until the end of his life, calling it 'his mother, my beloved and venerable Congregation'.

[62] Here I am especially interested in connecting the theories of María Alba Pastor, succinctly articulated through her essay "La organización corporativa de la sociedad novohispana" in *Formaciones religiosas en la América colonial*, ed. María Alba Pastor and Alicia Mayer (México: UNAM, 2000), 81-140, and the model of performance study articulated by Diana Taylor in *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), xiii-52.

individuals who belonged to a variety of institutions at a given time, and constantly moved between their varied professional and social roles. My dissertation joins recent scholarship on collaborations between institutional cultures, family and kinship influences on professional development, and studies of merit acquisition and strategic investments in professional development.

Structure of the Dissertation

The chapters of my dissertation trace how Oratorians in Mexico City ushered the concepts of Congregation, Oratory, and Saint Philip Neri through a process of creolization in the Americas. The first three chapters take distinct approaches to displaying and analyzing Oratorian identity during the seventeenth century, when Oratorians organized as the Venerable Union. Chapter Two discusses three representations of the foundations of Oratorian identity in Mexico City. I use an overview of their initial governing constitutions, a survey of their governing officials and biographical portraits of four founding Oratorians to illustrate key issues and practices of patronage, simultaneous employment in multiple institutions, and innovative ritual culture that defined Oratorian identity throughout the colonial period, and to problematize the narrative traditions of religious life-writing by consulting archival materials at odds with saintly archetypes.

Chapter Three conducts a prosopographical analysis of Oratorians in the Venerable Union. Its first section examines the profound influence Oratorians had on the consolidation and emergent autonomy of Mexico City's most important bureaucratic institutions. The second section surveys available evidence for the material foundations of the Venerable Union through the architectural history of the first Oratorian church, a 1673 inventory of the church sacristy, and the constitutional statutes regulating membership alms. The third section introduces three

forms of sub-corporate growth fostered by the Venerable Union within and beyond their own corporate institution. I argue that the flexible nature of the Venerable Union's constitutions allowed it to include many more members than an official Congregation of the Oratory organized in the style of the original Roman community, and that this flexibility was a crucial element in the development of a local organization that could survive and ultimately thrive in its environment. The human personnel, material wealth, and relationships of patronage created by the Venerable Union were essential to the creation of a viable Oratorian community in colonial Mexico City.

Chapter Four shifts toward focus on the spiritual practices developed by the Venerable Union. It pairs close readings of Oratorian adaptations of rosary and *novena* prayers, sermons, musical production and other forms of public outreach with their exercise of legal culture to assess and classify other members of colonial society who likewise sought to exercise authority through the realm of oratory. Each of these cultural practices became a telling feature of local Oratorian culture, memorialized and reproduced in subsequent years.

I shift to a discussion of memorial practices and politics in the eighteenth century in Chapter Five, after Oratorians received papal and royal authentication of their status as a full Congregation and transitioned to a new sense of identity. The eighteenth century opened for the Oratorian community in Mexico City with a great deal of joy and satisfaction at the fulfillment of a process some forty years in the making. It also ushered in new representative forms of identity that built upon and altered the course of the Oratorian community. The Congregation's new status generated a prolific sense of hindsight. The victorious leadership of the Congregation consolidated their status and achievements by framing their antecedents from the Venerable Union as a proprietary object of the past under their control, through innovative contemporary

expressions of Oratorian identity produced in memorial texts and oil paintings. While many Oratorians continued to work as censors for the Inquisition and Archdiocese during the eighteenth century, they also began to use the printing press to commemorate their newly legalized identity as a Congregation by including "licencias de la Congregación" among the preliminary texts representing Oratorian devotion. In another sense, Oratorian devotional texts that fell under Inquisition scrutiny reveal how some dimensions of Oratorian identity were extracted from community memory.

Chapter Six in turn examines the new growth of the Congregation of the Oratory in the eighteenth through the fates of both old and new sub-corporations mutually affiliated with Oratorian identity. Older organizations such as the Recogimiento de San Miguel de Belen and the Archconfraternity of Christian Doctrine (discussed at length in Chapter 2) continued their associations with the Oratorians in distinct ways. While supervisory control of the Recogimiento escheated to the Archdiocese in the early eighteenth century, evidence reveals that a strong connection remained throughout the colonial era between the institution and its founders. The Archconfraternity of Christian Doctrine, in contrast, continued to primarily operate out of the Oratorian church in Mexico City. However, its structure also transformed in new ways during the eighteenth century, taking on a new series of names that have obscured the history of its continuity.

Part of the Congregation's new identity involved a requirement that all voting members must live within the church's dormitory. This change drastically altered the Oratorian community life in Mexico City. One means for balancing the popularity of Oratorian devotion with the need for a smaller resident community was the creation of a new, associated corporate

society called the *hermanos de afuera*. The Congregation also organized high-level academic training in theology through an Academy initially run through their church.

Chapter Seven surveys three flash points of corporate change the Oratorians experienced in the late colonial era caused by an earthquake in 1768 and the independence wars of the early nineteenth century. The earthquake destroyed their church and forced the Mexico City Oratorians to take on a hybrid Oratorian-Jesuit identity in an ex-Jesuit church (where they continue to reside to this day). Since they had to buy church access from the Crown, it also marked the beginning of their identity as the "Royal Congregation". A royalist identity heavily influenced the politics and fate of the Oratorians during the independence wars that, I argue, deeply conflicted with their long-standing mission as an essentially Creole institution.

In addition to recalling the major themes discussed in the dissertation, Chapter Eight concludes by reflecting on the concepts tying these disparate individuals, institutions, and changing bodies together over time, and the consequences of rendering those concepts coherent in terms of re-imagining the context of colonial Latin American culture. The research process has led me to believe and argue that studies of colonial Latin American subjectivity can benefit from increased attention to identity formations predicated on states of being characterized by temporality and simultaneity. These terms will help to more effectively disavow static or situated forms of subjectivity – the "before" and "after" moments of social mobility seen through the lenses of race, class and gender analysis – and turn focus toward the *processes* of transition that illustrate a broader array of human experiences in the past. Particularly, the language of self-reflection that emerges from experiences of being in-between can tell us a great deal about the anxieties of colonial subjects, and perhaps how anxiety relates to the creation of inequality and difference. The anxiety common to the processes of temporality and simultaneity dwells in

concerns about sameness, an issue ironically overlooked in studies focused social difference and inequality.[63] Over the course of my research, a set of keywords emerged that were common to the diverse archives of colonial Spanish America, and embody the tension and anxiety associated with temporal or transitional states of being, and thus deserve more critical attention. I have found several social *roles – albaceas, interinos and visitadores* – that describe modes of subjectivity that quintessentially operate between two scales or states of being. A related set of cultural *practices – ajustar, cotejar, agregar, and colacionar* – draw attention to the simultaneity of togetherness and separateness. I will review them each in turn, recalling significant usages within the context of Oratorian history, to invite collaborative research on similar and related terms in effort to expand our understanding of transitional ideologies in the early Latin American context.

[63] Karin Velez, "Catholic Missions to the Americas" in *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation,* ed. Alexandra Bamji, Geert Janssen, and Mary Laven (Burlington: Ashgate Publishers, 2013), 147-164.

CHAPTER 2: THE LOCAL FOUNDATIONS OF A GLOBAL DEVOTION: THE VENERABLE UNION IN SEVENTEENTH CENTURY MEXICO CITY

Introduction

In keeping with the constitutional liberties conferred to the Oratorians by Pope Paul IV in 1612, Mexico City's first Oratorian community developed as a combination of cultural influences from Mexico, Spain and Rome. This chapter provides an overview of those foundational features as a basis for understanding what it meant to be Oratorian judging from their first corporate identity in Mexico City: a confraternity called the Venerable Union. First, I begin by outlining their governing constitutions' description of an initial mission, their goals, and election procedures. These dimensions of the confraternity illustrate the initial, public purpose for creating an Oratorian community as well as the strategy conceived for guiding and reproducing it over time. Next, I consider the governing officials highlighted in the constitutions that provided personal structuring labor to the institutional aims and activities of the Venerable Union. The best, most complete information revolves around the *Prefect*, but several other official positions provided important institutional shaping of the Venerable Union. Finally, I close the chapter with more elaborate biographical portraits of four of the thirty-three "founding fathers" of the Venerable Union. Each biography provides a representative conceit of character traits commonly important to many more members of the Oratorian community. Founding father Antonio Calderón Benavides exemplifies the important relationships formed between Mexico City's printing businesses and families and the elite writers who used the press as a means for

creating their public images and consolidating institutional power.[64] Thomas López de Erenchun's controversial career as an Inquisitor during the growth of the Holy Office's power in the 1640s demonstrates the diverse ways that Inquisition work simultaneously established culturally inscribed identities and hierarchies of power. Alonso Alberto y Velasco's life course represents the Oratorians' extensive work to authenticate local apparitions and miraculous events through the legal culture of Rome, and highlights an alternate set of roles Oratorians played in the Inquisition when compared with Calderón Benavides and López de Erenchun. Finally, Diego Castillo Márquez's dedication to developing Oratorian ritual and musical traditions in Mexico City illustrates the innovative techniques the Venerable Union employed to resonate with the urban public. The Oratorians' life courses additionally provide a guiding thread of narrative through the major touchstones of the Oratorians' community identity.

Governing Constitutions

On the same day of the first recorded Oratorian meeting in Mexico City, May 2nd, 1659, acting secretary Gregorio Martín de Guijo presented the Archdiocese's Provisor and Vicar General Alonso Ortíz y Oráa with a petition requesting permission for the Venerable Union's rights to assemble as a confraternity. Ortíz y Oráa procured authorization from the Archbishop, and six days later the Venerable Union held its first elections and composed a temporary set of institutional rules and constitutions "while the formal foundation of the Vallicellian Institute is

[64] See Magdalena Chocano Mena, *La fortaleza docta: elite letrada y dominación social en México colonial, siglos XVI-XVII*, (Barcelona: Ediciones Bellaterra, 2000), and "Capital mercantil y sermones barrocos: textos y contextos en la Nueva España del siglo XVII" in *Muchas hispanoaméricas: antropología, história y enfoques culturales en los estudios latinoamericanistas*, ed. Thomas Krüggeler and Ulrich Mücke, (Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2001).

being verified."[65] The constitutions' opening chapter profiles the early community of the Venerable Union in terms of numbers and means of admission. It begins with a supplication to the current Archbishop of Mexico, Mateo Zaga de Bugueiro, for permission to aggregate and designate him as the community's protector, and to endorse the foundation and erection of the Venerable Union as an Oratorian community in Mexico City. All received members must hold the rank of *presbyter*, being licensed to deliver mass, and make a formal declaration of intent to aggregate through the Secretary. All candidates were to undergo a fifteen-day period of informal examination and interview, wherein they learned of the activities and responsibilities of membership, and the governing council learned something of the character and spirit (*ánima*) of the hopeful. After fifteen days, if the candidate's intentions remained and a majority of the council voted in his favor, the Secretary would give notice and enter him into the organization's membership rolls.

Elections

By the end of 1659, the Venerable Union had received approval to expand its membership to a maximum of 120 aggregates, and it was from this larger pool of members that the core of governing officers were elected on a triennial basis. The constitutions describe the election processes in elaborate detail. Elections were regularly scheduled on the feast day of Philip Neri, the 26th of May, and all members of the Venerable Union were supposed to be present. The governing council convened the meeting by asking everyone (excepting themselves) to be seated without attention to rank, for "perfection is known from being humble."[66] The

[65] Ávila Blancas, *Bio-bibliografía*, 289. The term "Instituto Vallicelliano" refers to the original Congregation of the Oratory, founded in Rome in the church of Santa Maria Vallicella.

[66] Ibid, 296.

council then led the attending mass of brothers in a series of litanies, hymns, and supplications for divinely endowed understanding in the present election.

Three or four days prior to the feast day, the governing council of the Venerable Union would meet privately to select the nominees for their prime leader, the Prefect, and appoint the remaining governing council to serve the subsequent triennial cycle. Consulting the secretary's current list of members, they selected twelve candidates for Prefect, as well as the second, third and fourth-place consultants, a treasurer, sacristan, master of ceremonies, and two or more visitors. The current prefect took a new place within the community as first consultant, and all the other individual positions could potentially comprise re-elected officials if they remained optimal choices. In contrast, the body of consultants had to change every three years in an effort to include as many Union members as possible in positions of community governance.

At the beginning of the official elections, and in the physical presence of all the candidates, the governing council narrowed its list of twelve candidates to three by "laying eyes upon the most useful and tasteful, humble and obedient candidates who counted forty years of age or more," evoking what must have occasionally been a dramatic scene of silent visual engagement.[67] Once the selection was made, the secretary announced the three candidates aloud by name, and distributed three strips of paper (*cedulitas*) to each attending member with each candidate's name on one side, and his own sign (*rúbrica*) on the other. Before voting commenced, the current Prefect selected two Union members from the body of voters to serve as assistants during the election. Each member would then approach a sealed urn to deposit his choice, placing the other two slips in an open urn, two by two, led by the Prefect and his

[67] Ibid.

ministers, and ended with the votes of the secretary and master of ceremonies symbolically sealing the electoral body.

Prefects

The outcomes of the elections were recorded in several surviving documents, and illustrate many of the connections between leaders of the Venerable Union and the power groups of viceregal Mexico City. [Figure 2.1] Prefects were charged first and foremost with performing the personal character necessary to fully embody their conscious experience of the role as leader of the Oratorian community, focusing on how to best engage their subordinates with orders and advice to correct their behavior (*tratar, corregir, y amonestar*), while maintaining foresight that at the end of his term he would set the role aside to be subject to the community's hierarchical order alongside the rest of his fellow members once more.[68]

The constitutions mandated that Prefects approach leadership as a sensory experience, that they *feel* for the evil in others and seek to correct it "as merits the priestly Estate". Such corrective encounters between Brother and Prefect were termed *"consejos evangélicos*", signifying the importance of clerical self-fashioning to Oratorian Catholicism. They were primarily to be conducted privately, through one-on-one counsel, and framed as a shared experience of the favors of "Our Lord" Jesus. Prefects were encouraged to imagine their understanding of submitting to God's will as raking a plow across their own hearts. In practice, submission involved the Prefect comparing his sense of human morality to Philip Neri's will through a process of consultation, although the constitutions do not clarify the means of consultation.

[68] Ibid, 299.

The Prefect's first order of business was choosing his consultants, secretary and treasurer, then symbolizing his own submission to the Archbishop through a reverent kiss of his hand. The second day of office, he would convene the governing council to conduct his inaugural act of new admissions for hopeful members of the Venerable Union. Otherwise, he oversaw monthly council meetings to discuss new admissions and any other pressing business of the moment. The Prefect's leadership role also came into play in the event of a Brother's death. He gave a formal order to the current treasurer to pay for funeral services, including burial of the body and arrangement for an appropriate schedule of masses delivered on behalf of the soul of the deceased. He was also responsible for verifying the availability of sufficient funds well before Neri's annual feast day celebrations to ensure a solemn, appropriate ceremony, explicitly excluding fireworks and other "exterior things."[69] In addition to the annual feast day, the Prefect oversaw appointments for conducting ministry and outreach events in Mexico City. He selected hospitals for the Venerable Union to visit and gifts to give their administrators and infirm patients. He appointed confessors, preachers and leaders of spiritual exercises (*pláticas*) to represent the community through assigned tasks, and in some cases empowered those representatives to name assistants and collaborators appropriate to their duties. In every case, the Prefect also reserved the power to dismiss unsatisfactory appointees, and create new positions as needed. The constitutions advise the Prefect to encourage his appointees to avoid the conduct of any such spiritual practices that could be construed as memorably aberrant or outside decorum (*"que puedan ser notados"*), elaborating that the community should not, for example, introduce

[69] Ibid, 300.

new ceremonies beyond those endorsed by the Roman Ceremonial.[70] Elsewhere, they advise flexibility in the Prefect's mediation of conflict or disagreement, and decision-making regarding whether or not to conduct Oratorian spiritual exercises among registered members only, or in gatherings open to the broader urban community. Both hypothetical situations suggest variations in practice, and contradict the rigid ideal images of Oratorian leadership, and return to the enduring theme of highly localized interpretations of Oratorian identity.

Governing Officials

The succession of office holders for the other positions within the Venerable Union's governing council is less thoroughly documented. Still, scattered data from Julián Gutiérrez Dávila's chronicle and other sources provide some information about the Oratorians who managed community governance. We know that the Venerable Union's founder, Antonio Calderón Benavides, served as the first treasurer beginning in 1659.[71] In the Oratorian chronicle, Gutiérrez Dávila notes that Roque Hernández held the position in 1667, and by 1673 an inventory of the Oratorians' sacristy mentions Gerónimo Abril as the current treasurer.[72] Gregorio Martín de Guijo served as the secretary for the Venerable Union's inaugural meeting, but António Calderón Benavides took the role during the first triennial election in 1662 and held the position until his death in 1668.[73] The 1673 inventory mentioned above also names Gerónimo de Valladolid as secretary in that year. By 1695, Joseph Montaño had taken over the

[70] On the revision of the Roman Breviary, and the prominence of Oratorians in the process, see Simon Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy,* chapter 2.

[71] Ávila Blancas, *Bio-bibliografía,* 3.

[72] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas*, I: 54, Genaro García Ms. 66, f. 125v.

[73] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas*, I: 53, 78.

position, but in March of 1696 Gutiérrez Dávila notes that Salvador Rodríguez de la Fuente also worked as the Venerable Union's "second secretary".[74]

The Consultants included the greatest number and most diverse representation of the Venerable Union, and changed most frequently over the course of the seventeenth century. The original constitutions record Jacinto de la Serna, Mateo Ruiz del Portillo and Alonso García de Ledesma as the first era of consultants.[75] In 1662, the Venerable Union commissioned a printed memorial of the sermon delivered to celebrate their first triennial election on Neri's feast day. The Prefect, Tomás López de Erenchun and his four consultants Miguel de Barcena Valmaceda, Matías de Santillán, Juan Yañez Dávila, and Diego Juárez Araujo, all signed the publication.[76] For subsequent years, Gutiérrez Dávila's biographies of members of the Venerable Union often include mention of the triennial terms of office members served as consultants: Matías de Santillán from 1665-1668, José Márquez de los Rios for six years between 1662 and 1677, Diego Calderón Guillén de Benavides from 1680-1683 and 1686-1689, Martín de la Llana from 1680-1683, and José de Lombeyda as an interim consultant after López de Erenchun's death in 1664, for example.[77] By 1671, the Venerable Union had also added the position of Rector to the governing council, as attested by other biographical vignettes.[78] The 1659 constitutions also

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[74] Ibid, III: 104, 147.

[75] Ávila Blancas, *Bio-bibliografía*, 3.

[76] Matías de Santillán, *Sermón en la solemne fiesta, que...celebró...la sagrada Unión de Sacerdotes Seculares*... (México: La Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, 1662), np6.

[77] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas*, I: 67, 83, 88, 110, II: 171.

[78] Ibid, I: 79, 110, III: 26, 104.

provide idealized guidelines for the governing council's responsibilities that help to understand the roles they played in Oratorian culture.

In addition to the leadership of the Prefect, and alongside the less formalized positions of Confessors, Preachers and the like appointed according to the Prefect's discretion, the earliest constitutions also map a range of roles and responsibilities delegated to an elected host of Consultants, a Secretary, a Treasurer, a Master of Ceremonies, a Sacristan, and appointed Visitors. Consultants primarily assisted the Prefect in all of his ceremonial functions, including the regular and occasional meetings of the Venerable Union's governing council (*juntas*). Their ranks included an internal hierarchy, ranking from first to fourth in order according to their seniority within the organization. During meetings, Consultants were to provide advice to the Prefect when asked, each giving his opinion in order without embellishment, and remain modest and quiet in the event that the Prefect's resulting decision contradicted their opinion. In the case of the Prefect's death, the elder Consultant would assume the position of Prefect in interim, leading the Venerable Union until the next triennial election.[79]

Like the Prefect and Consultants, the elected Secretary attended all regular meetings of the Venerable Union's governing council as a voting member, but the Secretary also held the responsibility of maintaining institutional records. The original constitutions (recorded by the first elected secretary Gregorio Martín de Guijo) mandate that the secretary maintain and bind into books the meeting minutes from general meetings, and ledgers recording the sequence and dates of aggregation for the members of the Venerable Union. Additionally, the Secretary guarded and maintained all manner of other records and correspondence for the Oratorian

[79] Ávila Blancas, *Bio-bibliografía*, 303.

community under lock and key in a corporate archive, including the books of past secretaries, the official correspondence of the Prefect and Consultants, records of the Prefect's appointments to deliver sermons and spiritual conversations in the church, as well as the accounts of the treasurer and sacristan.[80]

Financing the construction of the Venerable Union and continued production of its spiritual services required both regular and irregular deposits of money, and it was the Treasurer's responsibility to oversee the collection and maintenance of all such funds. The constitutions stipulate particular management of funds collected for funerary services for fellow members of the Venerable Union,[81] for the maintenance and ornamentation of the Oratorians' devotional altars and sacristy, and for the hospitals, infirm clerics, laity and prisoners visited by the Venerable Union during its urban pilgrimages. In addition to the practical, day-to-day management of institutional funds, the Treasurer was also responsible for maintaining two bound books of records separately accounting for the regular collection of membership dues in the form of alms, and those alms received from devoted non-members. Both books, as mentioned above,

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[80] Ibid, 304. In addition to the ledger of burials maintained by the Oratorians today in the Casa Profesa in Mexico City and cited by Ávila Blancas throughout *Bio-bibliografía*, other fragments of the Oratorian secretary's archive remain preserved in scattered collections in Mexico and the United States. Other copies of the members of the Venerable Union and the burials conducted during the seventeenth and early eighteenth century form part of the Genaro García Manuscripts at the University of Texas-Austin, and other loose papers pertaining to the Oratorians can be found in AGN-M, Templos y Conventos, Vol. 2467, and AGN-M, Bienes Nacionales, Vol. 1346, Exp. 1.

[81] The collection of alms for funerary services and their conduct are explored in more depth in Chapter three.

were to be reviewed and archived by the Secretary, and reported in an annual summary to the current Prefect and Consultants.[82]

Brief mention of the Oratorian Master of Ceremonies marks him primarily as the steward of the community altar. There he would attend and oversee all spiritual practices conducted by the Venerable Union, manage its associated candlesticks and censer, and organize and coordinate the converging schedules of masses to be delivered at the Oratorian chapel.[83] Ideally equipped with a current, revised edition of the Roman Breviary, the Master of Ceremonies was responsible for conforming locally practiced ritual to the universal codes of conduct espoused by the Pope.[84] All of the objects associated with Catholic ritual and devotion, including the altar's candlesticks and censer, ultimately came under the authority of the Oratorian Sacristan. Like the Treasurer and Secretary, the Sacristan maintained a bound inventory accounting for all of the devotional objects deposited there, wherever they are used in practice. The Sacristan was charged with the cleaning and maintenance of the altars, chapels and their adorning objects, and with making certain that none of the objects were taken from or loaned by the Oratorians without the Prefect's consent. The Sacristan's records were to be counter-signed by the Oratorian Secretary, and could be reviewed by the Prefect at any time.[85]

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[82] Ibid, 304-305.

[83] This might include masses specifically designated to be performed at the Oratorian chapel in a person's will or testament, or masses performed there at the individual initiative of a particular chaplain given free will of choice. For a thorough and concise overview of masses performed through chaplaincies see Gisela Von Wobeser, *Vida eterna y preocupaciones terrenales. Las capellanías de misas en la Nueva España, 1600-1821* (México: UNAM, 2005), 9-28.

[84] Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History*, chapter 2.

[85] Ávila Blancas, *Bio-bibliografía*, 305-306.

The Prefect also appointed Visitors to renewable one-year terms, who voted as Consultants in governing council meetings during their appointments. The primary work of Visitors encompassed the oversight of both needs internal to the Oratorian community, and provision of effective charity work at the hospitals, prisons and urban workshops (*obrajes*) the Oratorians ministered to on certain feast days. Visitors were also responsible for surveying and maintaining the condition of the Venerable Union's pots and pans, suggesting that an important aspect of their work included providing food to their infirm and imprisoned charges. The Visitors reported their needs to both the Prefect, who assigned a suitable number of licensed members to preach and take confessions at each site, and the Treasurer, who provided adequate funds for their ministry from the community coffers.[86]

Antonio Calderón Benavides

On May 8, 1659, Antonio Calderón Benavides gathered thirty-two fellow secular priests in Mexico City's Convent of San Bernardo in the first step toward fulfilling a devotional promise to Saint Philip Neri. Two years earlier, Antonio had fallen ill and vowed to develop a devotional following for Neri in exchange for an efficacious cure of his ailments, according to legend.[87] As the original founding father, Antonio's life story has garnered particular attention from biographers of the Oratorian tradition, and thus merits particular attention as a model of behavior and comportment for future generations. Gutiérrez Dávila portrays young Antonio as a child prodigy who operated his family's printing press under his mother's printing alias, "La viuda de Bernardo Calderón," after his father Bernardo's death, thereby providing for the entire family,

[86] Ibid, 297, 306-307.

[87] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas*, I:52.

even his mother and elder siblings.[88] By 1649, he was appointed official printer of the Inquisition.

Antonio began his education early in Mexico City's colleges and university, earning degrees in philosophy, canon law and civil law by the age of twenty-three.[89] This important confluence of clerical and civil legal training reflects a pattern first established by Neri in sixteenth-century Rome, where he sought out lawyers in training as his first converts to the original Congregation of the Oratory.[90] Such diverse academic accreditation allowed Oratorians to enter competitions for positions as parish priests and cathedral dignitaries, college and university instructors, lawyers and secretaries for the civil and ecclesiastical courts, and the ruling councils of Mexico City's many confraternities and guilds. Antonio joined every Congregation operating in the city during his lifetime; combined with his regular pilgrimages to the shrines of Our Lady of Guadalupe and Our Lady of Piety, his work as resident chaplain at the Hospital of Our Lady of the Conception, as a curate's assistant in the parish of Santa Catalina Martir, and taking confessions in many other locations today unknown, his reputation for attending regular services at each location illustrates a typical, complex itinerary of travel for worship that Oratorians used to create public reputations in a variety of social scenarios within Mexico City.

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[88] See Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas*, I: 46-62, Joaquín García Icazbalceta, "El Lic. Antonio Calderón Benavides," *Memorias de la academia mexicana de história*, tomo III (1886), 45-54, and José Toribio Medina, *La imprenta en México* 8 vols. (Santiago: Imprenta en Casa del Autor, 1908-1912), I: CXXXI-CXXXV.

[89] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas*, I: 47.

[90] Donnelly, "The Congregation of the Oratory", 195.

In many respects, Antonio's life reflects the ways that Oratorian spirituality both drew strength from existing social networks and newly shaped the institutional composition of Mexico City's corporate societies. His educational mentors (*mecenas*) in philosophy and canon law at the Royal University, Matías de Santillán and Nicolas del Puerto, respectively, both subsequently joined the Oratorians.[91] Supported by such close ties, Antonio served first as an adviser (*consiliario*) to the University's municipal council by Rector's appointment during one of the ruling council's regular meetings (*claustro*) where the usual adviser was absent, later by viceregal decree of the Conde de Baños to fill a position vacated by an *oposición,* and finally secured the position by an internal vote in November, 1662. He also served as interim secretary to the University, and held interim appointments to temporarily vacated instructor positions in rhetoric, canon law, and the Justinian Institutes.[92]

The Calderón Benavides family enjoyed a special relationship with the women's monastery of Santa Isabel, where Antonio celebrated his first mass as a licensed priest in 1655, assisted by his two brothers Diego and Gabriel. The same day, his sister Micaela professed as a nun in that convent, and some years later another sister, María, married Juan de Rivera in the same monastery church.[93] Many other Oratorians similarly used family and other kinship networks to access the spaces and public demand for clerical service as a means for beginning

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[91] Santillán joined February 2, 1660, and Puerto October 29, 1678. See Genaro García Collection, MS G114, "Catalogo, i nomina de los Señores Sacerdotes, hermanos, y congregantes de la Venerable Union de nuestro Padre San Phelipe Neri," ff. 3r and 5r.

[92] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas*, I: 48. On the Justinian Institutes, see Aurelia Vargas Valencia, *Las instituciones de Justiniano en Nueva España*, (México: UNAM/Instituto de Investigaciones Filológicas, 2001).

[93] García Icazbalceta, "El Licenciado Antonio," 46.

their professional careers within the clerical hierarchy. Long histories of religious reciprocity like these provide one means for explaining the alignment of free will and pious expression within the myriad possibilities of Catholic devotional culture.

The existence and practice of social networking also emerges from careful readings of print culture relative to Oratorians in general, and Antonio Calderon Benavides in particular. Antonio only authored a single published text, a life of San Pedro Arbues, the first inquisitor of Aragon, printed a year before his death.[94] In 1653, however, he is listed as the printer of a confessional guide dedicated to the Congregation of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception, whose services he frequented.[95] The same text was re-edited in 1660 with a special dedication authored by Antonio, and re-issued a third time in 1708, which suggests not only the particular success of the text, but also an extra-familial network of patronage and pious intent that survived Antonio's mortal life. Historian Joaquín García Icazbalceta suggests that we can attribute many more texts to Antonio's handiwork that were printed under the name "La Viuda de Bernardo Calderón," although he curiously omits any explanation of the rationale by which Antonio's mother, Paula Benavides, should be excluded as the active printer in those cases.[96] Pending

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[94] António Calderón Benavides, *Epitome de el nacimiento, vida y martyrio del B. Pedro Arbves, primer inqvisidor de Aragon, y canongo reglar en la santa iglesia de Zaragoça corte, y metropoli de Aragon*, (México: Iuan Ruyz, 1667).

[95] Gabino Carta, *Guia de confessores, practica de administrar los sacramentos, en especial el de la penitencia* (México: La Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, 1653).

[96] José Toribio Medina, in contrast, argues that she was "doubtless an intelligent and active woman, who not only maintained the shop founded by her husband, but could also gain Viceregal accreditation and favor." Medina, *La imprenta en México,* I: CXXIX. Antonio's prodigal intelligence need not overshadow the wisdom and experience of Paula Benavides, who continued to run her print shop after his death for an additional sixteen years, until her death in 1684.

further evidence, we can safely conclude that Antonio Calderón Benavides' short life, concluded in 1668, contains an abundance of events and tales that serve the fundamental production of Oratorian cultural memory.

Tomás López de Erenchun

António Calderón Benavides' first printed text as "Impressor del Secreto del Santo Officio" was Matías de Bocanegra's memorial account (*relación*) of Mexico City's most elaborate and deadly *Auto de Fe* in 1649, wherein more than one hundred persons convicted as judaizers were publicly killed in person or burned in effigy. The Mexico City tribunal seized the wealth of the city's criminalized Jewish population, and in the process was transformed from one of the most impoverished to one of the wealthiest institutions in the city.[97] Through the printing process and lavish public ceremonies preceding and marking the 1649 auto, Antonio surely would have become acquainted with the prominent Inquisition secretary and attorney Tomás López de Erenchun. From a Basque family with strong connections to the merchant, silver mining and minting communities,[98] López de Erenchun held a controversial Inquisition career as a prosecutor of Judaizers, Bigamists, and *Hechiceras* (healers often denounced as possessing superstitious or diabolic powers), and through his own denunciation -- for fraudulent secretarial work -- just a month after being elected Prefect of the Oratorians in 1662.

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[97] For an excellent overview of the material and political dimensions of the *Autos de Fe* in early seventeenth-century Spanish America, see Robert Ferry, "Cartagena Prelude" Paper presented at the XIII Reunión de Historiadores de México, Estados Unidos, y Canadá, 26-30 de Octubre, Querétaro, 2010: http://13mexeuacan.colmex.mx/.

[98] Louisa Hoberman, *Mexico's Merchant Elite, 1590-1660: Silver, State and Society* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991), 86, 234.

López de Erenchun's story offers some contrast to Antonio's printing career, and a markedly different representation of an Inquisition career that demonstrates an array of social roles performed through institutional affiliation with the Inquisition. His navigation of multiple corporate identities, and his roles in defining the boundaries of community as both an insider and outsider, illustrates the ephemeral, performative, and flexible dimensions of religious identity in Spanish America. His work for the Inquisition, moreover, highlights a common practice of discerning spirits used by Catholic clergymen to differentiate between orthodox visionaries and spiritual "frauds" who articulated visionary experiences and presented them publicly as either authentic Catholic experiences or true visions derived from alternate religious faiths.[99]

Few records survive that illuminate the early years of López de Erenchun's life.[100] His family held the prominent position of weigher at Mexico City's imperial mint for at least two generations, but in contrast to the elaborate biography of Antonio Calderón Benavides, Julián Gutiérrez Dávila wrote no more than a paragraph about López de Erenchun, noting only his generally superior virtues, work as a secretary for the Inquisition, election as Prefect of the Venerable Union in 1662, and death in 1664.[101] Although the Oratorians' membership rolls list him as a *licenciado*, the Archivo General de la Nación of Mexico does not contain catalogued

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[99] These latter visionaries were critically examined by inquisitorial *calificadores,* who assessed whether or not they succumbed to false visions generated by demons to trick mortals into moral compromise, actively collaborated with the Devil or demonic forces, preyed upon the naïve and superstitious with various forms of trickery, or merited a less common designation as religious criminal.

[100] The genealogical papers of both Thomas and his father, Martin López de Erenchun, conserved at the Huntington Library (HM 35162-35163), provide extensive details on the family's Spanish lineage, but little information regarding Thomas' early life.

[101] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas*, I: 82.

records of his university education.[102] Despite the scarcity of other records, López de Erenchun's handwritten work occupies thousands of pages across a variety of case files and volumes in the Inquisition's archive that collectively tell a more elaborate story.

López de Erenchun's genealogical *probanza*, dated 1623-1626, suggests that by the former date he had already begun to aspire to work for the Holy Office. Basque families, moreover, held a reputation among Spaniards for family histories tightly sealed against the "contaminating" heritage of Judaism, which likely helped Thomas secure the confidence of his superiors and future peers.[103] The records of his work with the Inquisition date from the early 1630s, and reflect his participation in the definitive turning-point of the local Holy Office's rise to prominence as *receptor general, secretario,* and later as *fiscal*. According to Robert Ferry, until the Inquisition began confiscating the wealth and goods of Mexico City's Jewish population in 1642, their secretaries regularly wrote to the Supreme Office in Madrid with concerns and prayers about adequately paying bills and salaries, and securing provisions for their prisoners.[104] Even a 1645 petition written by Pedro de Cangas, assistant in the Inquisition's secret prisons, requested payments to compensate a local mayor for providing daily meals for Inquisition

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[102] AGN-M, Universidad, Vol. 10, fs. 8-9 (10th of November,1622), lists a "Tomás López de Arenchu" as *consultor* for the university.

[103] See Jonathan Israel, *Race, Class and Politics in Colonial Mexico: 1610-1670*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 110-117, María Elena Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza de Sangre, Gender and Religion in Colonial Mexico*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), and Bernd Hausberger, "Limpieza de sangre y construcción étnica de los vascos en el imperio español" in *El peso de la sangre. Limpios, mestizos y nobles en el mundo hispánico*, ed. Nikolaus Bottcher, Bernd Hausberger, and Max Hering Torres (Mexico: El Colegio de Mexico, 2011), 77-112, for information regarding the reputations of Basque families and the procedures of genealogical investigation.

[104] Ferry, "Cartagena Prelude," 5-6.

officials, which the institution apparently could not provide by itself.[105] The appointment of Juan Sáenz de Mañozca as a supervising prosecutor in Mexico City in 1641, however, fueled a series of arrests of many prominent merchant families whose confiscated wealth drastically changed the Inquisition's financial base. López de Erenchun spent many hours assisting and gaining the confidence of the prosecuting attorneys for the likes of Blanca Méndez and Juana Rodríguez.[106] His in-depth familiarity with the cases made him an ideal candidate to replace lead prosecutor Antonio de Gaviola, who had fallen ill, to deliver a formal invitation to the 1649 Auto de Fe to Nicolas de la Torre, the bishop-elect of Cuba whose sermon commemorated the event.[107]

Judging from the paperwork submitted in the wake of the Auto, the efforts to divorce Mexico City's Jewish population of their wealth were ultimately successful. "In 1650 the secretary of the Supreme Council received a report from Mexico that property confiscated from 109 judaizers during the period from 1642 to the end of 1646 had been auctioned off and otherwise converted to 358,429 pesos in cash, of which 142,000 pesos had been loaned at five-percent [interest]."[108] In the second half of the seventeenth century, the Inquisition would use their newly acquired wealth to do more than pay the bills, supporting additional campaigns

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[105] AGN-M, Inquisición, "Solicitud de Pedro de Cangas, 1645," Vol. 421, Exp. 24, fs. 529r-535v.

[106] AGN-M, Inquisición, Vol. 411 (2ª parte), Exp. 4, fs. 553r-557r; Indiferente Virreinal - Inquisición, Caja 1264, Exp. 12, 1641.

[107] Matías de Bocanegra wrote that de la Torre's invitation "was made in person by the Secretary Thomas Lopez de Erenchun [sic], the extent of whose merits permitted him to serve in the place of Doctor Don Antonio Gaviola, the fiscal of the Holy Tribunal who happened to be absent at that time." See Matías de Bocanegra, S.J., *Jews and the Inquisition of Mexico: The Great Auto de Fe of 1649*, trans. & ed. Seymour Liebman, (Lawrence: Coronado Press, 1974), 46. Later in 1652, when Gaviola fell ill enough to inhibit his work as prosecutor, he again named López de Erenchun as a suitable interim substitute. See AGN-M, Inquisición, Vol. 561, Exp. 7, 1652.

[108] Ferry, "Cartagena Prelude," 6.

against new targets of religious heterodoxy. While López de Erenchun continued to serve as secretary, the cases of the 1650s indicate his increased involvement in prosecutions of a variety of healers and practitioners of magical rituals whose "superstitious" beliefs afforded them a limited amount of power within the city. He handled cases from within the city walls, and also collated and forwarded pending trial information from as far as the provincial Philippines for review in Madrid by the Supreme Council.[109]

The Venerable Union included López de Erenchun among its founding members and elected him Prefect during their second election. His persecution for fraud came at the tail end of Pedro de Medina Rico's visiting inspection of the Inquisition in Mexico City. While Medina leveled extensive charges against the Inquisition officers running the tribunal during the 1640s and 1650s, a great many of them were dismissed by the Supreme Council in Madrid, and fines levied against the Inquisitors were light.[110] The Oratorian historical memory of López de Erenchun's life contains no mention of persecution or financial hardship as a result of the visit. In contrast, a late seventeenth century inventory of the Oratorian church's interior lists two portraits of Christ and the Virgin Mary, and three full-length portraits of Saint Joseph, Saint Anthony of Padua, and Saint Philip of Jesus, all donated by López de Erenchun, "Presbyter, secretary of the Holy Office, Founder of Our Union, its Second Prefect, and Distinguished Benefactor", which

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[109] See, for example, Amos Megged, "Magic, Popular Medicine and Gender in Seventeenth-Century Mexico: The Case of Isabel de Montoya" *Social History* 19.2 (May, 1994), 189-207.

[110] Although he mentions that López de Erenchun was accused of peculation (embezzlement) in Medina Rico's report, no figure or charges are elaborated. See Richard E. Greenleaf, "The Great Visitas of the Mexican Holy Office, 1645-1669" *The Americas* 44.4 (April, 1988), 410, 418-419.

must have been shortly after Medina Rico's denunciation and certainly before the inspection's conclusion.[111]

Alonso Alberto y Velasco

For the Oratorians, the value of López de Erenchun's extensive work regulating the exercise of spiritual power outside the domain of clerical authority figured more prominently than his fiscal indiscretions as an Inquisition officer. However, their interest in developing spiritual culture extended beyond the processes of identifying and persecuting heterodoxy and deviancy. The life and career of Alonso Alberto Velasco illustrates a different skill set of clerical labor, study and criticism that Oratorians valued and aspired to cultivate among their members. Velasco notably stands out among the thirty-three founding members as the sole Doctor, and Velasco's efforts to promote both the internal culture of the growing Oratorian community as well as its strategic use of the viceroyalty's institutional powers to advance Creole Catholicism's immediate salvific powers and iconic stature among the global community outlines some of their important leadership roles and long-term influences in Mexico City's social world.

In many ways, Velasco appears to be a foundational architect of Oratorian cultural practice and memory. In September of 1678, the Venerable Union received official paperwork from Rome in response to his efforts to add their organization as a member of the Arch-Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, a newly formed brotherhood in Rome. The following year in September, members of the Venerable Union marched around Mexico City's metropolitan cathedral, solemnly singing and carrying their statue of Philip Neri and a pennon adorned with a cross, the symbol of the Arch-Confraternity. Arriving at their altar in the cathedral, the

[111] Genaro García MS 66, ff. 125v-126r. "*Presbitero secretario del s[an]to Oficio fundador de n[uest]ra union su segundo Prefecto e Ynsigne bien echor*".

Oratorians together sang the gospel (*Evangelio*) and legalized their possession of the rights and obligations associated with the Arch-Confraternity, first through the public orations of a notary and subsequently through a dedicatory sermon delivered by fellow Oratorian Ignacio de Hoyos y Santillana.[112] Five years later, Velasco also petitioned for a license to print a small book of the rules and constitutions observed by the Venerable Union.[113] Gutiérrez Dávila's narrative quickly moves from Velasco's Spanish heritage, through legal training in Canon law at the Royal University, to dwell upon his role in many scenarios as a confidant to a broad social cross-section of his native city. The Congregations of the Bethlemitas and San Hipólito sought Velasco's advice regarding legal petitions, probably regarding corporate authentication and aggregation processes submitted to the Roman Curacy, whose thematically organized tribunals (also called Congregations) guided papal litigation for the temporal affairs of Rome, and the spiritual affairs of the Church's imperial domains after the Council of Trent. Archbishop Francisco de Aguiar y Seijas also consulted Velasco while composing the first constitutions for the Archdiocese of Mexico's Tridentine Seminary in Tepotzotlán.[114] As was the case with López de Erenchun's informal work for the Inquisition, Velasco's advisory experience led to more

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[112] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas*, I: 13, 87.

[113] AGN-M, Indiferente Virreinal - Clero Regular y Secular, Caja 2447, Exp. 4. The constitutions were published in 1684 as *Sumario de las Reglas y Constituciones de los Clerigos Presbiteros de la Vnion, y confraternidad de S. Phelipe Neri de Mexico*, and at least one copy remains in the Biblioteca Nacional de España. A modern edition of the original constitutions composed by secretary Gregorio Martín de Guijo has recently been published by Luis Ávila Blancas as an appendix to *Bio-bibliografía de la Congregación del Oratorio de la ciudad de México.*

[114] For a later, revised version of the constitutions see Alonso Nuñez de Haro y Peralta, *Constituciones que... formó para el mejor régimen y govierno del Real Colegio Seminario de Instrucción, Retiro voluntario y Corrección para el Clero secular de esta Diocesi* (México: Imprenta nueva Madrileña de D. Felipe de Zúñiga y Ontiveros, calle de la Palma, 1777).

formal establishments of trust and leadership. He was elected Prefect, or Superior, of the Congregación de la Puríssima in the Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo, and the Congregaciones de Nuestra Señora de los Dolores and la Antigua in the Metropolitan Cathedral, as well as the Venerable Union (in 1674).[115]

In addition to his support and leadership roles in many of the city's leading confraternities, Velasco also played coordinating roles in several collaborative attempts across Catholic devotional identities to advance local candidates for sanctity within the Roman Congregation of Rites. In a contemporary portrait, Velasco is identified as the *Promotor* for the beatification case of Gregorio López; printed and manuscript materials related to the miracle of the Christo Renovado de Ixmiquilpan and the Milagro de los Panecitos de Santa Teresa reveal that Velasco played decisive roles in at least two other cases for Mexican sanctity advanced in the late seventeenth century. He published a formal summary of the points gathered from deposed witnesses of Gregorio López's sanctity, and an explanation of the manner in which witnesses were questioned, and employed two other Oratorians, José de Torres y Vergara and José Adame y Arriaga, as Sub-Promotors.[116] Antonio Rubial García, María de Jesús Díaz Nava and Martha Lilia Tenorio have closely studied the fate of the legal process Velasco organized to authenticate the "Milagro de los Panecitos de Santa Teresa," which took place in the home of

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[115] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas*, I: 85-87.

[116] See Alonso Alberto Velasco, *Mexicana, del siervo de Dios Gregorio López* (n.d.); Julián Gutiérrez Dávila, *El sabio con el corazon en la diestra. Oracion funebre en las honras del sr. dr. d. Joseph de Torres, y Vergara ... que le hizieron los dd. d. Joseph de Navarijo Torres y Vergara ... y d. Estevan de Salas, sus albaceas el dia 24. de noviembre de 1727* (México: Herederos de la viuda de F. Rodriguez Lupercio, en la puente de Palacio, 1727); Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias* históricas, I: 85; and Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Audiencia de México, Legajo 278. Transcription in Box 7, Folder 68 of the Richard E. Greenleaf 18th Century Ecclesiastical Mexican Collection, Tulane Latin American Library.

fellow Oratorian Don Juan de Poblete.[117] Although a critical mass of evidence suggesting that Juan de Poblete's sister María was more likely an *embustera* feigning the miraculous reconstitution of bread rolls - stamped with an image of Saint Teresa or "JHS" - effectively stymied the progress of the case, it nevertheless reflects the diverse means by which Oratorians sought to produce a legally authenticated holy event or personage in the viceroyalty of New Spain.

Velasco made one additional attempt during his lifetime, writing a text that methodically recounted the miraculous events associated with a Christ statue brought to the stewardship of Mexico City's Carmelite nuns.[118] The first published, *Renovacion por si misma de la soberana imagen de Christo Señor Nuestro crvcificado, que llaman de Ytzimiquilpan (vulgarmente Ysmiquilpa, y Esmiquilpa), colocada en la iglesia del convento de San Joseph, de religiosas Carmelitas descalças desta imperial ciudad de Mexico. Narracion historica, qve la refiere, con fundamentos de hecho, y derecho, para que se declare por Milagrosa, y los demàs sucessos*, recounts episodes of the statue groaning, exuding both sweat and blood, and miraculously repairing itself after years of neglect and damage in the clinical, procedural prose of an

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[117] In "'La santa es una bellaca y nos hace muchas burlas': El caso de los panecitos de Santa Teresa en la sociedad novohispana del siglo XVII" *Estudios de historia novohispana* 24 (enero-junio, 2001), 54-55, Antonio Rubial García and María de Jesús Díaz Nava describe the case file assembled in collaboration by Velasco Carmelite fray Juan de la Ascensión, consisting of 23 witnesses' responses to 23 questions related to the case, along with seven arguments advanced in summary by the team of *promotores*. Juan de Poblete either joined the Union on May 21st, 1668, on October 6th, 1677, or both (if he disaggregated at some point in between -- the Oratorians' list has two entries for a Licenciado Don Juan de Poblete without further remark).

[118] See William Taylor, "Two Shrines of the Cristo Renovado: Religion and Peasant Politics in Lat Colonial Mexico" *American Historical Review* 110.4 (October, 2005), 948-950, and *Shrines and Miraculous Images: Religious Life in Mexico Before the Reforma* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2010), especially chapters 1 and 2.

información jurídica, just as Velasco had prepared in other circumstances.[119] His efforts to promote sanctity cases for objects near and dear to the Carmelites surely favored his appointment as chaplain to Mexico City's Convent of Saint Teresa in 1695.[120]

Velasco also worked in several capacities for the Inquisition. Gutiérrez Dávila notes he received the title of Patron of Prisoners for his work as a defense attorney, representing the interests of criminal rights.[121] Although earlier trials list lawyers for the accused, Boleslao Lewin argues that for the first time in 1659, "thanks to the presence of the Suprema's *Visitador* [the very same Pedro de Medina Rico who prosecuted Thomas López de Erenchun] Doña María de Zárate gave audience with a legal defender during her trial [for practicing Judaism] *and the witnesses she named were heard*...[and] not only was there defense of her person, but also an appeal process, submitted to the *fiscal* [prosecutor]."[122] Through the role of defense attorney Velasco and others swore oaths to faithfully execute the Inquisition's particular sense of justice. Once

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[119] Mexico: Francisco Rodríguez Lupercio, 1688. Taylor, "Two Shrines," 950n15, cites José Toribio Medina's *La imprenta en México (1539-1810)* 8 vols. (Santiago: Imprenta en Casa del Autor, 1908-1912), III, 222-224.

[120] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas*, I: 85.

[121] Ibid. To date I have found five cases wherein Velasco is named Abogado for defendants. Much more work remains to be done investigating his singular example, as well as its context among the activities of other defense attorneys facing various charges and individual circumstances. A painstaking research agenda would include searching through each case that progressed through a formal accusation, and wherein a defense attorney was assigned and left records of his performance. The AGN's online search engine permits a year-by-year perusal of records, but does not include cases preserved in other archival collections.

[122] "gracias a la presencia del Visitador del Consejo Supremo del Santo Oficio doña María de Zárate contó con un defensor en su proceso *y los testigos nombrados por ella fueron escuchados*...no sólo hubo defensa de la rea sino también apelación del fiscal. (my italics)" See *El racismo inquisitorial. El caso singular de María de Zárate* (Puebla: Editorial J. M. Cajica Jr., 1971), 45; 52-54.

formal accusations were made public to the court, defendants were allowed to choose lawyers responsible for ensuring that the tribunal was available for voluntary audiences, would consider petitions for recognition of the defendant's interests, would uphold defendants' rights to name others who could testify in support of their story, and would diligently collect their depositions.[123] Inquisition transcripts are notorious for their detailed, verbatim reports of court testimony. The trial reports of the meetings of the accused with their defense attorneys are, by contrast, a rare occasion wherein the secrecy of conversation is paradoxically flagged as "off the record." In the trial transcriptions of Luis Ramé, a Calvinist prosecuted in the late 1670s and 1680s, secretary Pedro de Arteeta meticulously records the actions and words of those present but glosses the specifics of his conversation with the defense counsel, saying only that he "discussed and conveyed what he wished regarding his case with his aforementioned Lawyer."[124] The documentation produced in the wake of these secret meetings, however, preserves evidence of the negotiated prose created to balance between a faithful recounting of interior conscience and defending individual rights to justice and due process as a human subject.[125] Luis Ramé's case starkly illustrates the manner in which the Inquisition saw its justice as both extending to a

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[123] During the trial of Luis Ramé (alias Luis Ramírez), a self-proclaimed Calvinist pursued 1678-1684, after the defendant responded to his public accusation, the senior Inquisitor Don Joseph de Omaña Pardo y Ossorio ordered a copy of the accusation and Rame's responses made and sent to "uno de los letrados que aiudan a las personas que tienen causas en este santo officio que son los Doctores Alonso Alberto de Velasco, Don Luis Martinez Hidalgo, y Don Joseph de Herrera y Regil y nombró a lo dicho Doctor Alonso Alberto." HM 35130, Part II: 53r.

[124] "trató y comunicó lo que quiso sobre este su negocio y causa con el dicho su Abogado." Ibid, 53v.

[125] Natalie Zemon Davis famously called this creative process of legal testimony "fiction in the archives" in her study of French criminal trials. See *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987).

broad spectrum of human rights, and issuing forth from an array of legal engagements rather than the simple production of persecution for which it is best known. Velasco and Ramé co-authored a petition submitted to the tribunal requesting a total remittance and negation of the charges contained in the accusation since, they argued, he could not be charged guilty of committing crimes against a faith to which he vehemently did not profess.[126] The tribunal ultimately agreed, further reasoning that given his arrival in the viceroyalty via shipwreck, Ramé likely did not intend to spread Calvinist heresies in New Spain. They nevertheless transferred his case and person to Mexico City's criminal courts for further jurisdictional review.[127]

In other moments, Velasco served the Inquisition as a censor, reviewing written texts for their theological content.[128] He and other Oratorians gained the requisite skills through their university training, and used them to uphold the authority of several overlapping jurisdictions in imperial society that monitored Catholic orthodoxy. In contrast to his labors of censorship, Velasco also published selected spiritual exercises that he deemed worth diffusing through the local printing presses. A rich archive of favorable assessments can be found in the paratexts attached to published works during the colonial period. José Toribio Medina's *La imprenta en México* meticulously documents the authors of "privileges" composed variously by the Inquisition for the Viceroy, a licensed priest for the diocesan *Juez Provisor*, licensed members of

[126] HM 35130, Part II: 53r-54r.

[127] Ibid, 75v. The act of transfer from Inquisition to criminal court authorities is dated 17th of January, 1683.

[128] Theological censorship was not uncommon for Oratorians. Negative assessments often found their way into Inquisition files. See, for example, the work of Isidro de Sariñana y Cuenca, Ignacio de Hoyos Santillana and Francisco de Siles in AGN-M, Inquisición Vol. 581, Exp. 3; Vol. 624, Exp. 2; Vol. 633, Exp. 10; Vol. 643, Exp. 2; Vol. 645, Exp. 6; and Vol. 667, Exp. 2.

any religious corporation who claimed jurisdiction over texts representing their spiritual doctrines, and authorized priests delegated by the Tribunal of the Holy Crusade to verify the authenticity of indulgences granted for devotional practices. Velasco also authored a detailed history and description of the local ceremonial tradition of marching a pennon around Mexico City's metropolitan cathedral, which the Oratorians used to consecrate their incorporation into the arch-confraternity of Christian Doctrine, as well as a lengthy treatise on the importance and manner of devotion to the Seven Archangels.[129]

By far the most popular text printed under Velasco's name, however, was first issued after his death in 1704. Beginning in 1716, his *Ofrecimientos de la tercera parte del Santo Rosario de Nuestra Señora* began to circulate in print. This short document, totaling only thirty sides of an octavo-sized page, seemingly captured the attention of several generations of Catholic devotees in colonial- and national-era Mexico, since it was reprinted no less than twenty-nine times from 1716 to 1849. Velasco begins the text by situating his motivations for having the work published in the context of tales by Fathers Juan Eusebio Nieremberg and Alan de Rupe that some modes of prayer are more favored by the Virgin than others. Accordingly,

> [This order is that the first part is prayed in honor of the Incarnation of the Son of God, the second in honor of His Passion, the third in honor of the Holy Sacrament, and the institution of that tremendous Mystery, and the other Sacraments. The first part is to achieve the grace of good living. The second is

[129] Alonso Alberto Velasco, *Discurso piadoso, y explicación de las misteriosas significaciones de la gravissima, y devotissima ceremonia de la Seña* (Mexico: La Viuda de Bernardo Calderon, 1677), and *Semana angelica y recuerdos a la devocion de los siete Espiritus Assistentes al Trono Soberano de Dios, que consagra a la Sacratissima Reyna de los Angeles...* (México: Francisco Rodríguez Lupercio, 1682). To the latter text, Velasco appended an *Addicion a la Semana Angelica, y a la practica devocion de los siete Principes Assistentes al Trono de Dios*, first published in 1683 and later included in Joaquín Ignacio Ximenez de Bonilla ed. *El segundo quinze de enero de la corte mexicana Solemnes fiestas, que a la canonizacion del mystico doctor san Juan de la Cruz celebró la Provincia de san Alberto de carmelitas descalzos de esta Nueva España* (México: Joseph Bernardo de Hogal, Calle nueva de la Monterilla, 1730), lvj-lxviij.

> to request a good death. The third is to honor the Body of Christ, well receive the Sacraments, and to not be without them at the end of life.[130]

The application of this particular mode, however, could potentially fit a variety of devotional situations. They might be followed in their entirety for one day of a weekly regimen, or separated into their component parts (focusing on the Holy Sacrament, for example, for Sunday worship), or perhaps to prepare for the following day when anticipating communion. Even to these varieties Velasco offers many other alternatives, rhetorically suggesting the versatility that their vigorous reproduction attests.[131] Velasco's advocacy for flexibility within doctrine suggests active participation by elites in official roles in the production of popular devotional cultural production that neither sought nor received authentication from European authorities. In essence, Velasco's labors in the realm of legal and devotional culture locate many of the sites of Oratorian

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[130] Alonso Alberto Velasco, *Ofrecimientos de la tercera parte del S[an]to Rosario de N[uest]ra S[eño]ra en honra del Santissimo Sacramento de la eucharistia; con unas indulgencias concedidas a todos los fieles, que consagra al mismo S[eño]r Sacramentado el Dr. D. Alonso Alberto de Velasco, Cura de la S[an]ta Iglesia Metropolitana de Mexico* (México: La Viuda de Joseph Bernardo Hogal, 1748), np4. "*El modo es, que la primera parte se reza en honra de la Encarnacion del Hijo de Dios, La segunda en honra de su Passion. La tercera en honra del Santissimo Sacramento, y la Institucion de aquel tremendo Mysterio, y demas Sacramentos. La primera para alcanzar gracia de bien vivir. La segunda para recabar una buena muerte. La tercera para honrar el Cuerpo de Christo, recibir bien los Sacramentos, y no carecer de ellos en el fin de la vida*."

[131] *"se puedan rezar en uno de los siete dias de la semana; pues duplicandose los Gloriosos en el Sabado, y el Domingo, se pueden rezar estos en uno de los dos dias, como v. g. el Sabado, conque queda ofrecido todo el Rosario entero, en honra de los mysterios Gozosos, Dolorosos, y Gloriosos; y el Domingo se puede ofrecer la tercera parte, en honra del Santissimo Sacramento, ó al contrario, en honra del Santissimo Sacramento, el Sabado, y en honra de los mysterios Gloriosos el Domingo: conque no se falta el orden comun de rezar el Rosario entero dos vezes en la semana en honra de los quince Mysterios Gozosos, Dolorosos, y Gloriosos. Pueden tambien usarse estos ofrecimientos, rezando la tercera parte del Rosario en la octava del Corpus en la Oracion de quarenta horas, y en qualquiera ocasion en que esté descubierto el Santissimo Sacrameto, y antes de la comunion, por modo de preparacion, aunque sea el dia antes en que se ha de comulgar, ò despues de la comunion el mismo dia por modo de accion de gracias, ó para comulgar espiritualmente. Por si solos todos estos Ofrecimientos, ó cada uno de ellos, sin el Rosario, pueden servir de puntos de meditacion..."*Ibid, np7-np9.

collaboration during the late seventeenth century, both as a tightly-knit community under their shared patron saint, and as collaborators with other Catholic religious orders that are often portrayed as fiercely territorial.

Diego del Castillo Márquez

If Velasco coordinated Oratorian ventures into Mexico City's legal terrain, Diego del Castillo Márquez stands out as the archetypal model of embodying Philip Neri in spirit and practice. His biography, far more than any other in Gutiérrez Dávila's chronicle, reflects the solemn and pious imagery of Oratorian hagiography and the adaptation of characteristically Oratorian devotional practices to the local context of Mexico City. Oratorian spiritual exercises flourished quickly in the wake of the group's first meetings in a makeshift hospice for infirm clerics, beginning with a regular Saturday rosary prayer to the Virgin Mary. During Lent, they further amplified devotional services through additional recitations on Wednesdays. Over time, other days were added as well: Mondays and Thursdays of the Lenten Holy Week, and during the regular calendar year, during the Vespers of the Lord, the Holy Mother, the Saints' Days of Saint Michael Archangel, and the Custodian Spirits.[132] Shortly after the Saturday ritual began in November of 1661, the Oratorians' ruling council elected Márquez "Prefect of Exercises" in an effort to better coordinate the growing demand for their culture of worship.

Márquez's biography details the variety of media he used to circulate Catholic rituals in Mexico City. His *Noches de el Principe* anticipated the Feast of the Purification of the Virgin in early February, and gathered the faithful for the nine preceding days to discuss and honor the memory of Christ's birth. Perhaps inspired and informed by the Oratorians' first proprietary

[132] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas*, I: 7.

chapel inside their hospice for infirm clerics, Márquez performed free masses for priests who died without becoming members of either the Venerable Union or the Confraternity of San Pedro, which he called the *misa de huérfano*, addressing the needs of those unfortunate clerics who "lack of one of those two Mothers that would succor him with her suffrages."[133] In 1694, Márquez collaborated with the Oratorian head of council Juan de la Pedrosa to execute the first version of a long-lived daily tradition across the city: at three o'clock in the afternoon, the bells of each of the city's churches pealed three times in unison to memorialize three hours of Christ's passion spent on the cross. During the first production of this event, Pedrosa gathered a crowd of curious citizens in the city's central plaza to explain the significance, and lead them in common oration of the prayers composed by Márquez.[134]

In addition to varied forms of religious practice, Márquez was also well traveled among the major devotional sites of Mexico City. At the metropolitan cathedral, Márquez was choir chaplain (*capellan de coro*) for much of the latter half of the seventeenth century. He frequently led Rosary prayers after mass, sponsored an annual *novena* for San Cayetano, and memorably carried a statue of the recently beatified Spanish King Fernando III in a lavish public ceremony

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[133] "*Tuvo muchos años costumbre de decir una Missa por la alma de qualquier Clerigo Sacerdote, que moria sin aver sido en vida agregado à alguno de los ilustres dos gremios, conviene á saber, á el de el universal Padre de la Iglesia S. Pedro, ó a el que estaba bajo de el patrocinio de nuestro Patriarcha Sagrado San Phelipe Neri: y á este se llamaba el* huerfano*, por carecer de una de estas dos Madres que lo socorriesse con sus Sufragios, haziendo el oficio de Madre amorosa con cada uno de estos.*" Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas*, I: 76. On the deep Christian tradition of femininity among male clerics, see Caroline Walker Bynum, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982) and Barbara Newman, *God and the Goddesses: Vision, Poetry and Belief in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003).

[134] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas,* I: 73, contains a transcription of Márquez's three prayers.

in 1673.[135] He channeled much of his devotional reverence for the Virgin Mary through membership in Marian congregations, publication of rosary chants in her honor and donating a large, expensive painting to the sanctuary of the Virgin of Remedies while working there as a sacristan.[136]

Gutiérrez Dávila paints Márquez as an artful, virtuous thief, whose public persona's "beautiful colors...began to rob the attentions of many, just as his voice and breath had already done to the Oratorian governors..."[137] From the beginning, however, Márquez's devotional routines prominently included Oratorian worship within a broader circuit of travel around the city. Like Neri before him, Márquez regularly visited all the city's hospitals, consoling the infirm and helping to reconcile with their mortal fates and turn attention to curing their souls in

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[135] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas*, I: 71. The panegyric sermon commemorating the event was delivered by another Oratorian founder, Juan de la Vega. Its publication was in turn vetted by Oratorians Isidro Sariñana y Cuenca and Ignacio de Hoyos y Santillana, who wrote privileges for the Inquisition and Archdiocese, respectively. See Juan de la Vega, *Sermon en la solemne fiesta que la corte de México celebró á la beatificación de San Fernando III. Rey de Castilla, y Leon. En cumplimiento de la cédula de la Reyna N. Señora* (Mexico: La Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, 1673). Márquez's novena was likely published as *Novena de S. Cayetano Tiene...Dispuesta por un sacerdote de la Unión del glorioso San Felipe Neri de la Ciudad de México* (México: Los Herederos de la Viuda de Bernardo Calderon, 1686). See Medina, *La imprenta en México*, III: 25.

[136] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas*, I: 74, places Márquez as a regular attendee of the Congregación de la Puríssima's weekly Tuesday services. He dedicated his *Ofrecimiento del rosario de la Virgen María nuestra señora, por los difuntos* to the Congregación de Nuestra Señora de la Antigua (humbly calling himself "tu menor Capellan y Congregante" in the dedication) in celebration of their aggregation to the Archicofradía de las Ánimas de Purgatorio, which granted indulgences to the souls of the dead when the rosary was correctly performed on their behalf. It was first published posthumously in 1720, and reissued in 1724, 1726, 1753, 1761, 1775, 1794, twice in 1803, 1809, 1815, and 1844.

[137] "*el bello colorido de los espirituales exercicios (que por los años de sesenta y uno, tuvieron principio en la pequeña Capilla) comenzaron á robarse las atenciones de muchos, como ya el fervoroso aliento de este exemplar Sacerdote, huviesse robado las de los otros, en quienes residia el govierno...*" Ibid, I: 69.

preparation for a good death and eternal salvation. In his services for the Venerable Union, Márquez adopted Neri's characteristic method of preaching *por lo bajo*, humbly seated among his audiences in a manner that radically broke with the traditional separation of priest and parishioner and emphasized common grounds of faith, worship and eternal salvation between pastors and flocks personalized through their shared individual identities as human souls.[138]

Márquez drew together and synthesized his experience with choral musical production, sequencing Rosary devotional chants, and fomenting community participation in Catholic ritual in the Camandula. A colloquial term for a Rosary meditating on Christ's crown of thorns, the Camandula was originally developed by a Dominican priest, fray Alonso de Rivera, but adapted to Oratorian devotional purposes by Márquez beginning in 1669.[139] His arrangement involved two separate choirs, led through traditional meditations on the life and passion of Christ by an Oratorian priest, wherein the sequenced format of choirs alternating verses heightened the dramatic content of the conceptual imagery. The printed text, moreover, resembles poetic symbolism common to early modern lyric, such as the highlighting of the name of Jesus by the first letters of each line of verse sung by a given choir in turn:

> Jesvs, llamado assi, por ser tan dulce,
> Estrella que nos guia, y lleva al puerto,
> Santidad que justifica nuestras culpas,
> Vencedor del infierno, y del pecado,
> Salud de los enfermos incurables,[140]

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[138] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas*, I: 76-77.

[139] Alonso de Rivera, *Ofrecimiento de la corona de nuestro sr. jesu-christo, que comunmente llaman camandula, sacado del libro intitulado: Exercicios del Rosario, que compuso el R. P. Fr. Alonso de Rivera, del Orden de Santo Domingo. Dispuesto Aora nuevamente por el Br. Diego del Castillo Marquez, Capellan de Choro de la S. Iglesia Metropolitana de Mexico.* (México: Francisco Rivera Calderon, 1682), np7.

[140] Ibid, np14.

Although Márquez's arrangement does not include accompanying musical notation, selective abbreviations of uncommonly shortened words (*dó* for *donde*, in the following sequence's line "Ventana por dó entrò la luz al mundo," for example[141]) suggest that Márquez carefully measured the specific words and their rhythm to facilitate meditation upon the aspects of Christ's humanity in his adaptation of the rosary that allowed prayers commonly chanted (*oraciones rezadas*) to become prayers sung in one of the Oratorians' choirs (*oraciones cantadas*). The first edition of Márquez's Camandula prayers was published in Mexico in 1682, but the text was issued by Mexico's printers a total of twenty-five times over the course of the colonial period, a clear sign of its popularity.[142] As a local Oratorian *exemplum*, Gutiérrez Dávila recounts a peculiar case of a woman whose rough and graceless character (*torpeza*) found remedy in curiosity, when she became entranced and drew near to Márquez's Camandula performance, saw another Oratorian - Juan de la Pedrosa - and was consumed by a divinely inspired desire to confess her sins and later follow his guidance to a quiet monastic life.[143] Márquez held an exceptionally long tenure as Prefect of Spiritual Exercises in the Oratorian church, long enough indeed to see the Venerable Union's receipt of papal and royal authentication of their status as a fully-fledged Congregation of the Oratory in 1701. He died just a few years later, in 1709,

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[141] Ibid.

[142] New issues emerged in 1689, 1707, 1716, 1727, twice in 1733 (once in Mexico City, once in Puebla), twice in 1744 (both in Mexico City), 1746, 1747, 1750, 1754, 1757, twice in 1761 (both in Mexico City), 1767, 1770, twice in 1774 (both in Mexico City), 1779, 1782, 1784, 1791, and 1818.

[143] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas*, II: 87.

"leaving pious hopes in possession of all the Fatherland, who would receive the prize of his virtues."[144]

Conclusion

The biographical vignettes of these Oratorian founding fathers re-purpose an old tool of hagiographers: exemplarity. Antonio Calderón Benavides appears as a youth prodigy in the world of printing, and Thomas López de Erenchun a consummate and diligent letrado of the Inquisition's bureaucracy. Alonso Alberto Velasco represents many facets of a learned Doctor, and Diego del Castillo Márquez shows us the fervent spirit of Philip Neri manifest in Mexico City. Each life story above represents a fundamental figure in the Oratorian history of early Mexico, yet they are strikingly different images from one another, and in each case archival research amplifies or modifies the image presented by Gutiérrez Dávila. Each exemplary figure, moreover, contains singular examples of more broadly pervasive themes in the Oratorian community. Calderón Benavides' relationships with his university patrons is a suggestive example of the multi-directional possibilities of connecting differently positioned individuals through a common devotional practice.[145] Both he and López de Erenchun's intimate involvements with the Inquisition's rise to power in the mid-seventeenth century foreshadows the long history of Oratorians working within and through the Inquisition to consolidate the efficacy of their distinct corporate agendas and to forge collaborative bonds between Oratorian and Inquisition corporate interests. Alberto y Velasco's instrumental role in the establishment of the Arch-confraternity of Christian Doctrine highlights but one case of Oratorian patronage of

[144] Ibid, I: 77.

[145] Michael Maher notes that Jesuits used their congregations to foster common devotional ties between and within family households, for example. Maher, "How the Jesuits".

distinct corporate institutions in Mexico City that I address in the next chapter in greater detail. Castillo Márquez's innovation in Catholic ritual practice became a pattern among Oratorian writers, mimicked in the creation of rosaries but also transformed in other genres, such as the novena and the villancico. Indeed, the manifestations of Oratorian identity rendered in these examples are more notable in the long term for their mutability, for the ways that Oratorians continued to re-fashion them anew to meet changing circumstances over time.

Animistic understandings appear both within and beyond the Oratorian community as well. Prospective members of the Venerable Union had their souls examined to judge correspondence to the larger community, and leading Prefects strove to present their own character as Philip Neri's living image. The interim positions that were so integral to Antonio Calderón Benavides' and Tomás López de Erenchun's careers show how temporary and partial experiences could grow into plenary and permanent positions of community representation.

Oratorians' prominent occupation of the dominant corporate societies of local imperial power is submerged in prominent historiographies of early Latin America, since they seldom self-identify in the internally circulating corporate documentation, and since the primary goal of hagiographical writing is to feature an individual's virtues over worldly pursuits. Their history usefully binds many subfields of Latin American cultural studies, which means that constructing an Oratorian archive – and its attendant archival practices – will simultaneously produce a record of the scenarios in which imperial power was performed and contested. In other words, the reconstructing the Oratorian archive through a densely populated prosopography will inevitably also gather together the edges of imperial power, even within its metropolitan center, where its limits, qualifications and negotiations were bared through social conflict and compromise. In the next chapter, I use a pair of manuscript lists of some 400 members of the Venerable Union from

1659-1701 to illustrate the aggregate space of Oratorian corporate identity one body at a time. By following trends in career histories and collective labors, I show how individual and collective initiatives of Oratorian identity contoured the local manifestations of clerical power and authority in late seventeenth century Mexico City.

CHAPTER 3: THE VENERABLE UNION: COLLECTIVE BIOGRAPHY, MATERIAL FOUNDATIONS AND SUB-CORPORATE GROWTH

This chapter examines three strategies employed by the first Oratorian community in Mexico City, called the Venerable Union, to articulate Oratorian identity proprietarily in the local context. Expressing Oratorian identity as a community, and establishing identification as Oratorian in the eyes of the broader public in Mexico City, were important enterprises of the Venerable Union's larger goal of garnering official support for and recognition of their community as an authentic Congregation of the Oratory, styled in imitation of the original community formed in Rome and legally capable of enjoying its same rights and responsibilities. This chapter employs a variety of approaches to assess the strategies of Oratorian growth. To establish the population of the Venerable Union and discern who can represent Oratorian identity in Mexico City, I primarily use a pair of lists made in 1696 that track the dates members of the Venerable Union joined the Oratorian community, and the dates historic members had died, to identify a larger body of roughly 450 affiliates who became involved with the Venerable Union between 1659 and 1715 [Figures 3.1 & 3.2].[146] A broader view of the Venerable Union helps situate the features of the lives of the foundational members and governing councilmen featured in Chapter 1 within the contextual frameworks of their careers. Identifying the Oratorian community within Mexico City's institutional histories is a critical process for understanding

[146] These lists were probably created as part of Juan de la Pedrosa's petition to aggregate the Venerable Union to the constitutions of the Congregation of the Oratory of Rome.

their impact on local society, because an important facet of nascent Oratorian identity emerged at the intersection of imperial institutions.

The intersection of imperial institutions is always case-specific, and at a minimum involves the actions of Oratorian-affiliated clerics working as representatives of another institution. Oratorians often held positions in the Mexico City cathedral cabildo and the Royal University, but in other cases they worked for the Tribunals of the Inquisition, Royal Audiencia and Santa Cruzada, and as treasurers and chaplains in a variety of churches, convents, hospitals, confraternities and parishes around the city. Oratorian identity is thus produced in one sense when Oratorians act as representatives of these institutions while they are also affiliates of the Oratorian community. While members of the Venerable Union were Oratorians in one sense, affiliates often worked in a variety of institutional positions in colonial society, and were publicly known for their honorific titles and official appointments alongside their Oratorian identity. The breadth of characters revealed by the 1696 lists shows how deeply Oratorians were involved in the consolidation of local institutions in seventeenth century Mexico City and, conversely, how Oratorian identity was itself locally infused with the character of civil and ecclesiastical bureaucratic culture through its affiliates' complex working lives. In public life, the rise of the secular clergy to power in the second half of the seventeenth century bore an Oratorian face, and the sense of who Oratorians were and what they did was from the beginning imbricated with high-profile officials in the church and civil society. Members of the Venerable Union were especially prominent in their efforts to afford imperial subjects in the Americas as much access to the immanence of holy objects and persons and the salvific powers of indulgences as peninsular subjects enjoyed, although their efforts met with varied degrees of success and censure.

I use a prosopographical analysis of Oratorian identity to demonstrate three principal findings. First, that through deft navigation of the most powerful local institutions of New Spain, Oratorians in the Venerable Union led a broader rising trend in secular priests' control over the church in the Americas that gradually supplanted the jurisdictional spaces and power of the regular orders, replaced them as representatives of Royal Patronage, and supplanted elite laymen in crucial positions in the Royal Audiencia and University. While Gutiérrez Dávila's hagiographical narrative portrays the Venerable Union as a mere sketch or outline preceding the full Oratorian identity authorized by Papal and Royal decrees,[147] the fledgling corporate identity of Oratorian devotion in the seventeenth century allowed member clerics to acquire power through a diverse array of prominent social roles in New Spain, and collaboratively consolidate power among allies who were colleagues, schoolmates, mentors and disciples to one another.

Secondly, the development of a broadly based, well connected community of secular clerics in the Venerable Union was a crucial strategy for building (literally and figuratively) the material foundations of Oratorian wealth and status in Mexico City. While religious orders enjoyed the structural support of a private and corporate global network of resources, information, and personnel, Oratorian communities relied on local ties in each city where their institutions developed and thrived. This is not to say that Oratorians worldwide were unconnected; rather, their institutional autonomy gave the global relations of Oratorian communities more of a federalist character wherein communications between Oratorians in different cities were conducted more often as correspondence and knowledge-sharing among separate, legally equal institutions. Equal participation in Oratorian identity and representation,

[147] See, for example, Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas*, II: 22.

however, was contingent upon adoption of the Roman Oratory's constitutions and formal recognition by the Pope as an authentic Congregation of the Oratory. The efficacy of papal law was further complicated in the Americas by the *Patronato Real*, or Royal Patronage, which conceded administration of "non-doctrinal issues" to the Crown and required Royal oversight of ecclesiastical legislation directed to the American territories. [148] Mexico City's Oratorians faced a sharp epistolary rebuke from Royal authorities in the late seventeenth century for overlooking the obsequies of Crown permission (the *pase Regio*) to seek a new legal status. During the course of the late seventeenth century, the Venerable Union slowly gathered the material possessions – in terms of residential and devotional buildings, ritual objects, and raw currency – necessary to enact Oratorian identity and gain public recognition as a plenary Congregation of the Oratory.

Finally, a third dimension of Oratorian identity emerges through collective involvement in what I call sub-corporate growth – institutions developed both within and beyond the confines of the Oratorian church that bore independent corporate identities, yet represented and reflected Oratorian identity by providing rudimentary Christian education and stimulating interest in the cult of Saint Philip Neri, especially to women and children.[149] Oratorian sub-corporate institutions in the seventeenth century demonstrate both a range of methods for cultural reproduction of Oratorian values beyond formal affiliation with the Oratorian community as a member, and a sense of the varied fates that befell different attempts. The motivations behind the corporate reproductions of the seventeenth century are, moreover, the forebears of a more

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[148] Mark Burkholder, *Spaniards in the Colonial Empire: Creoles vs. Peninsulars?* (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 29-35, 47-50.

[149] In his history of the Oratorians of San Miguel el Grande, David Brading calls the *beatería* of Santa Ana created by the Oratorian community an "ofshoot of the Oratory". Brading, *Church and State*, 48.

diverse array of developmental strategies pursued by the Oratorian community over the course of the eighteenth century, and thus a helpful indicator of how the denizens of Mexico City came to know the meaning of Oratorian culture and identity. Oratorian sub-corporations provided access to Oratorian culture and spirituality for imperial subjects beyond the ranks of the clergy, and performed increasingly popular and important roles as primary educators in Mexico City's urban parishes and in the Archdiocese beyond the city's borders.

Oratorian Career Histories and the Consolidation of Local Institutions

Broad trends in the shaping of Oratorian identity through its changing membership emerge through consideration of a list of the Venerable Union's membership from 1659 to 1715. The Venerable Union rapidly gained popularity, first expanding its maximum membership from 33 to 120, and filling that maximum capacity by 1660.[150] [Figure 3.3] Thereafter, new members could officially only be added when an existing member exited the group, either by transferring to another location too distant to attend regular services and meetings, or upon the death of a given member.[151] By 1663, the rate of aggregation of new members had stabilized, and remained fairly constant with about 5 to 10 new members annually for the rest of the century.

It is nevertheless difficult to give a full account of the nuances of the Venerable Union's changing demographic. The list of chronological aggregations notes 31 instances in 1659-1660

[150] Ibid, I: 3.

[151] The 1659 constitutions identify several conditions that could render a given priest ineligible to either aggregate to the Venerable Union, or continue with a current membership, in chapter 1, section (hereafter §) 6 & 7. In chapter 2, §. 17, the constitutions further clarify that a member appointed to a "distant parish, or cathedral dignity outside this city (*curato foráneo, ó á dignidad fuera de esta ciudad*)" was still required to pay alms on a monthly basis as well as for the *alimentos* (*sufragios*) for the souls of deceased members. See Ávila Blancas, *Bio-bibliografía*, 291-292 and 295, respectively.

of members simultaneously marked as *despedidos* without clarifying when the said member disaggregated from the Venerable Union. [Figure 3.4] Despedidos (marked 'D') are clearly distinguished from deceased members (marked 'M') at the left margin of the list of aggregations, and it is important to remember that these classifications reflect the view of the Venerable Union circa 1696, making it impossible to know how many of the deceased had disaggregated from the community before their death. In some cases, anomalies are expressly written into the ledger recording the deaths of Oratorians who received funeral rites from the Venerable Union. Francisco Ruiz, for example, died some time between April 20th and May 6th, 1700, and is given a place in the Venerable Union's accounts "although his burial was not attended, nor were masses recited."[152] Similary, Juan Yañez Dávila professed as a Mercedarian on his deathbed in 1675, but was not removed from the Oratorians' membership rolls until 1699.[153] In contrast, the beloved Archbishop Fray Payo Enríquez de Ribera left New Spain in 1682 and died in Spain April 8, 1684, yet received both extensive published funeral elegies and a posterior annotation as "Congregante en número" in Mexico.[154] Juan de Ortega Montañés was added March 14th, 1696

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[152] "*aunque no se asistió á su entierro ni se le dijeron las Missas*." Genaro García MS. 66, f. 97r.

[153] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas* I: 78.

[154] According to Beristain, *Biblioteca hispanoamericana septentrional*, (Amecameca: Tip. del Colegio Católico, 1883), III: 32-33, Enríquez de Ribera departed from Mexico June 30th, 1681. Genaro García MS. 114, f. 5v marks his second affiliation with the Venerable Union, "por Congregante" on November 26, 1682 different than the earlier February 23rd, 1670 marking "Protector ~~y Hermano~~." Enríquez de Ribera's passing was commemorated with great expense in Mexico City and Oaxaca through ceremonies and festivals conducted by, published by, and dedicated to Oratorians. See José López de Aviles, *Debido recuerdo de agradecimiento leal á los beneficios hechos en México por su Dignissimo, y amadíssimo Prelado: El Illmo. Rmo. y Exmo. Señor Maestro D. Fr. Payo Enriquez, Afán de Ribera* (México: La Viuda de Francisco Rodríguez Lupercio, 1684); Diego de Ribera, *Concentos funebres, metricos lamentos, que explican, Demostraciones publicas, de reconocidos afectos, en los Funerales devidos al Illustrissimo, Reverendissimo, y Excelentissimo Señor Maestro D. Fr. Payo Enriquez de Ribera* (México: La Viuda de Bernardo Calderon, 1684), and Gaspar de los Reyes, *Sermon, que predicó*

while working as Bishop of Michoacán as a "congregante supernúmero," likely an indication that his inclusion exceeded the legal limitation on the number of members. Anecdotal evidence suggests that in other circumstances, too, the Venerable Union bent the rules to incorporate new members even when the group exceeded maximum capacity. Gutiérrez Dávila, for example, records how Gonzalo Suárez de San Martín, a prominent Peninsular judge for the Royal Audiencia and official for the Royal University residing in Mexico City, successfully petitioned to add himself to the Venerable Union's membership.[155] Vicente de Paula Andrade's discussion of Isidro de Sariñana's life likewise shows how an Archbishop (in this case, Francisco de Aguiar y Seijas) could extend the terms of individual affiliations even when the person in question had moved out of the city.[156] In essence, the institutional rules proved somewhat flexible in the face of the exigencies of local custom and circumstance.

The Venerable Union quickly recruited a large number of professionally experienced, extensively educated, and prestigiously employed clerics that gave their institution an elite character in colonial Mexican society and drew upon a variety of strains of the city's clerical power. As early as May 11, 1659, Archbishop Mateo Saga de Bugueiro enlisted in the Venerable Union as its "protector" and began to receive confessions from its priests and attendees at their

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El P. Gaspar de los Reyes de la Compañia de Jesus, En las honrras, que la Santa Iglesia Cathedral de Antequera hizo Al Ex.mo Ill.mo y R.mo Señor Maestro D. Fr. Payo Enrriquez de Ribera...dedicalo á...el Ill.mo y R.mo Señor Doctor Don Isidro Sariñana y Cuenca... (México: La Viuda de Francisco Rodríguez Lupercio, 1684).

[155] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas* I: 31.

[156] Vicente de Paula Andrade, "Notas y apéndices" in Francisco Sedano, *Noticias de México* (México: Imprenta de J. R. Barbedillo y Ca, 1880), 135-136. Andrade further notes that Sariñana's exemption from removal from the Venerable Union's affiliate roles followed the example of his predecessor as bishop in Oaxaca and fellow Oratorian, Nicolás del Puerto.

first chapel in the Church of Balvanera.[157] Thereafter each of Mexico City's subsequent Archbishops also became affiliate protectors throughout the seventeenth century. Several went beyond this more nominal role. In February of 1682, Aguiar y Seijas initiated a new trend by first including himself as "Congregante en número" before becoming the honorific protector. In November of that year, Payo Enríquez de Rivera also joined as a numerary congregant, as did the Bishop of Puebla, Manuel Fernández de Santa Cruz, and Archbishop Juan de Ortega Montañes in 1698.[158]

While the Archbishops were undeniably the figure of the Church's most powerful presence in New Spain, much of the daily operations and conduct of the Archdiocese relied on the labors of a doubly appointed official known as the *Provisor y Vicario General*, who acted as the ecclesiastical tribunal's Ordinary, the executor of justice. During the period under study, 1659-1714, every Vicar General shared an affiliation with the Venerable Union. [Figure 3.5] The Vicars General were the first-instance judges of ecclesiastical tribunals within their respective dioceses, acting as the episcopal delegate and representative of power – they appointed appropriate reviewers of texts who could speak to their viability as print culture, heard grievances brought to suit in the ecclesiastical courts, and issued licenses allowing local priests to preach, confess, and officiate mass, among other duties.[159] Viewed through an Oratorian lens,

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[157] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas* I: 28. The founders of the Venerable Union petitioned Saga de Bugueiro's permission and license to add him as protector in §.1 of their 1659 constitutions. See Ávila Blancas, *Bio-bibliografía*, 290.

[158] Genáro Garcia MS. 114, fs. 5r (Francisco de Aguiar y Seijas), 5v (Payo Enríquez de Ribera), and 7r (Juan de Ortega Montañez and Manuel Fernández de Santa Cruz).

[159] See Patricia Seed, "The Colonial Church as an Ideological State Apparatus" in *Intellectuals and Power in Mexico,* ed. Roderic Camp, Charles Hale and Josefina Zoraida Vázquez, (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications, 1991), 397-415; Jorge Traslosheros, *Iglesia, justicia y sociedad en la Nueva España: la audiencia del arzobispado de México, 1528-*

the office of Vicar General shows long-term, multi-directional ties forged between Oratorians and the executors of episcopal power, both as Oratorians who became Vicars General, and as Vicars General who became Oratorians.[160] The many instances when different Oratorians performed the role of Vicar General in the same year indicate two important points. First, interim and temporary appointments in the representation of official power relations and operations in Mexico City were common in practice, even if they were abnormal instances in theory. Officials were often sick, out of town, or otherwise unavailable, and left the execution of the acts that defined their posts to other short-term appointees. Secondly, interim experience was an important feature of the cultural reproduction of imperial power. Experiential learning in a temporary position often preceded official appointment in a plenary position of power.

The power of the Archbishop physically resided in the Cathedral church itself. During the first half of the seventeenth century, the ecclesiastical administration of Mexico City was especially defined by prolonged and continuous absences of ruling archbishops (called *sedes vacantes*) that gave rise to jurisdictional conflicts between diocesan and viceregal authority. The familiar situation of absent archbishops created a particular normativity of power in New Spain wherein the cathedral's ruling council became accustomed to managing the business and affairs of episcopal government, and regularly had to defend that authority from imperial subjects who petitioned for viceregal intervention in ecclesiastical affairs on the basis of Royal Patronage.[161]

1668 (México: Editorial Porrúa, 2004); and Martin Nesvig, *Ideology and Inquisition: The World of the Censors in Early Mexico* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

[160] On "multidirectional citation, see Modern Girl Around The World Research Group, *The Modern Girl Around the World: Consumption, Modernity, and Globalization* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 11-24.

[161] Pérez Puente, "El gobierno episcopal," 56-57.

Due to the prestigious status and relatively large salaries afforded its clerics, the cathedral's cabildo also became a contentious site of conflicts between Creole and peninsular members, and among rival factions of Creoles.[162]

A new era of long-tenured archbishops who supported the coherence of the Cathedral's governing council (*cabildo*) and, crucially, its independence from viceregal control, consolidated ecclesiastical governance through the cathedral, beginning with Archbishop Payo Enríquez de Ribera. Gutiérrez Dávila dedicates an entire section of his chronicle to Cabildo members of Mexico City's Cathedral who joined the Venerable Union.[163] Pérez Puente portrays the composition of the most influential cabildo members in three distinct groups, differentiated by the particular years of involvement and the total number of years served. In each category, a majority of the cabildo members were also Oratorians.[164]

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[162] Burkholder, *Spaniards in the Colonial Empire*, 50-51, notes that affiliation with the Cathedral's cabildo was among the highest of administrative positions available to Creole clergy, and an important position of access to appointments as bishops.

[163] Beyond the biographies for Isidro de Sariñana y Cuenca (I: 117-157), Diego de Malpartida Centeno (I: 157-176), José de Torres y Vergara (I: 176-187), Juan Millán de Poblete (I: 187-189) and Juan Antonio de Aldave (I: 189-215), Gutiérrez Dávila includes brief entries for the following 20 additional members (I: 215-219), Francisco de Siles, Simón Estéban Beltrán de Alzate, Gerónimo Gómez de Cervantes Casaus, António de Cárdenas y Salazar, Joseph de Castrillo Barrientos, Juan Díez de la Barrera, Juan Suárez de la Cámara, Marcos António de Chaves, Juan de la Peña Butrón, Pedro Rodríguez Velarde, Ignacio de Hoyos y Santillán, Diego de la Sierra, Bernabe Díaz de Cordova y Murillo, Lope Contreras Cornejo, Joseph Ramírez de Arellano, Joseph de Adame y Arriaga, Juan Bernardes de Rivera Zerrillo, Francisco de Aguilar, Joseph Vidal de Figueroa, and Juan de Narváez.

[164] Leticia Pérez Puente, *Tiempos de Crisis, tiempos de consolidación. La catedral metropolitana de la ciudad de México, 1653-1680* (México: UNAM, 2005), 195-204. Proportionally, Oratorians comprised 3 of 5 members of the most senior cabildo members, 11 of 15 members who served during the entire tenure of Archbishop Fray Payo Enríquez de Rivera, and 9 of 11 members who governed across the transition from Enríquez de Rivera's rule to that of Archbishop Francisco de Aguiar y Seijas.

While the cathedral dignitaries served as prime representatives of ecclesiastical governance during major ritual celebrations and ceremonial processions, most of the denizens of Mexico City engaged with the church through their parish priests. Many Oratorians began their clerical work in rural parishes of the Archdiocese of Mexico and the neighboring dioceses of Puebla and Michoacán before returning to Mexico City, while others moved more directly into the city's most desirable parish seats. [Figure 3.6] Oratorians also represented a large number of the clerics who staffed Mexico City's urban parishes. Far more striking in the urban geography of Oratorian clerical labor is their diverse presence in the convents and monasteries of the regular orders' female and male institutions. Oratorians occupied many positions as chaplains and convent accountants (*mayordomos*), highlighting the character of Oratorian identity as something in-between members of the secular clergy and the rule-bound religious orders.[165] The Oratorians' presence in both secular and regular clerical institutions marks an important precursor of secularization of New Spain's rural parishes beginning in earnest in the eighteenth century.

The Archdiocese was not the only institution Oratorians engaged to access power. Other early members were distinguished elders of the Inquisition, who had honed its particular realm of professional expertise through the institution's waves of consolidation in the 1640s and 1650s.[166] Viewing the Inquisition through the lens of its Oratorian members presents an opportunity to re-evaluate the potential of Inquisition sources to elucidate the social history of colonial Mexico City. Finding aids for the major collections of Mexican Inquisition materials in Mexico, Spain

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[165] Pérez Puente, "Los canónigos-catedráticos de la Universidad de México (siglo XVII)" in *Colegios y universidades: del antiguo régimen al liberalismo*, ed. Leticia Pérez Puente (México: UNAM, 2001), 135.

[166] Robert Ferry, "Cartagena Prelude"; Richard Greenleaf, "The Great Visitas".

and the United States remain catalogued according to the standards set by the Inquisitors themselves: the name of the accused, date of the beginning of the case file, and the classification of the crime. Browsing the files themselves, while adhering to the organization of the case files, reveals how the Venerable Union included the tribunal's regular staff as well as temporarily activated affiliates to review questionable points of theology gleaned from testimonies, serve as witnesses, and provide legal counsel to those under scrutiny, and as interim appointees. Many Oratorians provided the Inquisition with expert training in the legal culture of spiritual politics.[167]

Francisco Corchero Carreño, for example, was a renowned confessional sleuth of Mexico City's prison system, who used his position as chaplain in the public Royal and private Inquisition prisons to elicit admissions of guilt and contrition from his attendees.[168] Thomas López de Erenchun gained experience and institutional trust within the Inquisition's bureaucracy as a secretary during the institution's rise to power in the 1630s and 1640s, and thereafter spent most of the 1650s prosecuting cases as a *fiscal* before being elected the Venerable Union's second Prefect. Other early members like Juan de Ortega Montañés and Francisco Deza y Ulloa presided over the breadth of information produced during Inquisition trials and produced sentences as tribunal judges.[169] They received reports from local comissaries as well as such

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[167] I mean to include the orthodox Catholic ritual practice, heterodox efforts to perform orthodox Catholicism, and the heresies of relapsed Judaism and Protestantism. This broad net of ritual surveillance sometimes overlapped with the jurisdictions of the Tribunal de la Santa Cruzada's monitoring of rituals and indulgences, and the Diocesan court (*provisorato*) that monitored idolatry charges leveled against indigenous Christians.

[168] Paula de Benavides, "La Viuda de Bernardo Calderón," printed one example of the confessions elicited by Corchero Carreño as *Declaración...que hizo...vn famoso ladron llamado Gabriel Marin...al Licenciado Francisco Corchero Carreño*... (México: 1652). See also Guijo, *Diario*, 439.

[169] For Juan de Ortega Montañez, see HM 35129, part II, 35131 parts I and II, AGN-M, Inquisición, Vol. 517, Exp. 13, and AGN-M, Real Fisco de la Inquisición, Vol. 21, Exp. 10. For

diverse regional outposts as Manila, Sinaloa, and Havana, and maintained epistolary correspondence with appointed comissaries and religious personnel working where trial investigations were underway and where investigative research led inquisitors to seek information. These positions were important antecedent and concurrent roles performed with other prominent offices within the Archdiocese such as bishop, *provisor* and *vicario general*, and multiply the lines of intersection that defined the qualities of Oratorian identity.[170] In the wake of two mid-century audits of institutional practice conducted by peninsular *visitadores*, Oratorians like Alonso Alberto y Velasco and Rodrigo Ruiz de Cepeda Martínez began providing consistent defense attorney services to prisoners detained and accused of crimes against the faith.

The members of the Venerable Union also constitute an important, early sample of the secular clergy who, trained in both canon and civil law (*ambos derechos*) at the Royal University and thus immersed in multiple tracks of its system of patronage, occupied an increasing number of positions in the Royal Audiencia. Many Oratorians counted work as attorneys among their professional credentials.[171] The "clericalization" of Mexico City's highest civil court was an

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Francisco Deza y Ulloa, see HM 35133; AGN-M, Inquisición Vol. 534, Exp. 8; Vol. 536, Exp. 76; Vol. 543, Exp. 44. Ortega Montañez's experience as a long-time resident and career worker in New Spain's clerical institutions, especially the Inquisition, led to both interim and plenary appointments as Archbishop, and twice as interim Viceroy. See Beristain, *Biblioteca hispanoamericana*, II: 364-365.

[170] On the intersection of clerical, inquisitorial. and university work, see Leticia Pérez Puente, "Los canónigos-catedráticos de la Universidad de México (siglo XVII)" in *Colegios y Universidades I: del antiguo régimen al liberalismo*, ed. Enrique González González and Leticia Pérez Puente (México: UNAM/ CESU, 2001), 133, and Armando Pavón Romero & Clara Inés Ramírez González, *El catedrático novohispano: oficio y burocracía en el siglo XVI*, (México: CESU, 1993).

[171] To date, I have found reference to the following host of Venerable Union members as attorneys for the Real Audiencia: José de Adame y Arriaga, Luis Antonio de Aguilar, Alonso Alberto y Velasco, Juan Cano Sandoval, Juan de Dios Dado Meneses, Nicolás Escobar, Luis Gómez de León, Juan José de la Mota, Miguel Perea y Quintanilla, Ramón Rincón, Matías de

effect of the consolidation and domination of the secular clergy in the Cathedral's cabildo over the electoral councils of the Royal University, allowing them to control the education of lawyers in the Viceroyalty's only institution accredited to produce advanced degrees in civil law.[172] Oratorian legal experts also transferred their university and tribunal experience to hold more specialized titles. Gonzalo Suárez de San Martín, for example, worked as a judge in the General Indian Court of New Spain, as legal auditor for the Audiencia de Santa Fe, and adviser to the Royal Chancillery, in addition to his long career as a lawyer, Crown prosecutor (*fiscal*) and teller (*relator*) for the Real Audiencia in New Spain.[173]

Oratorians also worked in and collaborated with the operations of the tribunal of the Holy Crusade (*Santa Cruzada*), a subordinate tribunal of the Real Audiencia in New Spain. The tribunal's jurisdiction encompassed the promulgation of penitential and dietary privileges, the circulation of orthodox prayers, and the relationships between prayer and indulgence enacted through the architecture and somatic performances of early modern Catholic devotion.[174] Like

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Santillán, Diego de la Sierra, Francisco José de la Vega y Mendoza, and José de Torres y Vergara. See AGI, Indiferente General 129, No. 64; Beristain, *Biblioteca hispanoamericana*, I: 21, 413, II: 38-39, 309, 418, III: 42, 118, 192-193, 246; Francisco de Zarate Molina, *El cordial devoto de San José* (México: Francisco Rodríguez Lupercio, 1674; Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas* I: 79.

[172] Rodolfo Aguirre Salvador, *Por el camino de las letras*, 30-36; Pérez Puente, "Los canónigos-catedráticos de la universidad de México (siglo XVII)," 133-162.

[173] See Lorenzo de Mendoza's dedication of Francisco de Florencia's *La milagrosa invención* (México: Doña María Benavides, 1685) for a listing of Suárez de San Martín's professional accomplisments.

[174] José António Benito Rodríguez, *La bula de cruzada en indias* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 2002), 94-95, provides two salient flow charts describing the processes of promulgation of each Bull of the Holy Crusade and the ingress of revenue gathered from those who purchased access rights to specific indulgences in the Americas. For a concise overview of the Tribunal's organization and operations, see Benito Rodríguez, "Organización y funcionamiento de los tribunales de cruzada en indias" *Revista de estudios histórico-jurídicos* 22

the Inquisition, this local tribunal sent regular reports to a peninsular overseer who returned letters with detailed responses and instructions in kind. A codex of manuscript letters collected by José Adame y Arriaga in the late seventeenth century shows a chain of successive Oratorians holding the important post of *Comisario y juez subdelegado* since their mid-century foundation. Nicolás del Puerto appeared as Comisario Subdelegado General as early as 1656.[175] Despite a heated conflict with Archbishop Mateo Saga de Bugueiro regarding the reuse of previously printed Bulls to grant new indulgences in 1657,[176] he maintained his authority through the 1670s. When Puerto was appointed Bishop of Oaxaca in 1679, the Comisario General of the Santa

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(2000), 169-190. On the lucrative revenues generated by the Bulas, see María del Pilar Martínez López-Cano, "La implantación de la bula de la Santa Cruzada en Nueva España en el último cuarto del siglo XVI" in *La iglesia en la Nueva España: Relaciones económicas e interacciones políticas*, coord. Francisco Javier Cervantes Bello (Puebla: Benemerita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, 2010), 21-49. On the historical origins of the Bulls in medieval and early modern Europe, see Patrick O'Banion's "For the Defense of the Faith? The Crusading Indulgence in Early Modern Spain" *Archive for Reformation History* 101 (2010), 164-185, and "The Crusading State: The Expedition for the Cruzada Indulgence from Trent to Lepanto" *Sixteenth Century Journal* 44.1 (Spring, 2013), 97-116. On the concept of somatic performances of devotion, see Mitzi Kirkland-Ives, "Alternate Routes: Variation in Early Modern Stational Devotions" *Viator* 40.1 (2009), 249-270, and *In the Footsteps of Christ: Hans Memling's Passion Narratives and the Devotional Imagination in the Early Modern Netherlands* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013).

[175] AGI, Indiferente 120, N. 86.

[176] Pérez Puente, *Tiempos de crisis*, 69-70. Although the Archbishop convened a council of some 120 voters in a *junta* to prevent the resealing of bulls in the Viceroyalty, only four members voted in his favor. Puerto's juridical expertise and innovation, moreover, cast his memorial fame through "a series of virtues significantly distinct from those circulated through hagiography and episcopal history: those of the State functionary, judge and urban administrator." Pérez Puente, "El obispo. Político de institución divina" in *La iglesia en Nueva España. Problemas y perspectivas de investigación*, ed. María del Pilar Martínez López-Cano (México: UNAM. 2010), 164-165. On the distinct set of virtues attributed to lawyers and jurists in New Spain, see Alejandro Mayagoitia, "Los abogados y jueces en la Nueva España vistos á través de sermones y elogios fúnebres" in *XI Congreso del Instituto Internacional de Historia del Derecho Indiano: Actas y Estudios*, (Buenos Aires: Instituto de Investigaciones de Historia del Derecho, 1997), III: 81-119.

Cruzada in Madrid, Antonio Benavides y Bazan, wrote a letter appointing Gonzalo Suárez de San Martin as the new Subdelegado, and indicating that José Adame y Arriaga should serve as interim Subdelegado during any "ausencias, enfermedades y justos impedimientos".[177] Although it is unclear exactly when the next transition of authority occurred, Adame y Arriaga took the position "en propiedad" in either the late 1680s or early 1690s.[178] Perhaps the most dynamic of the Oratorian commisaries, Adame y Arriaga wrote a legal treatise on the historical concession of bulls of the Santa Cruzada in the viceroyalty of New Spain in 1692.[179] His *Manifiesto chronologico de las cruzadas* defended the practice of re-sealing the unused, printed bulls in the Americas when strained communications across the Atlantic would have otherwise prevented the faithful from receiving the indulgences they desired and deprived the Crown of one of its most reliable and lucrative forms of donated revenue.[180]

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[177] "Libro de las cartas acordadas de el Yll^{mo}. S[eñ]or Patriarcha y de el consejo supremo de la S[an]ta Cruzada. Receibidas en el tiempo, que es commissario Subdelegado general el S. D^{or}. Joseph Adame y Arriaga N°. 6°," BANC MSS M-M 1718, ff. 3-5.

[178] Probably in 1685, as Suárez de San Martín died November 16, 1685. Benito Rodríguez, *La bula de cruzada en indias*, 32n39, cites a 1701 *Cédula* reporting the royal appointment of Manuel de Escalante as New Spain's new local Comisario Subdelegado following Adame y Arriaga's death, and a 1727 printed summary of indulgences recently granted to the Congregación de San Francisco Xavier in Mexico City's Parish of the True Cross (*Santa Vera*-Cruz) bears a license from Juan Ignacio de Castorena y Ursúa, suggesting that Oratorian control of Tribunal administration continued into the eighteenth century.

[179] "Manifiesto Chronologico de las Cruzadas, y sus concessiones Pontifiçias, que en la nueba España, sus Obispados sufraganeos y el de Campeche, y los de las Yslas Philipinas, se han practicado desde su Origen" Hans Peter Krauss Collection of Hispanic American Manuscripts, Library of Congress, MSS 31013, Box 8, Item 153.

[180] *The Hans P. Kraus Collection of Hispanic American Manuscripts: A Guide.* ed. J. Benedict Warren (Washington, D. C.: The Library of Congress, 1974), 139-142.

Oratorian influence in the Royal University of Mexico was a crucial means for influencing the local production of intellectuals, securing and maintaining leadership positions in Mexico City's governing institutions, and ensuring the reproduction of their own community through education. The Oratorians' ability to create a sustained presence in the governance of other institutions was contingent upon their ability to attract distinguished members of the university culture during the initial formation of the Venerable Union, and channel present and future members through the positions and processes of social ascent and accumulation of merits during the seventeenth century. University education provided a number of opportunities for students to acquire academic knowledge through coursework, create relationships with fellow classmates and instructors, and begin to sharpen the skills and practices that defined the major fields of education – rhetoric and grammar, philosophy, theology, canon and civil law, medicine, surgery and anatomy. Indeed, university culture was a microcosm of social spaces where elder scholars, members of other institutions, such as the Cathedral, Inquisition, and Viceregal court, and powerful families could observe and measure the abilities of students through competitive events.[181]

The seventeenth century chronicle of the Royal University and the accounts of merits and services (*relaciones de méritos y servicios*) applicants submitted when applying for new administrative posts controlled through Royal Patronage provide a nexus of information

[181] The criss-crossing intersections of merit, strategy and relationships in the social mobility of the educated elite is more thoroughly developed by Rodolfo Aguirre Salvador in "El acceso al alto clero en el arzobispado de México, 1680-1757" *Fronteras de la historia* 9 (2004), 179-203. Pérez Puente, "Los canónigos-catedráticos", 148, argues that contests for university chairs were better forums for expressing ingenuity within academic fields than within cathedrals and churches since contestants would not have to contend directly with church-appointed experts within their proprietary office.

illustrative of Oratorian influence in and through the university. From 1659 to 1700, Oratorians held the annually elected position of university rector twenty-eight times, nearly three quarters of the total time elapsed.[182] The rector headed the university's various decision-making bodies, and held the deciding vote in cases of tied contests, giving them a significant amount of power and influence. Immediately following the election of rectors, the university also elected a new body of counselors to the rector. Optimally, the "suerte de consiliadores" appointed one doctor and one *bachiller* from each of the major degree-granting faculties (theology, civil law, canon law, and medicine) and one appointee from a rotating sequence of the three primary regular orders (Franciscans, Augustinians, and Dominicans). Appointments as councilors provided Oratorian faculty and students with direct access to the internal governance of the university as an opportunity to perform and defend their positions and opinions, and develop connections to other councilors and administrators involved in the year's business.

Instructional chairs (*cátedras*) within the University's faculties were important positions for the salaries they conferred, the public prestige of a regular performance of their merits, and the close relationship between appointments to university chairs and advancement within the hierarchy of cathedral administration.[183] Proprietary chairs (*Cátedras en propiedad*) also had the opportunity to serve on the specialized committees of deputies (*claustros de diputados*) who

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[182] As Pérez Puente shows, a series of Royal Cédulas issued in the mid-seventeenth century mandated enforcement of the reforms made to the Royal University's constitution by Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, excluding the institution from the authentication process of appointments within the Real Audiencia, and narrowing the eligibility of rectors to secular priests by 1668. *Universidad de doctores: México, siglo XVII* (México: UNAM. 2000), 18.

[183] In a study of the 29 individuals who held both university chairs and administrative posts within the cathedral's governing council in the seventeenth century, Pérez Puente demonstrates a clear need for advancement within both institutions in tandem for tithe collectors and canons of the cathedral chapter. "Los canónigos-catedráticos," especially 141-142 and 145-146.

elected both the annual rectors and successors to each newly opened position of university chair. Following the implementation of Juan de Palafox y Mendoza's revised constitutions in 1668, and the exclusion of student voting in university elections in 1676, the university hierarchy became increasingly controlled by members of the diocesan administration, and made impressions upon the Church's representatives all the more important for career advancement.

Cristóbal Bernardo de la Plaza y Jaen's chronicle of the university meticulously records the contests for each instructional position (*concursos de oposición*) as they became newly vacant through a professor's death, transfer outside the city, or ascent to another position. It additionally records the number of votes given to each contestant in each competition, allowing a sense of the reception of contestants' arguments through comparative enumeration.[184] Contestants' *relaciones* further illustrate how important even unsuccessful participation in competitions was for being seen by audiences of peers, patrons and elder instructors, and compared to other present candidates. José Vidal de Figueroa's relación notes among his credentials that during a contest for the Chair of Theology during Vespers, he read his oration "to the credit and satisfaction of the Royal University," while that of Lorenzo de Salazar Muñatones declares that he competed for four different chairs "reading and satisfying the arguments with

[184] From 1659-1676, each contest was evaluated by the votes of current students in the university. The Crown addressed allegations of rampant bribery used to tamper with student voting practices in 1676 by shifting the power of the vote to a much smaller, specialized *junta de provisión de cátedras* that effectively excluded student participation in the formation of the University faculty thereafter. See Javier Gil Palao, "Provisión de cátedras y voto estudiantil en la universidad de México (siglo XVII)" in *Doctores y escolares. II Congreso Internacional de Historia de las Universidades Hispánicas* (Valencia: Universidad de Valencia, 1995), 187-201; and Leticia Pérez Puente, "Una revuelta universitaria en 1671. ¿Intereses estudiantiles o pugna de autoridades?" in *Movimientos estudiantiles en la historia de América latina I,* ed. Renate Marsiske (México: UNAM, 1999), 19-39.

erudition."[185] Plaza y Jaen's description of a contest for the Proprietary Chair of Holy Scripture (*Cátedra de Propiedad de Sagrada Escritura*) in 1682 illustrates in further detail what transpired during a contest. Each of the five contestants – Fray Luis Méndez, Dr. Juan de Narváez, Dr. Andrés Roger, Br. Miguel de Contreras, and Br. Diego Medrano – received a passage from the Old Testament, and one hour to explicate its significance. For each presentation, two of the other contestants debated the presenter's logic, offering critiques and counter-arguments. Although Plaza y Jaen argues that "all performed lucid readings and arguments," only one winner would be named by the provisioning council (*junta de provisión de cátedras*).[186] The same basic process was also used to select lawyers for the Audiencias, parish priest assignments, and the office of Magistral Canon within each Cathedral, making university experience in concursos de oposición a broadly applicable form of training.

Material Developments

Acquiring a broad based constituency of influential affiliates was an essential strategy for building a sustainable community of Oratorians in Mexico City, since Oratorian communities neither enjoyed nor relied upon the combined resources and hierarchical administration of a religious order for their livelihood. The first meeting of the Oratorians took place in the Convent of San Bernardo in 1657. Being a confined space in general, and with Oratorian worship relegated to a single chapel in the nuns' church, they quickly moved to the larger Capilla de la Soledad in the church of Our Lady of Balvanera, before acquiring two small apartments that

[185] AGI, Indiferente General 200, No. 9, and 199, No. 71, respectively.

[186] Plaza y Jaen, *Crónica de la Real y Pontificia Universidad*, II: 208, § 468. Notably the winner, Oratorian Juan de Narváez, was also then serving as University Rector.

were the first building blocks of the larger church complex of San Felipe Neri "El Viejo."[187] After curing a few infirm priests, the Venerable Union quickly converted the beds of its hospice to a dormitory for affiliates and just as promptly filed for official inclusion in the Roman Oratorians' constitutions and privileges. As Gutiérrez Dávila relates, however, their petition was rejected in Rome due to the great divergence between the rules and mode of life followed by the Venerable Union and the official constitutions of the Roman Oratorians.[188]

The central divergence between the architectural character of Oratorian communities in Rome and Mexico City was the available residential spaces for members: whereas Roman Oratorians lived under a common roof, Mexico City's affiliates lived dispersed around the city in private homes. After being rejected, Oratorians subsequently worked toward the construction of a church complex. Through outright purchase, donation, and gradual repayment of *censos* and *depósitos*, the Venerable Union consolidated several houses on the Calle "El Arco de San Agustín" to expand the spatial dimensions of the hospice and assemble a new church edifice, collaborating with architects Cristóbal de Medina Vargas and Diego Rodríguez for structural designs. Construction continued sporadically, fueled at moments when individual Oratorians

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[187] Francisco de la Maza, *Los templos*, 15, argues that the transition from a religious brotherhood to a hospice was a traditional ruse of mobility used to occupy and acquire territory. See also Karen Melvin's story of a 1599 conflict when Franciscans opposed an Augustinian hospice in San Luis Potosí as an encroachment upon their doctrinas in *Building Colonial Cities of God*, 194. The designation of "el viejo" is used in the historiography of art and architecture to differentiate the original Oratorian church from a new structure they began to build in the early eighteenth century ("el nuevo").

[188] Gutiérrez Dávila transcribes in full the rejection letter sent by the Roman Oratorians. Importantly, "*la Comunicación de Privilegios no se concede sin que se presente Testimonio authentico de el Ordinario, de que ay Casa con Iglesia, y Oratorio, en donde puedan vivir doze Sacerdotes, á lo menos, y exercitar los ministerios de confessar, predicar, y meditar conforme á las Constituciones de Roma."* Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas,* I: 9.

contributed funds – either to the larger complex, or making piecemeal investments in personal dormitory spaces – and stalled at others when flexible resources were unavailable. In May of 1661, the Oratorian complex consisted of four small rooms and a single chapel, but by 1668 they dedicated a second chapel on Neri's feast day, May 26th, and then a third in 1684. The second two chapels were financed by Antonio Calderón Benavides and Diego de Malpartida, respectively.[189] On January 6th, 1686, Malpartida donated another 4,200 pesos to the Oratorians to complete their oratory.[190]

Architectural history of the Oratorian church provides an important sense of Oratorian identity available to its visitors through a constructed sense of the spaces used to perform their identity. Martha Fernández convincingly argues that the architect Cristóbal de Medina Vargas designed and built the main entryway and original cloister of the first Oratorian church, San Felipe Neri "El Viejo," between 1661 and 1668, and used it as one of several work surfaces in the city for creating Salomonic architecture.[191] The interior furnishings of the Church, too, reflect myriad investments of members of the Venerable Union in the development of their fledgling community. While we lack a schematic floor plan for the older Oratorian church, a 1673 inventory of the office of the Oratorian church sacristy provides some knowledge of details regarding the material culture of devotion, donors, and relationships forged during the production

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[189] Maza, *Los templos de San Felipe Neri*, 19-20.

[190] Robles, *Diario de sucesos notables*, I: 445.

[191] Fernández primarily characterizes Salomonic architecture through its twisted relief sculpture along support columns, a visual experience of ascent when viewing church edifices from base to height, and the interplay of light and shadow created by floral and other vegetal ornamentation cast in relief upon the edifice (*claroscuro*). It is distinctive of a transitional period in Mexico City's architectural style from Mannerism to Baroque aesthetics.

of Oratorian identity, and helps to imagine the form of the Oratorian church in the absence of drawn documentation [See Figure 3.7].[192] The inventory text comprises an item-by-item account of many of the Oratorians' seventeenth century possessions, frequently includes some reference to the location of the item within the church, and often mentions the contributing donor or donors. By rearranging and following the directional cues provided in the inventory, it is possible to perceive Oratorian identity in a moment of structural transition between the earliest, fledgling structure of the Oratorian church and its late seventeenth century state that afforded its leaders a successful application for full Congregation status.

In 1673, the principal door greeted visitors with three paintings of Philip Neri, Jesus and Mary illuminated by a hanging lamp. The interior transit lead past an image of Christ on the Cross, and two scenes from Neri's life, accompanied by three benches for seated contemplation of the images. A second, central door decorated by two paintings of miracles worked by Neri gave way to a large, two-tiered open space at the center of the church marked as the Oratory in the inventory. On the ground level, three doors led away to other rooms: the treasury (*casa del depósito*), sacristy, and *Sagrario* (sanctuary). An array of white and dark purple stained benches faced a pulpit and crowning hood (*capirote*), ornately carved of local cedar, stood mounted against one wall. Along another surface, an array of ten differently sized broadsides listed the members of the Venerable Union, a current schedule of indulgences available through worship in the church, and the obligations to which members subscribed of their free will.[193] Up above the

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[192] "Memoria e Ynventario de los Bienes q[ue] pertenesen a la sacristia de la Union y Oratorio de S[a]n Phelipe Neri, de esta Ciudad" Genaro García MS. 66, ff. 125r-128r.

[193] It seems likely that Genaro García MS 114 at the University of Texas-Austin is one later version, or a private working copy of the public text mentioned in the inventory, announcing membership through a "Nomina de Nuestros Hermanos". The broadside *Indvlgencias y gracias, concedidas...á la Archicofradia de la Doctrina Christiana...que goza, y participa la Vnion de*

main altar, viewers could contemplate five canvases depicting more miracles by Neri, illuminated by light from six windows dressed by donated curtains of a lavish purple Milanese fabric and ornate iron curtain rods. Three windows were made of imported Castilian crystal, while three others remained unfinished, covered in oiled canvas.

Within the main oratory, two clusters of devotional images formed additional chapels for specific prayers and requests for intercession. Along the Gospel (left-hand) side stood the Oratorians' finished altar to Saint Rose of Lima, then the only canonized American saint.[194] In addition to seven canvasses depicting scenes from her life, smaller images of Our Lady of Solitude and a pair of angels accompanied a table and two candles stored in display windows (*vidrieras*). On the Epistle (right-hand) side another portrait of Philip Neri stood central to a composition of six portraits of other saints, and episodes of the lives of Christ and Mary. Up above in the church choir, a second array of paintings – notably, one depicting the confirmation of Rome's original Congregation of the Oratory – surrounded an organ with a small bench of painted white wood.

To enter the Sagrario also meant to face a two-tiered array of devotional media. Six large candles framed two engravings (*láminas*) depicting Christ, and Mary with Baby Jesus

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San Felipe Neri (1679) is likely a later, formalized version of another document mentioned in the inventory. See García Ayluardo and Bazarte Martínez, *Los costos de la salvación*, 31.

[194] f. 125v says it was dedicated in 1661, compare with de la Maza, Fernández, Gutiérrez Dávila. On Rose of Lima see Kathleen Myers, "'Redeemer of America': Rosa de Lima (1586-1617), the Dynamics of Identity, and Canonization" in *Colonial Saints: Discovering the Holy in the Americas, 1500-1800*, ed. Allan Greer and Jodi Bilinkoff (New York: Routledge, 2003), 251-276.

respectively, and two more "embedded with various relics."[195] Up above stood four more sculpted images of Our Lady of the Snows, San Joaquín, Santa Ana, and Philip Neri.[196] The sacristy entrance likewise was dressed in trappings of importance, including a baldachin providing canopy over the doorway, an intricate mosaic of shale inlaid to the left of the doorway, a small basin for hand-washing, a bench, an engraving of Christ at the Column, and a curtain for privacy. Through the heavily decorated door, the sacristy portal gave way to an additional gallery of paintings, seven differently sized storage chests used to store valuables, odds and ends of furniture, and the dormitory of the Sacristan, then Martín de la Llana.[197]

The vast majority of the items listed include mention of corresponding donors or sponsors. Members of the Venerable Union individually, collaboratively and anonymously furnished their church, literally one item at a time in many respects. Some names are easily expected as well-known contributors to the Venerable Union, prominently featured in Gutiérrez Dávila's narrative. Others are lesser-known affiliates, and their contributions to the material culture of Oratorian devotion make strong suggestions about the reasons behind what recognition

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[195] These could potentially be relics that Diego de Malpartida donated, of Saint Francis of Sales, whom the Oratorians held a special devotion to as a founder of a short-lived Oratorian community in Thonons. See Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas*, I: 162.

[196] This prized image of the Venerable Union's patroness, Our Lady of the Snows, was later stolen by a slave and notorious thief, Miguel Sedano. Juan Antonio de Rivera's diary recounts an elaborate story of the confession, drawn from Sedano through torture, of stealing the Oratorians' image after he had been apprehended for murdering his mistress and her child, in *Diario curioso del capellán del Hospital de Jesus Nazareno*, II: 14-15 (dated June 10, 1687). Luis Ávila Blancas adds that Juan de la Pedrosa elicited Sedano's confession that he had thrown the image in an *acequia* during his flight from the church, keeping only the figure's rich vestments. *Bio-bibliografía de la Congregación*, 26. Gutiérrez Dávila mentions the image's theft on II: 48.

[197] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas*, II: 169-175.

they do receive.[198] Yet other donors do not appear to be members of the Venerable Union at all, opening up interesting questions about the relationship between membership and affiliation. The subset of women donors named (personally, or as "una difunta," a deceased woman) especially highlight the limitations of focusing on Oratorian culture and identity solely through the lives and works of members of the Venerable Union.

Two letters from Archbishop Aguiar y Seijas in 1684 reveal keen interest in returning to the issue of expanding the church's interior living quarters. The first, dated March 12, emphasizes one room to be built for Juan de Narváez "at his expense". The second, written May 18th, promises to pay Medina Vargas for his work done in the Archbishop's absence.[199] In 1692, Juan de la Pedrosa financed a cloister with additional housing for resident members. Pedrosa then re-submitted the Venerable Union's application for aggregation to the Roman Congregation in 1695, suggesting the Oratorians' confidence in the quality of their improvements since the 1660s. Gutiérrez Dávila notes that upon Pedrosa's election as Prefect of the Venerable Union in

[198] Beristain and Sossa both use fairly stock phrases about Oratorians being well-loved and cherished within the Venerable Union, and are often largely based on text from Gutiérrez Dávila's member summaries and shorter biographical entries. Consider, too, Francisco Ruiz's donation of a painting of the Archangel Saint Michael – perhaps this donation explains some of the reason behind Ruiz's inclusion in the Oratorians' listing of deceased affiliates along with explicit recognition that the Venerable Union had neither attended his funeral nor said masses for his soul. See note 6 above.

[199] Fernández, *Cristóbal de Medina Vargas*, 263. The absence mentioned in the second letter was likely a consequence of Aguiar y Seijas's extensive *visita* to the Archdiocese. See Berenise Bravo Rubio and Marco Antonio Pérez Iturbe, "Tiempos y espacios religiosos novohispanos: La visita pastoral de Francisco de Aguiar y Seijas (1683-1684)" in *Religión, poder y autoridad en la Nueva España*, ed. Alicia Mayer and Ernesto de la Torre Villar (México: UNAM, 2004), 67-85.

1695, "he found...the material structure of the Oratory in a much better state than what he had found upon first residing in our house..."[200]

A 1696 description of the Oratorian church by Diego Rodríguez mentions walls spanning widely enough to include sixteen vaulted arches (*bóvedas*), as well as a new confessional space, three cloisters with dormitories, a library, an *oratorio secreto* (perhaps an antecedent to the *oratorio pequeño* discussed in chapter 6), and seven altars, among other features.[201] Among the new features mentioned in 1696, the Oratorian library is another dimension of material culture that can be partially understood through a variety of documentary evidence. Gutiérrez Dávila mentions donation of library items by Archbishop Fray Payo Enríquez de Ribera, and the Oratorian Joseph García de León.[202] María del Carmen Guevara Bravo attributes many of the remains of the Oratorian library held at the library of the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia in Mexico City to donations made by Juan de la Pedrosa[203]. Still other fragments of the Oratorians' historical holdings remain preserved in the special collections of libraries worldwide, identifiable by signatures, stamps and fire marks that give a limited sense of the larger collection's evolution. An inscription inside the front matter of the Lilly Library's copy of

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[200] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas*, II: 20. Fernández transcribes the larger description Gutiérrez Dávila relates in *Cristóbal de Medina Vargas*, 264.

[201] Sánchez Santoveña transcribed the 1696 report from the AGI as part of his thesis, *La ciudad de México y el patrimonio artístico*. *Proyecto del conjunto de San Felipe Neri* (México: UNAM / Escuela Nacional de Arquitectura, 1965), 496-497.

[202] See Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas,* I: 28 and 251, respectively.

[203] Miriam Bazet Reyes, "Introducción" in *Catálogo de la Biblioteca de la Congregación del Oratorio de San Felipe Neri (I)*, ed. María del Carmen Guevara Bravo, (México: INAH / UNAM, 1991), 11.

Baltasar de Medina's *Vida, martirio y beatificación del Invicto Proto-Martyr del Japón San Felipe de Jesús* (1683), for example, reads:

> El Br. Diego del Castillo Márquez, Capellán del Coro de la Santa Iglesia Metropolitana, que solicitó la impressión de la Vida, y Martirio del Glorioso Protomartir San Felipe de Jesús, natural desta Ciudad de México; haze donación deste libro a la Sagrada Unión de Señores Sacerdotes del Glorioso Patriarcha S. Felipe Neri, de dicha Ciudad para que se guarde en la librería del Oratorio de dicha Vnion, de donde, con ningun pretexto salga, ni se preste, para que por este camino se conserven cuentas, i seguras las noticias que se han podido hallar de dicho Santo Protomartir. Hoy veinte, y ocho de Julio de mill seiscientos, y ochenta, y tres. BR. Diego del Castillo Márquez.[204]
>
> [Bachiller Diego del Castillo Márquez, Choir Chaplain of the Mexico City Cathedral, he who petitioned the printing of the Life, and Martyrdom of the Glorious Proto-Martyr Saint Philip of Jesus, native of this City of Mexico, donates this book to the Holy Union of Gentleman Priests of our Glorious Patriarch, Saint Philip Neri, of that city, so that they may preserve it in the library of the Oratory of said Union, from which under no circumstance should it leave, nor be loaned, in order to guard accounts, and secure notices which have been found of said Holy Proto-Martyr. Today, the twenty-eighth of July, of 1683. [Signed:] Bachiller Diego del Castillo Márquez.]

Many other items in Mexico's National Library contain fire-marks claiming the inscribed works as property of the "Hospicio" and "Oratorio" and "Convento" de San Felipe Neri" are more difficult to date precisely.[205] The designations of Oratorio and Convento make it difficult to establish whether or not the text at hand was acquired in the seventeenth century, while the designation of "hospicio" more directly suggests an early provenance as part of the Oratorian library. Other items contain ex-libris manuscript annotations indicating that, like Pedrosa, many members of the Venerable Union contributed to

[204] BX4700 .F3 .M4, at Indiana University-Bloomington.

[205] For examples of Oratorian fire marks, see Rafael Sala, *Marcas de fuego de las antiguas bibliotecas mexicanas* (México: Monografías Bibliográficas Mexicanas, 1925), 81 (Hospicio de San Felipe Neri), 61 (San Miguel de Belen), and Ernesto de la Torre Villar, *Ex libris y marcas de fuego* (México: UNAM, 1994).

community building by donating books from their personal collections to the greater Oratorain patrimony.[206]

While a few members of the Venerable Union lived on site at the Oratorian church, many more resided in private domiciles around Mexico City. Because secular priests were allowed to possess personal patrimonies, their residences both hint at the spatial dimensions of Oratorian presence outside their church, and provide clues about the extent and value of the estates they could draw upon to meet the financial needs of the growing Oratorian community. Notices of their residences are few and far between, but can be gleaned from a variety of documentary sources. Owing to the Oratorians' foundational connections with the Calderón Benavides' family printing house, we can place some of the resources of Antonio the founder, and his brother Diego, a later prefect of the Venerable Union. Depositions within Inquisition files provide other clues. In 1687 José de Villalta, a Peninsular merchant and familiar for the Inquisition living in Mexico City, denounced another Oratorian, Francisco Romero Quevedo, "por sospecho de iluso." Part of Villalta's suspicions derived from an incident three or four years earlier when he had seen a young woman (whose name he could not recall) living with her husband, sister and mother in Romero Quevedo's house, trying to pass dubious chest wounds off as supernatural occurrences. The Inquisition officers diligently recorded the location of the home "en la Calle de la Canoa, junto á San Lorenzo," and further described it as being "en casas del Racionero Narváez," meaning properties owned by the Oratorian Juan de Narváez Sáavedra.[207]

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[206] Between the collections of the Biblioteca Nacional de México and the Biblioteca del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, I have found annotations from Agustín Pérez de Villarreal, Alonso Alberto y Velasco, García de Legaspi y Velasco and José de Lombeyda.

[207] AGN-M, Inquisición Vol. 450, Exp. 14. Villalta's testimony appears as pages 1-5 in Box 1, Folder 28 of the Richard E. Greenleaf Papers, at the Center for Southwest Research in the University of New Mexico. On the wealth and connections of Narváez, see Enrique González

We similarly learn of the house of Luis de Sandoval y Zapata, a young Oratorian in his mid-twenties, also living "en la Calle de la Canoa, cerca de la puerta falsa de San Andrés," through testimony accusing the Oratorian Miguel Álvarez of soliciting sexual favors in the confessional.[208] Parts of Genaro García manuscript 66 tell the story of how the Oratorians acquired adjacent houses and properties on the Calle de San Agustín, also commonly called "El Arco". In one instance, the Oratorian Juan del Rosal donated a house to the Venerable Union in 1659, which Santiago de Zurricalday later paid to release from a *censo* imposed upon it, leaving the Oratorians with an unencumbered property to transform into their church.[209] In another, the Archbishop and Alguacil Mayor combined efforts to shift ownership of a house to the Oratorians "to aid in Royal justice."[210]

The legal instruments of chaplaincies (*capellanías*) and wills and testaments provide other inroads to knowledge about the economic resources accessible to the Venerable Union. Oratorians both founded chaplaincies to provide salaries (*rentas*) to the priests designated to recite the requisite masses, and benefitted from the commissions established by others to say masses for the souls of the dead, and contributed their own endowments. From Gisela Von Wobeser's study of chaplaincies founded in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, at least

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González, "Mecenazgo y literatura: los destinos dispares de Juan de Narváez y Sigüenza y Góngora" in *Carrera, linaje y patronazgo: Clérigos y juristas en Nueva España, Chile y Perú (siglos XVI-XVIII)* coord. Rodolfo Aguirre Salvador (México: UNAM / Plaza y Valdés, 2004), 17-38.

[208] AGN-M, Inq, Vol. 692, Exp. 1, May 13, 1694, f. 4r.

[209] "Títulos de las Casas...[del] Oratorio [de]...San Felipe Neri," Genaro García MS. 66, ff. 122r-124r, and Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas,* I: 4-5.

[210] "Unión de San Felipe Neri (Capellanía), Genaro García MS. 66, f. 28r.

eighty-five were established by Oratorian founders, many of whom named themselves as patrons as well, thereby controlling the naming of chaplains assigned to collect the salary and deliver mass.[211] Moreover, many of the chaplaincies listed were composed after the death of the founder, indicating the work of executors (*albaceas*) in extending the duration and impact of Oratorians' life works.[212] The founding of chaplaincies by Oratorians does not necessarily translate to an estimation of the Venerable Union's assets. Still, the exceptional investments of a few founders are evident and telling. The vast majority of founders (about 85 percent) only ever founded a single chaplaincy,[213] but several Oratorians founded four, five or six chaplaincies, indicating both a substantial amount of available financial resources and a strategic investment of it in the economy of salvation. The Venerable Union also served as patron administrators of chaplaincies, and hosted schedules of masses at the chapels of the Oratorian church. Beyond stipulations of chaplaincies, Oratorians left last wills and testaments to dispose of their earthly, material belongings, debts, obligations, and to found new ritual traditions including chaplaincies and pious works (*obras pías*).[214]

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[211] Gisela Von Wobeser, *Vida eterna y preocupaciones terrenales*. *Las capellanías de misas en la Nueva España* (México: UNAM, 2005), 143-188. Von Wobeser states that living founders almost always named themselves as patrons when submitting their legal documents to the ecclesiastical court responsible for administering the chaplaincies, the Juzgado de Capellanías y Obras Pías. Ibid, 16.

[212] Executors of wills (*albaceas*) had to perform chaplaincy foundations according to the instructions left by deceased testators to the extent that they addressed the real contingencies of the moment. Ibid, 15.

[213] Ibid, 74.

[214] The 1673 sacristy inventory mentions two paintings depicting the imprisonment and martyrdom of Saint Catherine "con una escriptura para que el sacristán diga las tres misas de dicha Santa con renta de dose pesos y medio cada año," for example. The contemporary

Sub-Corporate Growth

Even as a developing institution itself, the Venerable Union created a sense of Oratorian identity in Mexico City by sponsoring the growth of other institutions within and beyond the confines of their church. The independent corporations fostered by the Oratorians maintained significant personal, financial and affective ties with Oratorians and thus also bore some characterization of Oratorian identity. Each group changed differently over time, but commonly reflect a continuous aspect of Oratorian culture that would survive into the eighteenth century. Some sub-corporate growths would last only for a short time, while others survived and evolved over the course of the colonial period, and yet others would subsequently foster the growth of their own sub-corporate growths in the later eighteenth century.

The evangelical outreach of Oratorian Catholicism beyond members of the secular priesthood largely mapped onto engaging women and children in Mexico City as populations in need. While individual affiliates engaged women and children face to face, they often did so through the activities of Oratorian sub-corporations. One of the organizations they helped foster was an Archconfraternity of Christian Doctrine, a devotional movement developed in sixteenth century Italy to promote the development and operations of doctrinal schooling in the city.[215]

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sacristan, Martín de la Llana, was also named chaplain for another endowment controlled by the Venerable Union in 1689. See AGN-M, Bienes Nacionales, Vol. 765, Exp. 12.

[215] Paul Grendler argues that the schools of Christian Doctrine were a major feature of the Catholic Reformation, and the individual programs of cultural renewal promoted by such noted figures as Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier, but are nevertheless little known within the historiography of early modern Catholicism. See "The Schools of Christian Doctrine in Sixteenth Century Italy" *Church History* 53.3 (September, 1984), 319-331. Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas* III: 227, mentions that Gerónimo Guerra Chacón was "one of the spiritual students who frequented the school of Captain Juan Pérez Gallardo" ("*uno de los espirituales academicos que frequentaron la escuela de el Capitán Juan Pérez Gallardo*").

Alonso Alberto y Velasco sought and secured title for their church as the cultural site for a branch of the Roman Archconfraternity established in New Spain.[216] Some initiatives can be inferred from a 1679 broadside listing the graces and indulgences enjoyed by Mexico City's brotherhood.[217]

Membership conveyed rights and responsibilities centered on the formation of good Christian lives in the present, and care for the souls of the dead that lingered in purgatory after mortal life. The Archconfraternity of Christian Doctrine required that its members be knowledgeable of the rudiments of the Catholic faith, meaning ability to recite the Credo and commandments, as well as knowledge of the sacraments and mysteries they contain, "with as

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[216] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas*, I: 13, 87.

[217] *Indvlgencias y gracias, concedidas...á la Archicofradia de la Doctrina Christiana...que goza, y participa la Vnion de San Felipe Neri* (México: 1679). The Archconfraternity's final rule listed on the broadside clarifies that although the members of the Venerable Union were eligible to benefit from the available indulgences, the Archconfraternity kept its own, separate membership rolls, drew its membership from men and women of whatever age and status (*estado, calidad, y condición*) who paid the required alms (*limosna*) of one *real*, and provided each affiliated family with a copy of the indulgences available through membership. This suggests that members of the Venerable Union likely also paid the required alms of one *real* and aggregated to the Archconfraternity as a distinct act of corporate affiliation. According to Clara García Ayluardo and Alicia Bazarte Martínez, the patents or summaries of indulgences "constituyeron una suerte de póliza de seguro de vida con una serie de beneficios que otras instituciones de la época no fueron capaces de ofrecer, ni en variedad ni en costo, a la población urbana." *Los costos de la salvación: las cofradías y la ciudad de México (siglos XVI al XIX)*, (México: CIDE/Instituto Politécnico Nacional / Archivo General de la Nación, 2001), 64. I have consulted an original copy in the Colonial Mexican Imprint Collection of the Cushing Library at Texas A&M University, and a facsimile copy in Francisco González de Cossío, *La imprenta en México (1553-1820), 510 adiciones á la obra de don José Toribio Medina en homenaje al primer centenario de su nacimiento* (México: UNAM, 1952), 104. Ávila Blancas, *Bio-bibliografía*, 315, contains a facsimile of another copy dated 1711. According to García Ayluardo and Bazarte Martínez, *Los costos de la salvación*, 74, printed summaries of indulgences for Mexican confraternities are exceedingly rare.

much precision as possible."[218] Brothers were required to recite an Our Father and an Ave Maria every day to dedicate a number of responsibilities as a personal intention: service to God, the needs of the Church and her Prelates; peace and unity (*concordia*) among the Christian Princes; a will to convert Infidels, Heretics and Sinners; and the retention and augmentation of the local Confraternity and its *ministros operarios*. Last, but perhaps most significantly, brothers returned daily to the concept that their affiliation conveyed a "special communication" of good works among one another "as though each individual action represented the actions all members" ("*como si cada uno las hiziera todas*").

The Archconfraternity's rules went beyond engaging members solely as individual brothers, also addressing family structures through parents and schoolmasters of apprentices (*maestros*). The rules entreated parents to get their children, servants and slaves in their care to a school of Christian Doctrine on Sundays and feast days, and to generally instill them with "quiescence, humility, reverence, and a desire to seek Christian Doctrine wherever it may be taught and explained" ("*quietud, humildad, reverencia, y que oigan, y aprendan la Doctrina Cristiana donde se explicaré, ó enseñaré*". They also urged schoolmasters to bring their charges to Sunday and festival sessions, and more specifically guide the reading experiences of the young away from profane literature "from which they might learn evil concepts and examples" ("*de que puedan tener cosas malas, ó tomar mal exemplo*)," and toward spiritual and devotional literature.

[218] "*con la mayor perfección que pudiera*." Notably, these are precisely the same aspects of Catholic knowledge the Inquisition probed to begin to determine the measure the gravity of a person's culpability for crimes against the faith.

The Venerable Union began to nurture growth of several other institutions within the confines of its own church. Juan de la Pedrosa installed two statues of the "Niños Santos," San Justo and San Pastor in one of the Oratorian church's altars, and arranged to preach the merits of a young piety to droves of children who attended their mass for the saints' feast day in coordination with their schoolmasters.[219] Pedrosa subsequently founded a confraternity dedicated to the child-martyrs of Alcalá for "niños y aprendices de todos oficios" under patronage of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. [220] Children over 5 years of age were encouraged to aggregate to the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine to enjoy their graces and indulgences as well. The instructors of the Confraternity of San Justo and San Pastor emphasized the value of frequent engagement with the holy sacraments and virtues of the Catholic Church, "which resulted in great utility and satisfaction, not only for they themselves, but also for their households and the greater Republic"[221] Gutiérrez Dávila's telling of the Confraternity's objectives corresponds with the strategies of family evangelization used by Jesuit Congregations to promote the sacrament of communion in early modern Italy. Notably, these strategies inversely complement the trajectory of influence proposed by the Archconfraternity of Christian Doctrine, transmitting knowledge from parents, heads of household and masters to youth and subordinates.[222]

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[219] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas,* II: 47, 133.

[220] Ibid, II: 141. The confraternity's constitutions are archived as AGN-M, Bienes Nacionales, Vol. 1028, Exp. 44, dated 1698.

[221] "*de que tanta utilidad, y provecho resultaba, no solamente á ellos mismos, sino también á las casas de los Padres, y Señores de familia, y aún á toda la República*." Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas* II: 141.

[222] See Michael Maher, "How the Jesuits Used Their Congregations to Promote Frequent Communion" in *Confraternities and Catholic Reform in Italy, France and Spain,* ed. John Patrick Donnelly and Michael Maher (Kirksville: Truman State University Press, 1999), 75-96.

The lengthy recounting of the virtuous lives of Oratorian priests in Gutiérrez Dávila's chronicle occasionally provides access to stories that show some alternate vision of Oratorian experience that elides hagiographical templates of pure family genealogies, virtuous lives, inspired gifts and profecies, and good deaths. Juan de la Pedrosa's life story, and virtuous project of developing the Confraternity of San Justo and San Pastor, contains an additional short memoir of the internal conflicts within the Venerable Union concerning children's ministry. Gutiérrez Dávila illustrates Pedrosa's gift (*don*) for discerning the moral quality of human spirits by predicting the priestly misconduct of a visiting cleric in the Oratorian church. An expelled Catalan Jesuit named Francisco David occasionally performed priestly duties in the Oratorian church such as delivering Mass and taking confessions. According to Gutiérrez Dávila, David indiscriminately gave communion to underaged children, and failed to distinguish between those who had and had not eaten before consuming the body of Christ. Pedrosa ultimately expelled David from the Oratorian church, relying on "divine instinct" rather than empirically founded knowledge of his heresies, and exorcising from the community "the evil, filthy and grimy spirit of David, a living heresy that grows like a cancer to infect the body's other members."[223]

Oratorians also undertook children's ministry beyond the church compound to help render its fledgling corporations attractive to non-members. Sundays after Pedrosa's *plática doctrinal*, Bernabé Partida would head to the barrios looking for children's ministry to

[223] "(*el mal espíritu de Davíd, sucio, y puerco, con aquella immundicia, qual es la heregía, que crece como el cáncer para infeccionar los otros miembros*"). Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas*, II: 139. Inquisition files illustrate a much more elaborate encounter between Francisco David's heterodox Catholicism and local religious practice in Mexico City, Michoacán and Querétaro. See AGN-M, Inquisición Vol. 697, Exp. 53, ff. 447-456; Vol. 707, Exp. 1; Vol. 710, Exps. 18 & 75; Vol. 718, Exp. 19, fs. 313-323; Vol. 813, Exp. 62, fs. 548-558; and Vol. 1310, Exp. 10.

conduct.[224] According to Francisco Sosa, Simón Estéban Beltrán de Alzate "left sixty thousand pesos for the dowries of young, orphaned girls, and four thousand for their funerary masses.[225] In Santiago de Zurricalday's biography, Gutiérrez Dávila writes that he left a dowry of three hundred pesos to one young, orphaned girl, and left twelve thousand more for masses, "commemorating his piety through the remedy and relief of many other less fortunate women."[226] Finally, Juan Ignacio de Castorena y Ursúa, a native of Zacatecas, founded a "Colegio de los mil Ángeles" for young women in his hometown.[227]

Oratorians also spent considerable resources shaping the lives of the city's women through their contributions to *Recogimientos*, case-specific shelters designed to enclose and "protect" subsets of the city's female population. Female monasticism within the Spanish Empire was an exclusive enterprise, leaving most non-elite women with few options for housing outside a married life.[228] Recogimientos generally provided such housing for women not "protected" by a father or husband. Collective homes often required women to wear particular habits and abide by some manner of collective rules, but those requirements varied and many institutions began through efforts to address a particular population of women, such as divorcees, widows, or

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[224] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas*, II: 190.

[225] Sosa, *Efemérides, históricos y biográficos*, 379-380.

[226] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas*, I: 94-95. A 1725 document enumerates one act of an *obra pía* founded by Zurricalday, and describes the executor, Doña Melchora Ruíz as "viuda de Don Bernal Zermeño *y patrona de la Casa de Huerfanos fundada por el Licenciado Don Santiago de Zurricalday* [my italics]." AGN-M, Obras Pías, Cont. 1, Vol. 2, Exp. 1.

[227] Beristáin, *Biblioteca hispanoamericana*, I: 277.

[228] Jacqueline Holler, *Escógidas Plantas: Nuns and Beatas in Mexico City, 1531-1601* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).

prostitutes, or some combination thereof.[229] While convents and monasteries tended to officially house elite women – those classified as honorable Spaniards, with access to genealogies attesting to their purity of blood (*limpieza de sangre*) and economic resources needed to gain entrance and purchase a room and amenities in the convent – recogimientos were more often intended to house women with public reputations for moral deviance, unorthodox religiosity, and tarnished honor.[230]

Domingo Pérez de Barcia initiated the development of Mexico City's most successful and intensively Oratorian-affiliated institution for single, poor and divorced women called the Recogimiento de San Miguel de Belem, inspired by the guidance of his influential Jesuit spiritual advisers Antonio Núñez de Miranda and José Vidal. Pérez de Barcia toured the city collecting alms to fund his project, but also secured important patronage from wealthy laymen like Juan Pérez Gallardo, his widow (after 1681) and Juan de Chavarría Valera, as well as the Archbishop Francisco de Aguiar y Seijas. The institution opened in 1683, first operating solely out of Pérez de Barcia's domicile (another private Oratorian home), but developed rapidly over the next three

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[229] On the history and variety of recogimientos in Spanish America, see Josefina Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres: respuesta á una problemática social novohispana,* (México: UNAM, 1974); Nancy Van Deusen, *Between the Sacred and the Worldly: The Institutional and Cultural Practice of Recogimiento in Colonial Lima* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001); Holler, *Escógidas Plantas*; Jessica Delgado, "Sacred Practice, intimate power: Laywomen and the Church in colonial Mexico" Ph.D. Diss., University of California-Berkeley, 2009: especially 144-160; and Brianna Leavitt Alcantará, "Practicing Faith: Laywomen and Religion in Central America, 1750-1870" Ph.D. Diss., University of California–Berkeley, 2009.

[230] See, for example, Leavitt Alcantará, "Practicing Faith," 191-192. As Nancy Van Deusen argues, however, the official records and their prejudices often overshadow the roles African- and Indian-descended women played in convent life. See "'The Lord Walks Among the Pots and Pans': Religious Servants of Colonial Lima" in *Africans to Spanish America: Expanding the Diaspora*, ed. Sherwin Bryant, Rachel O'Toole and Ben Vinson III, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2012), 137-138.

years through continuous cash donations, purchase of adjacent buildings, and construction of dormitories, chapels and oratories.[231] Thus, the shared history of the Oratorian community and the recogimiento was possible because of the organizational liberties enjoyed by the Venerable Union.

In addition to Pérez de Barcia and Archbishop Aguiar y Seijas, many other Oratorians played important roles in the daily operations and activities of the recogimiento before its formal transition to Archidiocesan authority in 1726. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries Pérez de Barcia imagined a life for resident women in the recogimiento like Oratorians lived in the Venerable Union in some respects. He named the institution a "recogimiento voluntario," where women were encouraged but not required to submit to the organization's rules through an exercise of their own free will, each woman having access to the shelter's private oratory to pray according to her own desires.[232] Before 1688, Pérez de Barcia marched the women across the city to mass at the church of San Felipe Neri and back, creating a routine of shared experience of Oratorian Catholicism for the resident women.[233] Eventually, however, Mexico City's city councilmen forced an indigenous woman, María de la Concepción, to sell her properties in Belem to the recogimiento out of "public interest" in providing the resident women

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[231] Josefina Muriel, *La sociedad novohispana y sus colegios de niñas. Tomo II: Fundaciones de los siglos XVII y XVIII* (México: UNAM, 2004), 73-77. According to Gutiérrez Dávila, Gallardo created a trust fund (*capellanía*) with a base of 2,000 pesos tied to the houses in Belem where Pérez de Barcia was living. The recogimiento thus began by Pérez de Barcia keeping women in his domicile. See Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas* I: 222.

[232] Muriel, *La sociedad novohispana*,

[233] Francisco de la Maza and Luis Ortíz Macedo, *El plano de la ciudad de México de Pedro de Arrieta, 1737* (México: UNAM, 2008), 211.

with a chapel and other devotional and residential amenities of their own.[234] By the end of the 1680s, San Miguel de Belem housed more than two hundred women.[235] Lázaro Fernández worked consistently as Pérez de Barcia's second in command, and often took a leading role directing the recogimiento during Pérez de Barcia's absences. Many other Oratorians also helped to staff the institution as visiting preachers and confessors in the recogimiento's developing church complex, including the last leader of the Venerable Union, Juan de la Pedrosa (1695-1698), and the first leader of the Congregation of the Oratory, Pedro de Arellano y Sosa (1698-1710).[236]

The development and staffing of the institution provided a moral platform for displaying the virtues of its clerical staff and the pious women who accepted an austere, secluded, and labor-intensive lifestyle as examples of the fruits of Oratorian Catholicism in Mexico City. The *vitae* or life stories of Oratorians who worked in the Recogimiento recount episodes of torment by demons intent on disrupting their pious works,[237] and provide long accounts of evangelical successes. Gutiérrez Dávila's praise of Juan de la Pedrosa's preaching, for example, contains a brief narrative of the life of Bernarda de la Encarnación, once a slave to a local minister of the Royal Audiencia who purchased her own freedom through her earnings as a prostitute.[238] As a

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[234] Ibid, 75.

[235] Plaza y Jaen, *Crónica de la Real y Pontificia Universidad*, II: 134, § 299.

[236] Lázaro Fernández and then Juan de la Pedrosa succeeded Pérez de Barcia, in turn, as governors of the Recogimiento. Gutíerrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas*, I: 224.

[237] Ibid, I: 225.

[238] Ana María Atondo Rodríguez, *El amor venal y la condición femenina en el México colonial* (México: INAH, 1992), 172-173.

beautiful, single and "unprotected" woman, Gutiérrez Davila assures readers that Bernarda would have fallen prey to her sinful life beyond bondage were it not for the good fortune of hearing Pedrosa's profound message preached on the streets of Mexico City, and subsequently seeking a quiet and industrious private life within the Recogimiento.[239] For Juan José de Eguiara y Eguren, who wrote a life story of Pedro de Arellano y Sosa, the Recogimiento was "a vast theater of the great zeal of our Blessed Father," where his daily citywide tours of clerical business ended with eager reception at the shelter by his "spiritual daughters."[240] Eguiara y Eguren also highlights the concerted efforts of Pérez de Barcia, Pedrosa and Sosa to maintain continuous access to daily bread, fresh fruit and medicine in the recogimiento during grain shortages that culminated in massive urban riots in 1692, and subsequently devastating disease epidemics in 1693.[241]

Not all of the recogimiento's inhabitants viewed the quality of life and impact of residence in the same light, however. Even Gutiérrez Dávila's chronicle hints at more discordant narratives. He mentions the "persecutions and slander from boastful men and even some women from the very same Recogimiento..." that Pérez de Barcia sustained generally and anonymously, situating conflicts as testaments to his virtuous credit.[242] In contrast, Javier Villa-Flores's recent study of women's use of blasphemy uses evidence from experience within the Recogimiento that sheds light on some critical views of the impact of Oratorians on society in colonial Mexico City,

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[239] Ibid, II: 58-61.

[240] Juan José de Eguiara y Eguren, *Vida del Venerable Padre D. Pedro Arellano y Sossa*, (México: Doña Maria de Rivera, 1735), II: 157.

[241] Ibid, II: 159.

[242] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas* I: 223.

and the manner in which some perceived what it meant to be Oratorian. Drawing in part on the experiences of a woman named Juana de Medina, who lived in the Recogimiento in the late seventeenth century on and off for at least three years in an attempt to escape a troubled marriage. Villa-Flores argues that "[w]hen being defamed or unjustly confined, women resorted to blasphemy in order to make forceful statements to fight back. However, by subverting the gendered moral expectations that demanded that pious women demonstrate verbal restraint, they compromised their status as Christian women."[243] Juana tried on several occasions to use blasphemous speech strategically to escape from the Recogimiento where, after fleeing from her husband, Juana found herself restricted from leaving by the Oratorian overseers. Pérez de Barcia, Fernández and Sosa collaborated to keep Juana enclosed and silenced after her husband petitioned Archbishop Aguiar y Seijas to help him preserve his honor while serving a judicial sentence of exile in the Philippines for killing a man in Mexico City. The Oratorians physically punished Juana, imprisoned her in a locked room in the Recogimiento, and later sealed off the room's window to prevent her from communicating with passers-by. Throughout, Villa-Flores argues the Oratorians and Inquisition prosecutors resisted the formation of a formal inquiry (*proceso*) against Juana "to avoid establishing a precedent that would allow women housed in recogimientos to regard blasphemy as a way to get released."[244]

Other Inquisition cases incidentally and directly reveal additional experiences that clash with public Oratorian memories of the Recogimiento. Witnesses testifying against Fray Francisco de Jordanes as an *iluso*, or false holy man, in 1693 also suggested he had solicited a

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[243] Javier Villa-Flores, *Dangerous Speech: A Social History of Blasphemy in Colonial Mexico* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2006), 125-126.

[244] Ibid, 124 for the quote, and 121-125 for the larger case analysis.

sexual relationship with an eighteen-year-old woman named Teresa de Ahumada while working as a confessor in the Recogimiento. Ahumada's testimony reveals that her spiritual adviser at the time of the deposition, an Oratorian named Miguel Álvarez, had steered her away from Jordanes' sexual advances.[245] Less than a year later however, on May 7th, 1694, Álvarez denounced himself to the Inquisition in an attempt to mitigate a coordinated outcry of several other women he had mistreated in the same shelter.[246]

In his so-called "spontaneous" denunciation, Álvarez admitted to using "tender and loving words," as well as touching the faces and breasts of women in his care, allegedly to make them declare and fully elaborate upon their sins. While portraying his own behavior "in ignorance, and without thinking it bad," Álvarez in contrast portrayed three women of the Recogimiento – María de Tapia, Feliziana de los Reyes, and Theresa de Arindez – as "somewhat more scrupulous and impertinent than the rest."[247] A week later, María de Tapia sent a letter to the Inquisition via her confessor – another Oratorian priest, Luis de Sandoval y Zapata. Tapia's letter confirmed Álvarez's sexualized behavior in the confessional, during prayer in the local oratory, and in less ritualized meetings in the shelter. She stated that most every time she confessed, he solicited her confession through loving words and possessive touching, one time ending her confession with "a very tight hug" and another slapping her face after she expressed

[245] AGN-M, Inquisición, Vol. 477, Exp. 20.

[246] AGN-M, Inquisición, Vol. 692, Exp. 1.

[247] Ibid, ff. 2r-v.

interest in getting married at some point.[248] Residents of the Recogimiento were unable to leave at will, and thus had little recourse other than to voice their mistreatment to a legal system populated by Álvarez's peers.

Álvarez may well have thought the issue of his behavior resolved after his self-denunciation. The dated entries in the case file jump unannounced from 1694 to 1712, a substantial lag time between initial inquiries and the more intensive processing of witnesses, testimony and judicial reaction. The slow pace of legal process toward accusations and sentencing is typical of Inquisition proceedings in the Americas.[249] Interestingly, however, two particular changes in the legal system in New Spain may have influenced the renewed pursuit of a solicitation case against Álvarez. A 1710 edict published as a broadside poster in churches throughout Mexico City mandated very specific guidelines for confessors, especially those working with women. The edict itself prohibits taking confessions in private spaces, including cells and chapels not open to the wider community, in all of the city's religious institutions. A manuscript note added in the margins of at least one copy further elaborates that priests are prohibited from taking confessions in their private homes and personal chapels.[250] The specificity in both prohibitions suggests that casual confessions in unregulated spaces were common enough. The manuscript note, moreover, was probably produced by one of the two signatories of the edict, Francisco de Deza y Ulloa and Francisco de Garzarón. The former, an

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[248] "El Fiscal del S[an]to Off[ici]o de Mexico Contra El B[achille]r Miguel Alvarez Presbiter y Confessor Capellan del Recogimiento de Belen de Mexico, natural de la Villa de Atrisco de Sesenta y dos años Por Solicitante," BANC MSS-M 96/95m, vol. 8, no. 2, p. 4.

[249] Solange Alberro, *Inquisición y sociedad en la Nueva España*, (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1988), 23-29.

[250] AGN-M, Edictos, Vol. 4-5, f. 15.

Oratorian, had been an Inquisition judge for more than twenty years. The latter was appointed as Visitor General of the Inquisition in 1716, indicating a significant amount of confidence in his ability to evaluate, implement and enforce orthodox procedure. Thus the progress of Álvarez's case was likely re-opened as part of a broader renewal of attention to Inquisition procedure.

The Inquisition courts moved relatively rapidly again in 1712. The presiding judge noted uncertainty about whether Álvarez's self-denunciation was motivated by repentance or self-defense after he reviewed additional testimony from Michaela de la Torre y Marcha, sent in a letter from her confessor in 1709. While no amount of litigation could unmake the abuse endured by the women who came forward to testify against Álvarez, the trial records do indicate concern among other Oratorians. Their leader in 1712, José Montaño, took an oath to carry out the role of an interim commissary of the Inquisition, and used the corporate resources at his disposal to collect depositions from nine women in April and May against Álvarez, before releasing an order to imprison him on May 25th.[251] On July 21st, 1712, the court forced Álvarez to declare his guilt in a public oath, permanently stripped him of his license to hear any confession, banned him from Mexico City and Madrid for a period of ten years, permanently exiled from the Recogimiento de San Miguel de Belem, and ordered him sequestered to the House of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Querétaro for the first two years of his sentence. In Querétaro, Álvarez was ordered to follow a strict regimen of penitential prayer and forbade to conduct mass for a period of two months.[252]

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[251] AGN-M, Inquisición, Vol. 692, Exp. 1, ff. 21r-v, 44r-v.

[252] "El Fiscal del S[an]to Off[ici]o de Mexico Contra El B[achille]r Miguel Alvarez Presbiter y Confessor Capellan del Recogimiento de Belen de Mexico, natural de la Villa de Atrisco de Sesenta y dos años Por Solicitante," BANC MSS-M 96/95m, vol. 8, no. 2, p. 15.

From beginning to end, the Inquisition proceso on Miguel Álvarez provides a complicated variety of perspectives on Oratorian identity. The figure of Álvarez that emerges from the Inquisition shatters the carefully cultivated image of Oratorian presence in Mexico City transmitted through their published chronicle and life stories. It is worth noting, too, that his conviction for solicitation did not entirely remove Álvarez from Oratorian collective memory, as had Francisco David's unorthodox behavior. In the 1736 chronicle, Gutiérrez Dávila portrays Álvarez as a neutral eyewitness of the virtues of other Oratorian fathers, and notes in passing that he worked as a confessor for Domingo Pérez de Barcia in addition to hearing the confessions of the women of the Recogimiento without ever mentioning Álvarez's conviction.[253]

Additionally, the lesser roles played by Oratorians in the trial proceedings demonstrate other ways in which Oratorians might have been viewed and complicated the stark dichotomies of Oratorians collectively as sinners or saintly figures. José Montaño's endowment with temporary powers as part of the Inquisition gave its investigation a distinctly Oratorian face. Although the gathering of evidence through interviews and written correspondence was conducted under the sworn secrecy of all parties involved so as not to tip off Álvarez of the proceedings against him, Montaño is clearly indicated as the current leader of the Oratorians in the trial transcript, and he met with women who created their own testimonies face to face and the confessors of those who did not give a deposition in person. While it is unlikely that his interest in pursuing the case diligently mitigated the damage and distress caused by Álvarez's behavior, Montaño's pursuit of some justice complicates the larger picture of Oratorian attitudes toward confessional practice and solicitation. In a similar manner, the conduct of Luis de

[253] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas*, I: 232, 237; II: 19.

Sandoval y Zapata deserves consideration. Sandoval y Zapata, upon hearing some portion of María de Tapia's story back in 1693 or 1694, refused to grant her absolution for her sins unless she told the whole story to the Inquisition.[254] His motivations for doing so remain unclear – perhaps he was genuinely concerned for the well-being of María's body and soul, or perhaps offended by Álvarez's violation of the trust assumed by confessors, maybe some of both. It is worth considering that, although the documents make no explicit mention of a connection, Sandoval y Zapata may have been related to another of the women who testified against Álvarez, María Nicolasa Zapata.[255]

The question of María de Tapia's confessor's motives, and the two contrasting images of how Oratorians worked as confessors for women of the Recogimiento, raise an additional question about the role of crimes proscribed by the Inquisition. Importantly, Miguel Álvarez was not charged and tried for crimes of sexual harassment, abuse, or molestation *per se.* Rather, these details were part of a larger process against him for violating the oaths and conduct related to the sanctity of confessional relationships. The questioning of the women involved most frequently sought to establish whether or not Álvarez's sexual advances took place in sacred spaces, and if they had prevented the women being questioned from confessing that day. The Inquisitors' concerns, thus, seemed more about adherence to legal procedure on the part of Álvarez, and the possibility of unresolved sins among the women.

While the women's depositions in this trial were to some extent instruments of the judicial process, they are also rare and invaluable insights into the lives of people who would

[254] AGN-M, Inquisición, Vol. 692, Exp. 1, f. 4r-v.

[255] The genealogy of María Nicolasa lists as her father a Don Juan de Sandoval y Zapata. AGN-M, Inquisición, Vol. 692, Exp. 1, f. 34r.

otherwise leave few written traces in the historical record. Josefina Muriel is one of the few scholars who have spent time investigating the history of Mexico City's women's shelters during the colonial period. Her invaluable archival research has provided context for placing the role of the Recogimiento de San Miguel de Belem in a broader institutional context, but the institutional archives provide little insight into the human experiences of the shelter's population beyond its male and female administrators. This Inquisition trial still provides some sense of the lives of women during their stay in the shelter and in some cases, of the lives they led afterward. Some depositions, moreover, include handwritten testimonies penned by the women themselves, which can invite further efforts to triangulate the Inquisition trial with research into other municipal archives in hopes of recreating more detailed portraits of women's lives in colonial Mexico City. Their lives, in turn, provide an alternate means for viewing the impact and meaning of Oratorian culture and identity through the community's engagement with recogimientos.[256]

Conclusion

To date the histories of the Catholic Church and urban society that include portrayals of Oratorian history have relied exclusively on the narrative and interpretations of Gutiérrez Dávila and other narratives produced by insiders. While an invaluable resource for Oratorian history in countless respects, the goals of Gutiérrez Dávila's *Memorias históricas* tend to obscure important dimensions of the Venerable Union's role in the formation of Oratorian community

[256] Further research into the history of Mexico City's mid-colonial recogimientos may well reveal a much more intricate relationship between Oratorians and recogimientos. María del Carmen Bravo Guevara briefly notes that Oratorians "tuvieron a su cargo el Recogimiento de mujeres de San Miguel de Belén y el de la Magdalena para prostitutas." *Catálogo de la biblioteca*, 12. Gutiérrez Dávila also notes that Mexico City's Sala del Crimen appointed Pedro de Arellano y Sosa as chaplain the Recogimiento de Santa María Magdalena (Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas*, III: 79.

and identity. The hagiographic genre that influences the style of its biographies of Oratorians in Mexico City presents institutional affiliations as personal merit badges rather than pathways to understanding networks of political culture. The teleological emphasis on arrival at plenary Congregation status leads to significant omissions and truncations of crucial elements of Oratorian strategies for community building, both of the political networking and the means for accessing essential sources of economic wealth. These narrative tendencies overshadow the three primary growth strategies employed by Oratorians in the seventeenth century. The Venerable Union attracted elder priests, prominent urban administrators, and promising university students to harness the power and influence available through Mexico City's burgeoning secular clergy. Those clerics and their own webs of patronage and family connections provided additional access to the material wealth necessary for transforming their fledgling institution from a rootless human community to a wealthy and propertied landholding corporation. Finally, Oratorians generated further strength and connection to their local communities by founding and patronizing additional, distinct institutions as sub-corporaions of affiliation. Oratorian sponsorship of corporate growth in Mexico City transcended the seventeenth century, and significantly defined the life of the eighteenth century Oratorian community as will be seen in chapter 5. Using individual Oratorians as points of departure for research into multiple institutional archives elaborates and complicates the hagiographic narratives that presently define Oratorian historiography. Furthermore, viewing individual Oratorians as points of contact for the circulation of economic resources provides shows how the Venerable Union created an Oratorian society in Mexico City known through members who played integral roles in the consolidation of local institutions' corporate power, and provided a network local institutions could use to collaborate when not in direct conflict with one another.

In the previous chapter, Christian Animism appeared both within the operations of the Venerable Union and within other institutions of colonial Spanish America. Here, several additional facets are apparent. Through their simultaneous occupation of prominent roles in the Venerable Union and the institutions of the Church and Crown, individual Oratorians and majority collectives of them infused civil and ecclesiastical society with the spirit of Philip Neri. Other non-interim, temporary roles in the Inquisition occupied by Oratorians, such as censors, witnesses and other defense attorneys and commisaries further diversify the means available for illustrating connection and sameness among imperial subjects. Alternately, the cases of Francisco David and Teresa de Ahumada show how Oratorians and other officials might at times discern divergent spirits, and subject them to purifying processes in efforts to reconcile sameness, albeit at the unfortunate expense of the individuals' bodies and free agency.

As important as the human, material, and sub-corporate dimensions of Oratorian identity were, however, they provide little sense in themselves of how Oratorians translated their resources into meaning through ritual practice. The next chapter examines a broad array of documentary evidence to gauge how their Mexico City contemporaries would have known Oratorian identity through the practice of religion.

CHAPTER 4: ORATORIAN SPIRITUALITY AND THE PRODUCTION OF EXPERTISE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

This chapter analyzes Oratorian spirituality in seventeenth century Mexico City as a third methodological approach for interpreting Oratorian identity formation within the Venerable Union, following the biographical and prosopographical approaches featured in chapters two and three. I begin with a survey of descriptions of Oratorian services from their earliest constitutions and Julián Gutiérrez Dávila's chronicle, *Memorias históricas de la Congregación del Oratorio de la ciudad de México*. I then use the same membership lists that informed chapter three to conduct a wide-ranging search for texts written by, for, and about Oratorians in the seventeenth century to illustrate some of the discursive traces of the services performed in the Oratorian church as representations of their expertise. A third section examines the production of Oratorian expertise through moments of crisis, recorded in cases of conflict that resulted in Inquisition and Holy Crusade trials. The importance and impact of Oratorian ritual texts becomes differently clear when compared to spiritual practices articulated in similar terms but perceived as heterodox religiosity by colonial authorities and their informants.

My thesis is that Mexico City's Oratorians broadly sought and gained influence in the realm of local spiritual culture by creating a reputation for expertise in oratory among other local residents. Their claim to expertise established a distinct sense of identity within the already diverse landscape of local Catholicism. It was also assembled piecemeal, rather than programmatically, through a variety of means of cultural production, and enabled by the dense intersectional network of connections built through their work in Mexico City's corporate

institutions. The concept of Oratorian spirituality is necessarily a broad and pliable category, for the profile of Oratorian engagements with local religion through early modern Catholicism includes elements of literary production, legal culture, and ritual practices, and in many cases these distinct categories overlap indiscriminately. Oratorians located their expertise in the ability to use the Spanish Empire's bureaucratic tools and cultural forms to discern and classify oratory in ways that celebrated, memorialized, censured and condemned performances according to a shifting and ambiguous terrain of criteria.

Defining Oratory, Plotting Spirituality

Approaching Oratorian spiritual culture in Mexico City requires grappling with an intriguing reality of source material. In sixteenth century Italy, the original notion of Oratorian spirituality emerged organically through recognition of the spontaneous performances of religious dramas, set to music and sung in an informal, little-used space for prayer called an oratory in the church of San Girolamo in Rome. The Oratorians' patron saint, Philip Neri (1515 – 1595) encouraged the improvisational and inclusive nature of the oratory, and later lamented its formalization as a rule-abiding institution. This inherent tension between formal identity and locally relevant, spontaneous Catholic devotion is evident in the unique and autonomous character of the Oratorian communities that emerged worldwide after Neri's canonization in 1622. From the inception of the Roman Oratorian community, the word oratory (*oratorio* in both Italian and Spanish) referred "to the institution as well as to their prayer hall and to the meetings, or 'spiritual exercises' as they were called, that took place in the hall," simultaneously naming a community, place and practice.[257] I view this terminological ambiguity as a productive

[257] Howard Smither, *A History of the Oratorio. Volume 1: The Oratorio in the Baroque Era: Italy, Vienna, Paris* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977), 42.

opportunity for articulating Oratorian identity in Mexico City at the intersections of group identity, ritual practice and symbolic meanings produced in physical spaces, and through material objects, what Henri Lefebvre calls "representational spaces."[258] I outline the impact of Oratorian spiritual practices in particular representational spaces of Oratorian spiritual culture in three realms of production: prayer, preaching and music. While the structures of literary and historical criticism separate these three fields, they represent a far more porous array of oral culture that Oratorians anxiously sought to control through ritual production and censorship.

The spaces of Oratorian spiritual culture both defined and exceeded the structure of the Oratorian church. On one hand, the dimensions of the Venerable Union's ritual itinerary developed in tandem with the growth of the physical structure of the church and its gradually acquired ornamentation. On the other hand, as individual members of the Venerable Union connected their Oratorian identity with aspects of their professional careers and devotional imperatives beyond the confines of the church, Oratorian spiritual culture became inextricably fused with the broader symbolic terrain of Mexico City. Oratorians performed their ritual culture cyclically at different scales of annual, monthly, and weekly intervals, as well as during special festival and occasional events each year. Part of their constitutional obligations as members included a fundamental imitation of Philip Neri in their daily comportment, "in public as in private," and as a consequence we should consider the use of public performances of ritual in the Oratorian church and in the city and viceroyalty at large as conscious efforts to foment a positive image of Neri in the public imaginary through those who claimed to be his living image.[259]

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[258] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 40-46.

[259] Alejandro Cañeque helpfully illustrates that early modern "state" power was in fact personal power that resided in the Royal and Papal figureheads of the Spanish Crown and Catholic

Over the course of the seventeenth century, the Venerable Union developed a regular calendar of services on the feast days of seven saintly and Marian cults. The most prominent and long-lived feasts were those of Philip Neri (May 26th) and their locally chosen patroness, Our Lady of the Snows (September 12th).[260] Sometime after joining the Venerable Union in 1672, Diego Malpartida began a ritual provisioning of food for the poor on Saint Joseph's feast day (March 19th). In 1682, to consecrate his recent aggregation to the Venerable Union, Archbishop Francisco de Aguiar y Seijas drew the eyes of the city by attending the Oratorians' first celebration of Saint Francis of Sales' feast day (January 29th), a bishop of Geneva canonized in 1665 who had founded an Oratorian community in Thonons.[261] Under the supervision of Juan de la Pedrosa as Prefect (1695-1698), the Oratorians also began to celebrate the annual feast day of the "Niños Héroes," Saints Justus and Pastor (August 6th), in a newly furnished altar. Finally, at some point after a conversation between Pedrosa and an elderly resident of Mexico City who confirmed that the historic birthplace of the martyred Franciscan novice Philip of Jesus (who would later become Saint Philip of Jesus) lay within the newly constructed Oratorian church,

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Church. Their delegates were responsible for faithfully representing their monarch's "living image." I argue that Oratorian identity and representation operated in a similar fashion. See *The King's Living Image: The Culture and Politics of Viceregal Power in Colonial Mexico* (New York: Routledge, 2004). For the directives about imitating Philip Neri, see Ávila Blanca, *Bio-bibliografía*, 295, II: §. 15 & 16.

[260] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas* I: 4, recounts how the Oratorians cast lots and to determine their patroness, and repeatedly drew the the name of Nuestra Señora de las Nieves.

[261] Interestingly, while Gutiérrez Dávila (*Memorias históricas*, I: 28) records Aguiar y Seijas' aggregation on January 2nd, 1682, the aggregation rolls (Genaro García MS. 114, f. 5r.) date his aggregation on February 2nd. This suggests that perhaps the aggregation rolls mark a ceremonial date different from the actual negotiations between petitioning aggregants and the Venerable Union. The 1696 document published by Sánchez Santoveña, mentioned in chapter 2, also records a chapel dedicated to Sales by then. Maza, *Los templos de San Felipe Neri*, 24.

Oratorians began to celebrate a feast day for Philip (February 5th) in tune with the coalescing program of local devotion to his cause.[262]

The first Monday of each month, Oratorians hosted their signature "spiritual lessons," combining interspersed sessions of prayer, preaching and music.[263] Since 1661, Oratorians had been gathering in their hospice regularly to recite a rosary to the Virgin Mary. Group rosary prayers began as a regular Saturday event, but expanded over time to include other dates and special events, such as the Vespers of the Lord, the Holy Mother, the Saints' Days of Saint Michael Archangel, and the Custodian Spirits. Many Oratorian services developed to commemorate events in the life of Christ. During the Lenten season leading up to Easter Sunday, additional rosary services took place on Wednesdays, and during Holy Week on Mondays and Thursdays. The first Monday of Lent, Oratorians provided Penance to Samaritans at the local well nearby the Oratorian church. Mondays also became a regular time for delivering additional weekly sermons and taking confessions from penitents. During the Advent season leading to Christmas, Oratorians hosted additional spiritual lessons on Fridays, as well as sermons and confessional service on Sundays.[264] The Archconfraternity of Christian Doctrine also hosted its

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[262] Antonio Vidal de Figueroa, *Novena en honra del invicto, y glorioso protomartyr del Japon San Phelipe de Jesus* (México: Herederos de Juan José Guillena Carrascoso, 1711), 6. For an overview of the development of the local cult of San Felipe de Jesús, see Ronald Morgan, *Spanish American Saints and the Rhetoric of Identity, 1600-1810* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2002), and Cornelius Conover, "Saintly Biography and the Cult of San Felipe de Jesús in Mexico City, 1597-1697" *The Americas* 67.4 (April, 2011), 441-466. According to Gutiérrez Dávila, Oratorians recognized a certain sacred correspondence between the two Saint Philips due to their shared name. *Memorias históricas*, I: 7.

[263] More elaborate descriptions can be found in John Donnelly, "The Congregation of the Oratory" in *Religious Orders of the Catholic Reformation*, ed. Richard DeMolen (New York: Fordham University Press, 1994), 189-215, and Smither, *A History of the Oratorio*.

[264] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas*, I: 4, 7.

own school session in the Oratorian church on December 18th, the Day of the Expectation of Mary.[265]

Juan de la Pedrosa's term of leadership re-energized the Oratorians with additional weekly and festival services. On Thursdays Pedrosa led the attending faithful through the spiritual exercises of the Spanish mystic María de la Antigua to memorialize the passion of Christ, and on Fridays he led others along a *Via Crucis* procession, illustrated by the sculptures and paintings of Christ in the Oratorian church.[266] Pedrosa additionally began a weekly Sunday version of the spiritual lessons previously reserved only for the first Mondays of each month, and on Fridays of Advent season. His vigor for amplifying services within the church also matched a parallel initiative to expand on external services that connected the Oratorian church with the broader spiritual landscape of Mexico City. By the late 1690s, Oratorians had long made a public display of accompanying those condemned to execution on their walk from the prison to the gallows, offering consolation and succor in exchange for last confessions and penitence.[267] Pedrosa recruited fellow Oratorian Diego Malpartida to enhance the related tradition started by Francisco Corchero Carreño in 1661 to visit prisoners in the city jail on Easter as part of a broader program of preaching in public venues at targeted audiences. José de Lezamis joined Pedrosa to seal off all exits from houses where people gambled on cockfights to preach to and shame captive audiences for their vices. Bernabé Partida joined Pedrosa on other visits to the

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[265] *Indulgencias, y gracias concedidas*...(México: La viuda de Bernardo Calderón, 1679).

[266] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas*, II: 39.

[267] Marroquí notes that Oratorians collected alms for the burial and funeral services of criminals sentenced to death, and returned additional proceeds to the prisons from ca. 1661-1695, when Archbishop Aguiar y Seijas ordered that he should collect and distribute the alms as a diocesan initiative. *La ciudad de México*, II: 420.

city's textile mills (*obrajes*) and pulque taverns (*pulquerías*) to similar ends, and also joined his weekly Sunday efforts to preach to children on the streets in different city neighborhoods after the week's spiritual lessons.[268]

As in most confraternities, the execution of funeral rites for affiliated members played a prominent role in the ritual rights and responsibilities of members of the Venerable Union. Many priests also financed their educations and at least in part made a living through chaplaincies dedicated to performing masses for the dead, which ritually re-made the bonds of Oratorian collective identity through actively shared experiences related to chaplaincies and attending to members' lives beyond mortality. These funerary rites commemorated Oratorian lives and labor in Mexico City, and also reinforced ties made between members of the Venerable Union and the churches in which they were buried.[269] The Venerable Union's constitutions mandated regular contributions of alms to support the funerary expenses of members at the hour of their death. Furthermore, they emphasized the continuance of such obligations among brothers who subsequently obtain curacies or benefices outside of Mexico City. They even provided funerary rites for lay devotees who paid alms "so as not to die without spiritual retribution" afforded by masses.[270]

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[268] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas*, I: 170, 206; II: 57-63, 190, 294.

[269] The contemporary diaries kept by Oratorians Gregorio de Guijo and Antonio de Robles record the deaths of many affiliates, and occasionally include details about the funerary rites. See, for example, Gerónimo de Cervantes Casaus' burial in the Convento de San Francisco (Robles, *Diario de sucesos notables,* I: 121-122); Miguel Sánchez in the Sanctuary of Our Lady of Guadalupe (I: 158-159); Juan de la Barrera in the Mexico City Cathedral (I: 264); and Francisco Díaz de Navia in the Convento de Regina Caeli (I: 351).

[270] Ávila Blancas, *Bio-bibliografía*, 295, cap. 2, §. 18.

The Venerable Union's earliest constitutions provide some sense of the sartorial presence of member clerics in their description of institutional obligations. For all services, Oratorians were instructed to wear their seminarians' cap "with all modesty," but funerals and feast days called for additional attire. During Neri's feast day, for example, members of the Venerable Union dressed in their white surplices (*sobrepellices*), convene in their church at two o'clock in the afternoon and, in two choirs of low voice, kneel to pray a rosary of five mysteries, litanies for the Virgin, and other prayers to the Holy Spirit and Our Father before departing to visit the infirm in hospitals and private homes, and prisoners in the city's public jails.[271] The solemnity of funeral services for other affiliates required black capes (*manteos*), and voluntary carriage of the body from the church to its final resting place.

We can also access some sense of the words and meanings uttered in Oratorian prayers through a variety of print sources from seventeenth century Mexico City. Oratorians contributed to the rise in small printed prayer pamphlets in 8o and 16o size in New Spain, portable manuals that circulated widely and inexpensively in society.[272] These sources show Oratorians' work editing, excerpting, sponsoring, and writing introductions for popular prayer books. Oratorians showed particular skill at adapting portions of European tradition to local ritual practice in the Americas. These texts provide a vibrant archive for understanding Oratorians' discursive and affective means for engaging with early modern Catholicism, and help to provide more elaborate understanding of what went on in the prayer sessions they hosted in their church. While the manuals emphasize the central, mediatory role of the priest in leading devotional exercises and

[271] Ávila Blancas, *Bio-bibliografía*, 289.

[272] Melvin, *Building Colonial Cities of God*, 142.

supplications for divine aid, they also demonstrate some flexibility in the means Catholicism afforded its faithful to access support and intercession through prayer.

A novena published by an anonymous Oratorian in 1711 contains some of the saintly lore about Philip Neri circulated by the Oratorians in the days leading up to his feast.[273] Several texts provide distinct versions of rosary prayer methods practiced in the Oratorian church. In addition to the manuals by Diego del Castillo Márquez and Alonso Alberto y Velasco mentioned in Chapter 1, Oratorians endorsed other manuals extracted from the works of the Jesuits Henricus Engelgrave and Juan Bautista Manni.[274] A short, twenty-two page pocket manual entitled *Estaciones de la passion del Señor que exercitaba la Venerable Madre María de la Antigua* provides some insight into Juan de la Pedrosa's Thursday services memorializing the Stations of the Passion of Christ. Published in 1684, the text's title page elaborates that the stations it contains are dedicated to Diego Calderón Benvides, brother of the Oratorian founder Antonio Calderón Benavides and twelfth Prefect of the Venerable Union (1689-1692).

The earliest printed documents in Spanish that concerned Philip Neri relate to hagiographic lore of his life and beatified status. Following his canonization ceremonies in Rome and Madrid in 1622, Luis Bertrán Marco, a Spanish Dominican priest, published the first life

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[273] *Novena del glorioso patriarcha San Felipe Neri* (México: Francisco Ribera de Calderón, 1711). Novenas are nine-day cycles of prayer leading up to a momentous event in the Catholic ritual calendar (often a saint's feast day or formative moment in the lives of Christ or the Virgin Mary).

[274] Henricus Engelgrave, *Corona de amor que se ha de exercitar por las cuentas de la Camandula, sacada de las obras del P. Engelgrave de la Compañia de Jesus; por un Sacerdote de la Ecclesiastica y venerable concordia de S. Felipe Neri de la Ciudad de Puebla* (Reimpreso en Mexico: Francisco Rivera Calderon, 1722[1st ed. 1685]); Juan Bautista Manni, *Quatro maximas de cristiana filosofía ... á expensas del Ilustrísimo Señor D. Francisco de Aguiar, y Seijas Arzobispo de México ...* (México: Doña María de Ribera, 1685).

(*vida*) of Neri in Spanish, which included a copy of the Congregation's constitutions and papal bull of confirmation. It is unclear just how much or how widely these documents circulated in the Americas, but by the mid-seventeenth century the inventories of ship manifests and booksellers included other *vitae* recounting Neri's saintly virtues, deeds, and miracles by Pedro Antonio Vázquez, Pedro Jaime Bachi Aretino, Luis Crespi, and Bernardino Jano.[275] Life stories told in lengthy tomes, however, were primarily available to religious communities and wealthier elite readers. A 1711 Novena for St. Philip Neri may better illustrate some of the knowledge available to lay devotees and church visitors through his local cult. In the novena's introduction, the anonymous Oratorian author reveals that the nine stories used to commemorate Neri's life in his novena are condensed extracts from a life story written by Augustin Barbosa (1590-1645), an Italian bishop of Ugenta. He frames Neri as a contemporary of Martin Luther, using Luther's destruction of the Catholic Church's image and depreciation of the sacraments as a means for representing Neri's spiritual ethic as polar opposites. Neri, in contrast to Luther, is a "mirror for priests" who was born to oppose him by introducing more frequent enjoyment of the sacraments, deeper reverence for the authority of the Church hierarchy, more continuous prayer and overall reforms for life itself in the world through the Institute of the Congregation.[276]

Each day leading up to Neri's feast day, the novena presents a new vignette distilling aspects of Neri's personality as it exemplified themes toward the political end of representing an ideal priest. To illustrate his love of God, for example, the novena recounts that at age twenty-nine (in 1544) he felt an extreme swelling in his chest accompanied by intense pleasure when

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[275] Edmundo O'Gorman, "Bibliotecas y librerías colonials, 1585-1694" *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación* 2 (1939), 734, 742, 800, 802, 809, 829, 860, 862, 867.

[276] *Novena del glorioso patriarcha*, np2, 4.

praying that God enter his heart. According to the story, a post-mortem autopsy (in 1595) found he had lived with two broken ribs miraculously bent in the form of an arc to ventilate his heart after its ignition from the fire of God's love. Due to this extreme body heat during his life Neri carried on most days with an unbuttoned shirt, released fiery heat during prayer (when witnesses saw sparks emitting from his eyes and face), and always had to open his windows at night, even during the dead of winter.[277] Stories for subsequent days commemorated his devotion to the Eucharist and the Virgin Mary, his personal methods of prayer, confession and mortification, and his humble and chaste comportment. The form of delivery in the novenas bears a striking resemblance to contemporary folktales in the manner of relating saintly marvels and wondrous occurrences.[278]

Rosaries were another popular combination of prayers and meditation designed to help Catholics remember and consider the lives of Mary and Christ. Although rosary prayers were most closely associated with the Dominican order, many parish priests, reforming bishops, and missionaries advocated its powers, and individual rosary manuals often boasted a variety of indulgences conceded by popes and bishops as rewards to those who faithfully executed the acts of free will, love and memory they commemorated.[279] The Oratorian mayordomo of the Sanctuary of Our Lady of Guadalupe, Isidro Sariñana, coordinated the construction of fifteen

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[277] Ibid, np13-15.

[278] For comparison, see Juan Francisco Carvacho, *Primera y segunda parte del honesto y agradable entretenimiento de Damas y Galanes* (Pamplona: Nicolás de Asslayn, 1612).

[279] Karen Melvin, *Building Colonial Cities of God*, 144. For an extended history of the development of the rosary in Europe, see Anne Winston-Allen, *Stories of the Rose: The Making of the Rosary in the Middle Ages* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997).

oratories along the route from Mexico City to the nearby Guadalupan shrine from 1674 to 1676 in order to assist those visiting the shrine during festivals dedicated to Mary and Christ to commemorate their walk along the "causeway of the mysteries" with rosary prayers at each site.[280] Despite its enthusiastic reception by a broad range of Catholic officials, however, the Rosary remained a non-canonical exercise intended to foster devotion rather than establish historical truth.[281] In this light, it is no surprise how many different rosary services there are mentioned in the Oratorian constitutions and chronicle.

The Engelgrave text is a translated excerpt from a larger work first printed in New Spain in Puebla but later reprinted in Mexico City.[282] The selection reprinted in New Spain several times renders in Spanish text a conversation between God and Saint Matilda of Ringelheim (895 – 968 C.E.), primarily consisting of Matilda's responses to God's question "Daughter, do you love me?" The worshipping soul reading the text is directed to position their soul in the presence of God, imagine Jesus before them, and that He asks of their love. Each answer is subdivided into ten parts and after the third set of ten (*denario* or *misterio*) the author adds three additional,

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[280] The fifteen mysteries of the rosary were divided into three sets of five: the joyful, sorrowful, and the glorious. Melvin*, Building Colonial Cities of God,* 144, and Fernández, *Cristóbal de Medina Vargas*, 205-206, disagree whether the financier for this project was the Oratorian Archbishop Fray Payo Enríquez de Ribera or a local married couple, Juan and Jerónima Zepeda.

[281] "Rosary" in *The New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd edition, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2002), 12: 374.

[282] *Corona de amor que se ha de exercitar por las quentas de la Camandula / sacada de las obras del Padre Enrique Engelgrave de la Compañia de Jesus, por un Sacerdote de la Ecclesiastica y venerable concordia de San Phelipe Neri de la Ciudad de la Puebla* (Puebla: Diego Fernández de León, 1685). Subsequent reprints under the same title in 1722 (by Francisco Rivera de Calderón) and 1735 (by José Bernardo de Hogal) bore essentially the same title with minor typographic changes, and a truncated and slightly different version appears as a part of *Septenario del glorioso patriarcha San Joseph* (México: Juan Joseph Guillena Carrascoso, 1698).

somewhat longer responses to round out the total number at a symbolic count of thirty-three. The responses are, of course, effusively affirmative, and in the first set describe the soul's love for Jesus in terms that consistently supersede the information derived from the human senses. The soul loves Jesus "more than all the scents and softness of flowers," "above all harmony and consonance of music," and beyond "all the joy and pleasure of tasting meat."[283] The second set describes the love of the spiritual senses, or faculties – memory, understanding, heart, and more general energies (*fuerzas*), while the third covers ten hopes: to love Jesus solely, chastely, as did the Holy Martyrs and Apostles, Cherubs and Seraphs in their own times, and so on.[284]

A comparison between two distinct versions, however, shows small but significant variations in the details between the 1698 and early eighteenth century versions (hereafter Version 1 and Version 2, respectively). Version 1 entirely omits the framing tale relating the responses as the words and thoughts of Saint Mathilda. The texts in most of the individually numbered responses are slightly varied, and in a few cases, the sequence of topics addressed in particular numbers is rearranged as well. The latter two details suggest that the precise orations and orders of prayers were less important than the will and intent of the person conducting the devotional act. This seems especially well supported by a statement following the three additional invocations after the third denario in Version 2 (not included in Version 1), "To conduct these Acts, and the Crown [Rosary], as you already know, is not to apply the words, for less any of them, the Act itself will remain pure; and you need not speak, but only see God with

[283] *Septenario*, np25.

[284] Ibid, np26-27.

the eyes of the Soul, peering into her own soul. Speak through affects and desires, which are the words of the Soul."[285]

Another rosary text, Alonso González de Aradillas' *Misterios del santo Rosario de la Virgen Maria á coros*" bears more structural similarities to Castillo Márquez's Camandula rosary discussed in chapter 2. The larger, 163-page devotional manual in which the rosary text is embedded was printed in 1685 at the expense of Archbishop Francisco Aguiar y Seijas, the first Archbishop in New Spain to join the Venerable Union as a fellow congregant, and an otherwise avid supporter of the institution until his death. Aguiar y Seijas was the first Archbishop appointed in New Spain who conscientiously undertook the responsibility mandated by the Council of Trent that bishops should regularly visit the populations in their jurisdiction in person. González de Aradillas' text seems a plausible memorialization of the Rosary exercises Aguiar y Seijas led "á coros" (in choirs) during his tour of the southern Archdiocese in 1687-88.[286]

To execute the rosary correctly, Gonzales de Aradillas writes, "one must choose a quiet location (like a Church, or some Oratory) with an image of Our Lady, and all those joined together divide into two sides, or choirs, each facing the other. And bent kneeling before the image, you will prepare a little..."[287] After a group leader rises to their feet to recite a preparatory

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[285] "*Para exercitar estos Actos, y la Corona, ya sabes, que no son menester palabras, mientras menos huviere, será mas puro el Acto; que no necessitas de hablar, sino solo viendo á Dios con los ojos de la Alma en el centro de ella. Hablale con los afectos, y los desseos, que son las palabras de la Alma.*" Engelgrave, *Corona de amor*, np20. This pagination corresponds only to the copy preserved at the John Carter Brown Library, because it is missing several preliminary and ending pages, and all remaining pages are unnumbered.

[286] *Visita pastoral*, Henry Albert Monday Collection, Library of Congress, Box 14, 4v.

[287] Manni, *Quatro maximas*, 43r. ("*se ha de escoger un lugar quieto (como es la Iglesia, ó algun Oratorio) donde esté alguna Imagen de N. Señora; y juntos se dividiràn en dos vandas, ó coros,*

prayer (included in the text), Gonzales de Aradillas dictates the precise moments within recitations of *Padre Nuestros* and *Ave Marias* where the oral performance shifts from one chorus to the other. While speaking roles alternate, each chorus begins with *María*, and ends with *Jesús*. During turns of silence initiated by the latter name, Gonzales de Aradillas prescribes bowing the head in reverence while the alternate chorus continues.

Like early modern Europeans, Catholics in New Spain participated in *via crucis* (way of the cross) processions. Each station along a given prescribed route commemorated the footsteps of Christ, assisting the faithful "in empathizing with how Christ felt when he was whipped, fell carrying the weight of the cross, and was nailed to the cross." Karen Melvin writes that a typical *via crucis* consisted of fourteen stations that originated in a Franciscan church and ended in a Calvary chapel.[288] However, given the popularity and great variation among stational devotions in early modern Catholicism and the use of paintings and iconography to instruct followers in the experiences of both Christ and the Virgin Mary during the Passion, it seems plausible to argue that the Oratorian *via cruces* could have departed from their own church, made use of the extensive Passion iconography in the church, or been composed of a combination of both local and itinerant elements.[289]

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puestos en orde[n], uno en pos de otros; hincados de rodillas, delante de la Imagen, con mucha devoción, se preparán un tantito...")

[288] Melvin, *Building Colonial Cities of God*, 143.

[289] For a consideration of *via cruces* processions in the broader context of early modern stational devotions, see Mitzi Kirkland-Ives, "Alternate Routes: Variation in Early Modern Stational Devotions" *Viator* 40.1 (2009), 249-270, and *In the Footsteps of Christ: Hans Memling's Passion Narratives and the Devotional Imagination in the Early Modern Netherlands* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013). On "Days of the Stations," Members of the Archconfraternity of Christian Doctrine (hosted by the Oratorian church) and faithful visitors received 200 days of indulgences "if they visit the Churches of the Stations." *Indulgencias y gracias concedidas...á la*

Each of the first twelve of thirteen Thursday stations in the text composed by María de la Antigua and led by Juan de la Pedrosa from the Oratorian church began with three Our Fathers and three Ave Marias in memory of distinct moments, spaces and wounds that collectively contribute to defining Christ's passion.[290] The short summaries of the commemorations to be made at each station cast the moral qualities of the characters involved with careful deliberation, ranging through a variety of emotional and honorific designations of both Christ and his various, opposing Jewish adversaries. Spliced among the commemorative scene descriptions, the author provides somatic directions for those conducting prayers at key junctures: for example, to finish the second station through a Credo recited "with forehead pressed to the earth," and the fifth station with "discipline" (perhaps mortification) followed by another Credo, this time "with mouth pressed to the earth." The ninth station opens with twelve Salves, and instruction that each devotee publicly kiss the earth with each iteration, while privately imploring "Blessed be the blood with which my Lord Jesus Christ redeemed me."[291] María de la Antigua further advises devotees at this point to proceed crying, along with the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalene, in order to embody their courage and resolve to express the appropriate lamentation even in the clear, public view of Jesus' enemies.

The prayers featured in the manuals printed in New Spain strove to afford supernatural intercession on behalf of the devotee, and thereby provide devotees with an indirect connection with the divine through supplication. In some cases, prayers also provided more direct benefits

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Archicofradia de la Doctrina Christiana...de que goza, y participa la Unión de San Felipe Neri...por bula de agregación... (México: Viuda de Bernardo Calderon, 1679)

[290] For the final station, Antigua prescribes five Our Fathers and Ave Marias instead.

[291] Antigua, *Estaciones de la passion*, np 13-15.

when they allowed devotees to acquire indulgences. Schedules of indulgences are another important index of Oratorian spirituality. In one form, their accumulation was contingent upon execution of particular spiritual practices inscribed in the Oratorian church's devotional traditions. In another, they were occasionally direct rewards included in printed prayer manuals. Both types of sources provide suggestive evidence of how Oratorians engaged with the traditions and lore of early modern Catholicism to create a reputation in Mexico City through cultural production and encouragement of participation in ritual practices through free will.

Beginning in the Middle Ages, theologians, visionaries and other Christians increasingly articulated senses of the experience of purgatory. The Council of Trent authoritatively confirmed purgatory as a reality for Catholics in the mid-sixteenth century, and the diverse subject matter in prayer manuals points toward a commonplace reality for early modern Catholics: the terrifying prospect of a future spent in purgatory after life called for multi-pronged strategies to reduce and protect against an eternity of pain and suffering through ritual practices and divine intercession. The faithful sought aid for both the living and the dead, for themselves and for loved ones, through their prayers and exercises. As Nancy Van Deusen has eloquently argued, "the dead formed an integral part of 'life.' They were considered an active 'age group'... By the early modern period, death had become even less of a frontier between the living and the deceased, and the existence of purgatory meant that loved ones could 'extend' the life of the dead and help intervene on their behalf."[292] Catholics employed a variety of strategies to mitigate the suffering

[292] Van Deusen, *The Souls of Purgatory: The Spiritual Diary of a Seventeenth-Century Afro-Peruvian Mystic, Ursula de Jesús* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), 36. See also Jaime Morera, *Pinturas coloniales de ánimas en el purgatorio: iconografía de una creencia* (México: UNAM, 2001), and Carlos Eire, *From Madrid to Purgatory: The Art and Craft of Dying in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

of the faithful. Indulgences were a common, popular and effective way to quickly and concretely address fears and concerns related to suffering experienced in purgatory.

Compared to the crusading indulgence of early medieval fame, scholars have long portrayed their early modern counterparts as "the bastard child of the movement's heyday, ossified and uninspiring" well into the twentieth century.[293] Yet, as Patrick O'Banion argues, more recent and revisionist studies highlight how the iconic crusading indulgences used to target combat-ready knights capable of forming a noble army often disappointed larger, popular audiences of devout supporters who were encouraged to take the sidelines instead and contribute alms to the Crown. The Crown's mitigation and reduction of participation in crusading efforts was often met with fierce opposition. Facing the costs of state-of-the-art artillery and professional armed forces for the Reconquest of Spain, King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella first experienced the advantages of a crusading indulgence geared primarily toward attracting cash donations in 1483. Thereafter, Spanish monarchs in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries sought to secure greater and more reliable remittances from their faithful subjects through the promise of decadent indulgences in otherwise prohibited practices in compensation for contributions to the defense of the faith.[294] From 1559-1568, King Philip II in particular tried a variety of tactics to secure a contract perpetually granting bulls of crusading indulgences to be preached and purchased in the Spanish territories including diplomacy through Spanish courtiers in Rome, legal opinions (*pareceres*) from a diverse array of Spanish theologians, and through

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[293] Patrick O'Banion, "For the Defense of the Faith? The Crusading Indulgence in Early Modern Spain" *Archive for Reformation History* 101 (2010), 164-165.

[294] O'Banion, "The Crusading State: The Expedition for the Cruzada Indulgence from Trent to Lepanto" *Sixteenth Century Studies* 44.1 (Spring, 2013), 100-101.

letters directly addressed to the Pope. Caution on the part of the papacy, however, was prudently founded in concerns raised by Catholic critics (both laypeople and leading figures at the recently-concluded Council of Trent) and Protestant detractors alike.[295] The laity and non-believers complained about unscrupulous preachers who forced people to attend their sermons and then demanded subsequent alms donations. An overabundance of available indulgences could also reasonably lead to a decline in participation in ritual and devotional practices.[296] Exemptions from ordinary restrictions that formed the basis of episcopal guidance and control, such as the popular indulgence of choosing one's own confessor, also undermined ecclesiastical authority. Pope Pius V, wary of engendering further cycles of abuse, criticism, and detraction from Catholicism, hedged the generosity of indulgences granted in a new bull in 1569, which granted a greater range of exemptions to those who undertook a more traditional vision of participation in war efforts: taking up arms and joining a troop regiment in person. It was not until two years later, when Ottoman naval fleets on the Mediterranean threatened the security of Papal territories that Pius conceded a new bull granting a broader range of indulgences in exchange for alms donated to the Spanish defense efforts. In the wake of the Battle of Lepanto, where Spanish ships defeated the Ottoman offensive, and the ascent of Pius' successor Pope Gregory XIII, the Spanish Crown began to receive a more reliable and generous stream of crusade indulgences: "Although Phillip's heirs never received the perpetual *cruzada* for which the Prudent King had labored, in 1601 Clement VII (r. 1592-1605) granted Philip III (r. 1598-1621) permission to use

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[295] Ibid, 107-109. For a detailed discussion of Protestant critiques of crusading indulgences, see David Bagchi, "Luther's Ninety-five Theses and the Contemporary Criticism of Indulgences" in *Promissory Notes on the Treasury of Merits*: *Indulgences in Late Medieval Europe,* ed. R. N. Swanson (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 331-361.

[296] O'Banion, "The Crusading State", 104-105, 115.

the *cruzada* revenues to oppose any enemy of the faith and for the general defense of his realms."[297]

A brief overview of the types of exceptions indulgenced Catholics made to their pious lives will help to clarify the benefits and consequences that made for such controversy in the Early Modern world. According to Catholic doctrine, after the event of original sin, mortals were cut off from the grace afforded to humanity through Christ's self-sacrifice. The goodness of Christ and the saints, however, generated an abundance of grace that Archbishops were able to release incrementally in exchange for devotional acts from the faithful.[298] Clara García Ayluardo and Alicia Bazarte Martínez provide a helpful typology that differentiates indulgences at several levels. First, some indulgences were *plenary*, or full, while many others were *partial*. In either case, the materiality of indulgences further differentiated among *local* indulgences imposed on specific places with relatively fixed locations (such as a chapel, as in the case discussed at length below), *real* indulgences imposed on portable objects like medallions and engravings, and *personal* indulgences accorded to specific people, usually in exchange for group membership in a confraternity or a similar, rule-bound organization. *Circular* indulgences alternately rewarded those who conducted structured urban pilgrimages. Finally, *perpetual* indulgences ironically enough had to be renewed after jubilee years in Rome, which is to say every 20-25 years.[299]

To activate access to indulgences, Catholics had to be in a state of grace, having recently confessed and contritely repented for their sins, and having taken communion. Additionally, each

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[297] Ibid, 112-113, 115-116.

[298] Clara García Ayluardo and Alicia Bazarte Martínez, *Los costos de la salvación. Las cofradías y la ciudad de México (siglos XVI al XIX* (México: AGN, 2001), 69-70.

[299] García Ayluardo and Bazarte Martínez, *Los costos de la salvación*, 66-86 *passim*.

individual had to purchase the appropriate and most recently circulated Bull at the standard rate of two *reales*.[300] Bulls were further divided into subcategories, surely to generate additional revenues by separating bulls *of the living (de los vivos*) to those seeking remittance at the hour of their death, *animal products* (*laticinios*) that afforded exemption from abstinence of meat and dairy during fasts and vigils, *restitution* (*composición*) to compensate for the grave moral injuries caused to thieves and robbers by their trade, and the *deceased* (*difuntos*) to provide relief for the souls of kin and ancestors languishing in purgatory.[301]

By the later seventeenth century, and in vastly different territorial contexts, the meanings of crusading indulgences were significantly different than those of their medieval origins, and scholars are only beginning to understand the specificities of the Latin American context. While crusade Bulls were irregularly circulated in the Americas within a few years of the first Spanish expeditions to the Caribbean, formal administration of the Santa Cruzada only began in the late sixteenth century and began to take a unique, American shape during the course of the seventeenth century.[302] García Ayluardo and Bazarte Martínez argue that American religious

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[300] Ibid, 93. José António Benito Rodríguez, *La bula de cruzada en indias* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 2002), 94-95, provides two salient flow charts describing the processes of promulgation of each Bull of the Holy Crusade and the ingress of revenue gathered from those who purchased access rights to specific indulgences in the Americas.

[301] García Ayluardo and Bazarte Martínez, *Los costos de la salvación*, 93-95.

[302] For an overview of the earliest examples of crusading bulls and indulgences in the Americas, see Pilar Arregui Zamorano, "Ordenanzas inéditas para el Tribunal de la Cruzada de México" in *Poder y presión fiscal en la América Española (siglos XVI, XVII, y XVIII)* (Valladolid: Casa-Museo de Colón, 1986), 427-430. On the establishment of the Tribunal de Santa Cruzada in New Spain, see María del Pilar Martínez López-Cano, "La implantación de la bula de la Santa Cruzada en Nueva España en el último cuarto del siglo XVI" in *La iglesia en la Nueva España: Relaciones económicas e interacciones políticas*, coord. Francisco Javier Cervantes Bello (Puebla: Benemerita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, 2010), 21-49.

brotherhoods fundamentally prefigured the diocesan structure of the Catholic Church, and thus organized the new society that emerged there within the Spanish Empire. Confraternities consolidated local knowledge of particular saints, Marian apparitions, stages of the life of Christ and signature spiritual practices of early modern Catholicism, and connected the faithful to their particular heritage from the past and protective advocacy in the present.[303] Indulgences played a central role in the development of the devotional life that defined confraternities by enticing members to join and actively participate in community life, rewarding the diligent faithful with increased freedoms to participate in Catholic life in a style of their choosing, and extending the benefits of salvation to the departed kin of the brotherhood. Confraternity indulgences in the Americas represented a fluorescence of Catholic piety in the wake of Martin Luther's disparaging views of abuses within the Reformation-era Catholic Church, and a proud affirmation of the decrees of the Council of Trent that proclaimed indulgences ever more valuable in the wake of Christendom's divisions.[304]

The Venerable Union primarily organized the distribution of indulgences through a branch of the Archconfraternity of Christian Doctrine and secured indulgences from the Pope.[305]

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[303] García Ayluardo and Bazarte Martínez, *Los costos de la salvación*, 28, 36, 46.

[304] Ibid, 66-67.

[305] *Indulgencias y gracias concedidas....* A 1683 pastoral letter composed by Archbishop Francisco de Aguiar y Seijas aggregated the Venerable Union to the Archconfraternity of Christian Doctrine, committing its members to the same rights and responsibilities of indulgences and nullifying all others previously conceded. See *Nos El Doctor Don Francisco de Aguiar y Seyxas* (S.L.: s.n., 1683). On Aguiar y Seijas' efforts to subordinate confraternities to the Archconfraternity of Christian Doctrine through aggregation more broadly, see Clemente Cruz Peralta, "Las cofradías de la Huasteca según sus libros de visitas pastorales (siglos XVII-XVIII)" in *Las voces de la fé: las cofradías de México (siglos XVII-XIX)* coord. Eduardo Carrera et al. (México: UNAM, 2011), 192-193.

Through membership in both the Venerable Union and the Archconfraternity of Christian doctrine, attendees of the Oratorian church could acquire different quantities of indulgences ranging from hundreds of days to several years at a time for teaching Christian doctrine in the church, on scheduled holy days, among family members and in the streets to curious strangers. Oratorians also circulated indulgences associated with prayer manuals. Diego del Castillo Márquez's *Ofrecimiento de la corona de Nuestro Señor Jesu Christo*, a popular Oratorian arrangement of a Dominican rosary, proudly boasted indulgences granted by three different popes between 1515-1589 on its first Mexican printing. Diligently prayed, devotees could hope to gain ten years indulgence for correctly interspersing the correct number of Pater Nosters and Ave Marias between prayers that commemorate the life and virtues of Jesus, one thousand years for faithful recitations for an entire year, and double that amount for continuing the prayers for one's entire lifetime, according to a concession from Pope Leo X.[306] Gregory XIII further offered plenary indulgences to those who rounded out full years of prayer with confession at Easter, and Sixtus V confirmed an additional schedule of twelve conditional concessions of further indulgences. [307] The indulgences granted to prayer manuals straddle an ambiguous space of allocation between the personal and the portable object. Both types of indulgences, as rewards

[306] Fenlon, "Music and Reform in Sixteenth-Century Italy," 876, notes that under the rule of Leo X, the Florentine population in Rome increased significantly, and led to decisive Florentine control of the city's courts, civil government, and wealth, suggesting a connection between a Florentine consolidation of power and the foundational granting of indulgences for the Camandula rosary, especially in the context of Neri's Florentine origins and the Mexico City Oratorians' promotion of Castillo Márquez's Camandula services.

[307] Alonso de Rivera, *Ofrecimiento de la corona de Nuestro Señor Jesu Christo…dispuesto ahora nuevamente por el Br. Diego del Castillo Márquez* (México: La Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, 1682), np 3-6.

for attending church services and willingly participating in its devotional exercises, were experiential incentives to partaking in Oratorian community.

Unlike prayer, preaching was an oratorical domain the clergy claimed exclusively for themselves. Catholics held that, far more than other forms of public speech, preaching sermons "expressed the permanent projection of God onto the various forms of life in the universe." By framing preaching as sacred oratory, the Church aimed to reserve a particular form of storytelling and its reception for the reinterpretation of Scripture in the light of historical events unfolding in real-time, and moderate its circulation through clerics figured as the sole transmitters of divine inspiration through oral performance.[308] In the wake of the Council of Trent, parish priests were required to perform sermons within their communities far more regularly and frequently. The Council mandated weekly Sunday sermons, and daily preaching during Advent and Lent. Early modern preaching manuals provided their clerical readers with expositions of the connections between good conduct of sacred oratory and the classical forms of rhetoric elaborated by Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian and Plato. In one such manual, Fray Luis de Granada emphasized moving the audience emotionally through beautiful phrasing and pronunciation as the primary goal of preaching. Granada likened emotional manipulation to appropriate care for the spiritual health of listeners, implying that priests could better discern the needs of the community than the parishioners themselves. Clerical oratory played an important role within the multimedia efforts by the Spanish Empire to control the populace of domesticated faithful, steering them away from sin and toward obedient lives focused around the

[308] Alcir Pécora, "The Sermon in the Seventeenth Century" in *Literary Cultures of Latin America: A Comparative History. Volume II: Institutional Modes and Cultural Modalities*, ed. Mario Valdés and Djelal Kadir (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 258-259.

sacraments.[309] In Spain, preachers' attempts at social control centrally addressed the perceived dangers of the ideals and critiques presented by the Protestant Reformation. In the Americas, where Protestantism had far less of a presence, the use of preaching in colonial society followed a different course.[310] Preachers in New Spain strove to translate many of the basic subtleties of Catholicism into Nahuatl and other prominent indigenous languages. However complicated and fraught this process was, many native peoples who regularly engaged with preachers underwent baptism, participated in Christian ceremonies, and chose to represent themselves as Christians, whatever they understood Christianity to be.[311] Few sixteenth or early seventeenth century sermons were printed to memorialize the particular events of evangelical preaching among Indigenous congregations, but those that do are, as Carlos Herrejón Peredo suggests, representative of renowned elites among elites.[312] Instead, what Herejón calls a local tradition of

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[309] Gwendolyn Barnes-Karol, "Sermons and the Discourse of Power: The Rhetoric of Religious Oratory in Spain (1550-1900)" Ph.D. Diss., University of Minnesota, 1988, 26-37; Melvin, *Building Colonial Cities of God*, 122.

[310] On the differences between Fray Luis de Granada's conceptualization of preaching and that of an early Franciscan preacher, Fray Diego Valadés, see Martha Elena Venier, "La *Rhetorica Christiana* de Diego Valadés" *Caravelle* 76-77 (2001), 437-442.

[311] Louise Burkhart deals extensively with the issues of translation and conversion in *The Slippery Earth: Nahua-Christian Moral Dialogue in Sixteenth-Century Mexico* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989. This particular passage, slightly modified, comes from Burkhart's essay "Pious Performances: Christian Pageantry and Native Identity in Early Colonial Mexico" in *Native Traditions in the Postconquest World*, ed. Elizabeth Boone and Tom Cummins (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1998), 362.

[312] Carlos Herrejón Peredo, "La oratoria en Nueva España" *Memorias de la Academia Mexicana de la Historia* (1994), 158. For a transcribed and translated exception, and excellent study, see Barry Sell and Larissa Taylor, "'He Could Have Made Marvels In This Language': A Nahuatl Sermon by Father Juan de Tovar, S.J." *Estudios de cultura Náhuatl* 26 (1996), 211-244.

editing sermons for the printing press really began in earnest in the mid-seventeenth century, and developed in tandem with Oratorian presence in Mexico City.

The Venerable Union considered preaching an extremely important skill for clergy in general, and for its own members in particular. Gutiérrez Dávila framed preaching as one of two licensed skills necessary for becoming an affiliate,[313] and a variety of documentary sources show Oratorians' engagement with the discipline in different ways. The 1,812 sermons printed in New Spain during the colonial period are a miniscule part of the unknowably larger corpus of sacred oratory, but do demonstrate Oratorian prominence in the discipline. During the late seventeenth century Oratorians produced 47 out of a total 302 sermons from 1659-1700, 16% of those published in Mexico City, but 47 of 90, or 52%, of the sermons published in Mexico City by secular priests.[314]

Preachers from the Venerable Union worked widely across the churches and parishes of Mexico City and New Spain. Juan de la Pedroza and José de Lezamis notoriously sought out sites of cockfights, where they would block the exits with their bodies and preach against the sins of the attendants.[315] José García de León evangelized in company of an elderly servant who was

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[313] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas* I: 9; II: 186. Aguirre Salvador, "En busca del clero secular," emphasizes analysis of clerical ordination and licensure as an important new direction in archival research on the secular clergy. Leticia Pérez Puente surveys the archival collections available for a thorough study of licensing preachers in Mexico City, which also became more systematic during the mid-seventeenth century, in "El acervo colonial del Archivo de la Curia Metropolitana" in *Teoría y práctica archivística II*, coord. Gustavo Villanueva (México: CESU-UNAM, 2000), 65-90, and "Fuentes y bibliografía" in *Tiempos de crisis, tiempos de consolidación*, 325-327.

[314] For a detailed inventory of published oratory in New Spain, see Carlos Herrejón Peredo*, Del sermon al discurso cívico*, 381-493.

[315] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas* I: 256.

memorialized by Gutiérrez Dávila as saying "My dark-skinned servant teaches Christian doctrine, and I exercise my patience."[316] Joaquín de la Piñuela traveled to *obrajes* near Mexico City to reach captive and resident workers.[317] Gutiérrez Dávila interchangeably describes Oratorian preaching as *predicación* and *plática*, suggesting that Mexico City's Oratorians also practiced the informal delivery of the gospel that was a defining characteristic of Italian Oratorian culture. Many Oratorians featured in *Memorias históricas* were Magistral Canons and University chairs (*catedráticos*), two positions reflective of extensive training in the culture of oral disputation and public lecturing. Oratorians in the Venerable Union consistently represented the highest local official preaching appointments, the Cathedral's *canónigo magistral*.[318]

Two early sermons delivered on the occasion of Phillip Neri's feast day illustrate Oratorian preaching in New Spain and some of the ways that sermons transmitted Oratorian spirituality through the printing press in Mexico City. While novenas provided brief episodes extracted from published *vitae*, sermons typically mobilized longer explications of and meditations on particular passages from the *vitae*, organized around a unifying theme. The preachers' musings on the central issues of Oratorian spirituality help to counterbalance the understanding of Catholic devotions through prescriptive statements found in manuals and

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[316] Ibid, I: 242. "*Mi moreno enseña la doctrina christiana á los muchachos, y á mi me exercita la paciencia*."

[317] Ibid, III: 247.

[318] Simon Esteban Beltrán de Alzate (Mexico City - *Al Rey Nuestro Señor Phelipe IV*); José Vidal de Figueroa (Mexico City - Medina II: 294, no.743 [cit. Beristain]); Lorenzo Salazar Muñatones (Michoacán and Puebla – Medina II: 374, no. 929); Juan de Poblete (Michoacán – Medina II: 386, no. 956); Francisco Aguiar y Seijas (Astorga – Medina II: 566, no. 1300); Pedro de Avalos y de la Cueva (Mexico City - Arrechederreta y Escalada, *Catálogo de los colegiales*, 28; Ignacio de Hoyos Santillana (Mexico City - Plaza y Jaen II: p. 71 § 159); Lucás de Verdiguer (Beristain III: 268).

constitutions by presenting some illustrations of how contemporary priests encouraged their audiences to consider the life of Philip Neri and his significance to early modern Catholicism. The first published pamphlet addressing Philip Neri's feast day in New Spain commemorated a sermon preached in the convent of Discalced Carmelites in Puebla, where a fledgling Oratorian community calling itself a *concordia eclesiástica* had just erected its first altar in 1652. Antonio Peralta y Castañeda's [hereafter Peralta] *Sermón del glorioso San Phelippe Neri* established the parable of the faithful servant recounted in the Book of Luke as the standard point of departure for preachers considering Neri thereafter.[319] In 1669, Francisco de la Cueva Quiñones likewise introduced his *Sermón a la festividad de el glorioso S. Felipe Neri* with the motto "*Sint lumbi vestri praecincti; & lucernae ardentes in minibus vestris*" ("Your loins must be girt, and your lamps burning").

Each preacher pursues his own means to explicate the meaning of the passage from the Book of Luke, and to explain Philip Neri's exemplarity through interpretations of his service to God. Peralta opens his sermon by focusing on Neri's insistence that Oratorians participate in the Congregation of the Oratory of their own free will. He begins with a consideration of the difficulties of using rules to organize society. Peralta's explication of Luke 12 moves from a broad consideration of what it means to be a vigilant and patient servant of God to a sustained analysis of one particular episode in Neri's life that functions as a prime symbol of exemplarity. Throughout the discussion of each theme, Peralta pairs his own interpretations with examples of

[319] I have to date been unable to compare these with the motto Miguel Sánchez's 1668 sermon, but the tradition is continued in the eighteenth century feast day sermons from 1727 and 1733 by Antonio Díaz de Godoy and Juan José de Eguiara y Eguren, respectively.

misunderstanding and enchantment, disguised or mistaken as wisdom by other writers as well as anonymous detractors.

Peralta builds a sense of contrast between the Oratorian community and the religious orders of the Catholic Church by lamenting the difficult lot humans led as inherently corrupt beings. They can, he argues, neither survive without laws to lead them, nor seem to obey the laws in place before them.[320] After asking rhetorically what remedy humanity might seek, Peralta suggests that where laws are weak when it comes to ordering human liberty within the realm of just actions, an exemplary living image might succeed in enamoring humans of goodness and thereby attracting them to lead moral and virtuous lives of their own volition. In the face of human weakness and inability to obey the mandates of law, seeing another human, basically as weak as the viewer, exercising his will can convince him to follow suit and catalyze a radical transformation that stimulates all the human senses. With this rather unexpected reading of the role of law in society as preamble, Peralta summarizes a popular interpretation of Luke 12 held by many, "to remain bound at the ready, in resplendent love of God and neighbor, exercising all virtues; bound by the law to others," to foreshadow his own contradictory and revelatory interpretation that Christ keeps the "greatness of glory" bound away from the faithful, in order to enamor them of the ultimate prize.[321]

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[320] Antonio Peralta y Castañeda, *Sermón del glorioso San Phelippe Neri*, (México: Hipólito de Ribera, 1652), 2v. ("*infeliz naturaleza la nuestra, que ni puede vivir sin ley, que la prevenga, y la ajuste, ni sufre essa sugeción desempeñandose de advertida, como pudiera de agitada*.")

[321] Ibid, 3v.

Continuing his characterization of Neri, Peralta next develops a comparison with Saint Theresa, "a Saint very similar to [our] great Saint although she walked a very different path".[322] Theresa, he explains, was a valiant defender of grace among women, who lamented the weakened state of obedience to the rule of the Discalced Carmelites as she found it in the sixteenth century. She exemplified how rigid and extreme adherence to a religious rule could summon and obligate grace to fortify woman's natural weakness. Neri in contrast was from his earliest years radiant with love of God and neighbor, his virtues figuratively bursting out of his priestly vestments to ignite fellow priests walking his same path, "which is a more powerful example through action than is the bind of the law".[323] Peralta relates how Neri further lamented that many secular priests took their exemption from professing the rules of religious orders as an excuse to avoid their obligations to pursue perfection by other means. In response, he and his disciples in Rome began to give special attention in their sermons to the consideration of saints' lives as positive examples rather than reprehension of the audience for committing sins. He argued that in times past when many preachers were present and doctrine was abundant, they reaped few fruits because the preachers typically tried to entrap listeners with laws, rather than attract them through edifying examples. Peralta emphasizes Neri's position of internal critique of

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[322] Ibid. "*Santa muy parecida á tan grande Santo aunque en tan diferentes caminos*."

[323] Ibid, 4r. *"San Phelippe Neri, que desde sus menores años ardió en amor de Dios, y del próximo, ceñido para así de cíngulo suerte de todas las virtudes, hecho Sacerdote por obediencia, se publicó al mundo una ley viva de exemplos, con que facilmente encendió grande numero de lamas en su seguimiento, y reconociendo, que es mas poderoso el exemplo de las acciones, que el aprieto de la ley..."*

Catholicism that focused on encouragement of secular priests aimed to unify saints and priests by disciplining their respective souls in the same manner.[324]

The final three sections of the sermon each focus on different dimensions of a single episode of Neri's life and hagiographic lore: Philip's possession by the Holy Spirit.[325] First, Peralta set the scene by arguing that Philip's contempt for his own worldly self opened up the space for a great swelling of his heart caused by the Holy Spirit. Peralta argues that Neri masterfully represented all the God-given greatness in the world by publicly depreciating all things earthly in order to prevent any vanity associated with himself. The preacher evokes two comparisons between Philip and Moses. In the first, he argues Moses doubted his own qualifications to lead in God's name, and thereby signified his worthiness to rule. In the second example, when Moses sought to draw water from a dry stone with his staff, Moses tried to elicit the water by raining blows upon the stone rather than coaxing it out through persuasion.[326] From the latter case, Peralta elaborates a moral lesson: "Oh cruel ambition; beg and receive obedience like God, but injure to access obedience and God will turn you toward misery in increase."[327] The contrast between these two episodes of Moses' life foreground the terms for the greatness Peralta sees in Philip Neri. Peralta lauds Neri for employing a similar circumspection about fame and public recognition as had Moses, noting that he lived in the most public city as "the most removed of hermits." The acts of removal and refusal, following Peralta's next argument, created

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[324] Ibid, 4r-v.

[325] See page 10, note 22 above.

[326] Peralta cites his references from Exodus 3:11 and Numbers 20:8, respectively.

[327] Ibid, 6r. *"ó ambicioso cruel ruega, y serás obedecido como Dios, que si hieres para que te obedezcan, Dios te volverá á la miseria de tu ser, y assi acrecienta*".

a powerful vacuum in Neri's interior that God used to fill his heart with His own omnipotence. As proof of the latter consequence, Peralta notes Neri's propensity to question the vocation of renowned devotees of the religious orders, and ability to even smell dishonor on others by simply drawing their bodies close.[328]

In his conclusion, Peralta gestures toward humility by calling his sermon a sketch of the saint's powers, but contends that what seem like greatly dismaying demands on its audience are actually a revelation of a priest's greatest challenge and thus well worth the struggle. Peralta encourages his audience of fledgling Oratorians to look to Neri's example to move beyond the care for the sick and dead priests of Puebla that their Concord currently provided, to move with guarded caution toward increase in their organization's membership, like an adoring daughter looking to her father for guidance in her mission to "have many children in the Indies."[329]

Cueva Quiñones begins by alternately focusing on interpretation of the meaning of light in the parable of Luke by differentiating between the function of the torch and "office" of the lantern: while the former functions to illuminate the face, the latter bends down toward the feet to help secure safe passage at night. Along these lines, Cuevas Quiñones frames Philip Neri as a "lantern of God", showing his fellow men the way to walk in the path of divine light, and parallels Peralta's emphasis on Neri as an exemplary figure. Neri explicitly eschewed public displays of his virtues, denying himself decorations and offices like the Cardinal's hat in favor of a discreet saintly demeanor as peralta had also emphasized.[330] In keeping with his theme of

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[328] Ibid, 11r.

[329] Ibid, 12v-13r.

[330] Francisco de la Cueva Quiñones, *Sermón á la festividad de el glorioso S. Felipe Neri* (México: Francisco Rodríguez Lupercio, 1669), np14.

modulating and editing appearances, Cueva Quiñones also elaborates on the Holy Spirit's invasion of Neri's heart, filling it with love of God, and rupturing his ribs. He ponders the seeming contradiction of receiving such a great gift from God (*fineza*), and the real consequences of Neri's life-long bodily tremors and heart palpitations. The Holy Spirit's use of Neri's body as its host, he explains, catered to the inability of the human senses to comprehend the entirety of the Trinity simultaneously. Neri's chronic fits of tremors signified the continued presence and life of the Holy Spirit within him.[331]

Joined with the Holy Spirit, Cueva Quiñones argues that Neri demonstrates God's omnipotence through reference to his abilities to smell virtue and vice. Cueva Quiñones draws upon the authority of biblical prophets to establish that the "reading of hearts and kidneys" – the two primary domains of God within the human body – is a gift shared by both God and worldly Lords, but ends the sermon with a parallel drawn from European pagan mythology, figuring Neri as a Unicorn coming to rest in the Conceptionist convent "having in view that florid choir of sacred virgins."[332]

Both sermons also reveal significant details about how early Oratorian communities in New Spain entered local culture by engaging with the politics of representing spirituality built on relationships with other communities and organizations in society. Peralta dedicates his sermon to the former bishop of Puebla and Visitor-General of New Spain, Juan de Palafox y Mendoza. Peralta had initially immigrated to New Spain as part of Palafox's entourage, and received his appointments as a local Inquisition prosecutor and Magistral Canon in Puebla's Cathedral

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[331] Ibid, np16-17.

[332] Ibid, np 22-23.

through Palafox's patronage.[333] Palafox challenged the local customs of religious politics in New Spain, controversially forcing religious orders to relinquish control of Indigenous parishes to make way for appointments of secular clergy. The ensuing conflicts with religious orders dispossessed of parish responsibilities and incomes compounded with conflicts Palafox sustained in Mexico City as Visitor-General with the Viceroy, Archbishop and Inquisition. Their combined efforts temporarily forced Palafox to live and work in exile from Puebla, and eventually contributed to his return to Spain in 1649.[334] Throughout the conflicts of the 1640s, Palafox maintained allegiances with the Carmelites of the city of Puebla, who diverged from the missionary orders' politics of opposition. Their particular form of rule accorded well with Palafox's ideals for religious orders, and their lack of missionary provinces in New Spain eliminated a reason for any claims that the secular priests were usurping their ministry.[335] Thus, it is not surprising that secular priests in Puebla aspiring to develop a saint's cult for Neri would find an ally in Palafox's well-positioned subordinate, and that their meetings and first chapel could find welcome in the Carmelites' convent. The fact that the first publication collectively sponsored by the Venerable Union was a short pamphlet written by Palafox as a manual for

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[333] Cayetana Álvarez de Toledo calls Peralta Palafox's "right hand man" in Puebla in *Juan de Palafox, Obispo y Virrey* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2011), 116, and notes that his appointment to the Cathedral elicited protest from local Creole officials. See *Politics and Reform in Spain and Viceregal Mexico: The Life and Thought of Juan de Palafox, 1600-1659* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 79.

[334] Álvarez de Toledo, *Politics and Reform*, 253-263.

[335] On the history of relations between Palafox and the Carmelites, see Melvin, *Building Colonial Cities of God*, 198-205.

secular priests, further suggests that Mexico City's Oratorians likewise endorsed Palafox's politics concerning the diocesan church.[336]

Cuevas Quiñones' sermon, on the other hand, commemorated the creation of an Oratorian chapel in a Convent of Conceptionist nuns in the capital of Oaxaca, Antequera. The author was a well-known figure in the diocese, who first worked as a parish priest in the towns of Xalatlaco and Sola, and later as a license examiner for the Diocese of Oaxaca.[337] In his conclusion Cuevas Quiñones praises his sponsor, Oaxaca's Dominican bishop Tomás Monterroso, for publishing the sermon and financing the chapel's construction and ornamentation, and providing the new Oratorian community with a set of governing constitutions. Monterroso's choice of venue held important symbolic consequences: Cuevas Quiñones praises Monterroso's obligation as bishop to support the growth of the secular clergy over loyalty to Dominican criticisms of the doctrine of Immaculate Conception.[338] Moreover, Cuevas Quiñones argues that Monterroso's devotion significantly *collocates* devotions to Saint Philip Neri and the doctrine of Immaculate Conception, and as a result validates the latter because Neri famously had the ability to literally sniff out traces of vice and virtue among those

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[336] *Manual de sacerdotes. Del Illmo. y Exmo. Señor Don Juan de Palafox y Mendoza. Dedicalo al Illus.mo. y Rever.mo. Señor Doctor Don Alonso de Cuevas Dávalos, del Consejo de su Magestad, dignissimo Arzobispo de esta Metropoli. Su Unión, y Congregación del Oratorio de S. Felipe Neri, de esta Ciudad de México: como á su Protector* (México: La Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, 1664).

[337] AGI, Indiferente General 196, no. 48 (1662) and 205, no. 84 (1683).

[338] Monterroso's choice may illustrate obedience to a 1662 order from the pope forbidding "anyone from saying that Mary had been conceived with the stain of original sin and ordering[*sic*] the Inquisition to proceed against anyone who did so." See Melvin, *Building Colonial Cities of God*, 205-214, quote on 212.

he met. Effectively, Neri's ability to reside in the Conceptionist convent affirmed the absence of sin there.[339]

While secular priests published fewer sermons than the religious orders, they produced significantly more of the licensure reviews required to publish sermons and other religious literature. Oratorians were also frequently consulted reviewers who promoted the sermons of their fellow affiliates and peers during the seventeenth century. From 1659-1700, roughly 900 critical review texts appeared as prefatory sections to imprints published in Mexico City [Figure 4.1]. Of the total, censors from religious orders collectively produced the majority of the review texts (619). Still, secular priests as a group produced significantly more than any single religious order. Within the ranks of secular priests, moreover, Oratorians produced the vast majority (231) of the 277 total texts.

Enclosed within sermons as *aprobaciones*, *sentires*, and *pareceres*, these "paratexts" held a marginal relation to the main text, often appearing as unpaginated portions of paginated or foliated documents.[340] Even as sermons have recently emerged within literary criticism and history as an important genre for interpreting early modern culture, paratexts are all the more slowly entering the consciousness of literary scholars and historians as authored texts in their own right.[341] Paratexts formed an integral part of the baroque presentation of the sermon, and

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[339] Cuevas Quiñones, *Sermón á la festividad*, np21-22.

[340] On the concept of paratexts, see Gèrard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation,* trans. Jane Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

[341] See Perla Chinchilla's "La república de las letras y la prédica jesuita novohispana del siglo XVII. Los paratextos y la emergencia del arte como sistema" *Estudios de Historia Novohispana* 41 (julio-diciembre, 2009), 79-104; Carlos Herrejón Peredo, "Los sermones novohispanos" in *Historia de la literatura mexicana. Volúmen 2: La cultura letrada en la Nueva España del siglo XVII* coord. Raquel Chang-Rodríguez (México: Siglo Veintiuno, 2002), 429-447.

provided an elaborate introduction and formal "entryway" to the sermon proper allowing reviewers the chance to match or supersede the preacher's erudition through a corresponding genre of literary production. Reviews produced for the Inquisition, Archdiocese of Mexico, the Tribunal of the Holy Crusade, and established religious orders often met, competed with, and superseded the size and complexity of the religious tracts they introduced.[342] A few Oratorians clearly held esteemed reputations as reliable and desirable reviewers, while others demonstrated engagement with the process in passing [Figure 4.2]. Licensure texts were by definition formal discourse, and their authors always framed their work in terms of obedience, but at times they show playfulness with formulas of authentication and praise. In his *censura* for Cueva Quiñones' sermon on Saint Philip Neri discussed above, the most frequently employed censor of the late seventeenth century, Ignacio de Hoyos Santillana, wrote only a brief affirmation that "I have seen and read this Sermon, and it does not contain anything against our Holy Catholic Faith, and thus You [the Vicar General] may give to the Author the license he requests to print it."[343] In contrast, José Vidal de Figueroa's review of Fray Francisco de Burgoa's *Palestra historial* occupies three folio pages and contains marginal notes. Vidal de Figueroa dramatically relates his own emotional shift while reading the manuscript's title page—from fear of the ominous title *Palestra historial* (a site of epic struggle) to pleasure at the prospect of indulgent learning—upon learning of the author's identity, and further attests to Burgoa's eminence and authority through

[342] Herrejón Peredo, "Oratoria en Nueva España," 159; and *Renaissance Paratexts*, ed. Helen Smith and Louise Wilson (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

[343] "Censura del Doctor y Maestro D. Ygnacio de Hoyos Santillana," in *Sermón á la festividad de el glorioso S. Felipe Neri*, np5.

comparisons to great historical and biblical writers.[344] Licensure texts suggest important power relationships within colonial society. In theory at least, for each of the texts reviewers composed, license authors received a specific request from the Vicar General accompanied by the manuscript in question. Censors then returned the manuscript with their commentary, and the Vicar General produced an appropriate, notarized license that would ultimately be delivered to the printer. Further research into the processes that governed these relationships is required for a better understanding of the dynamics at play.

Although preaching was an important element of Oratorian devotional services, it often served as an interlude between cycles of prayers, singing and music during church services that comprise other important forms of oratory in Early Modern Catholicism. More central to the identification of Saint Philip Neri's religious community as the Congregation of the Oratory was the production of staged dramatic acts accompanied by music during their devotional services. The music of the Oratorian tradition was an adaptation of late medieval monastic traditions to the context of Renaissance Rome, combining Savonarolan aesthetic and philosophy from Florence with professional musicians. It bridged traditional dichotomies between sacred and secular music, and between written and oral traditions. This combination resulted in production of both simple monophonic *laude* and more elaborate polyphony. "Florence and Rome, Neri and Savonarola, represent the twin poles of an axis along which music and composers travelled united by a common set of ideas about the position of the art in a reformed church."[345] The laude

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[344] "Aprobación del Dor. Ioseph Vidal de Figueroa," in *Palestra historial de virtudes, y ejemplares apostólicos*, (México: Juan Ruyz, 1670), np7-9.

[345] Iain Fenlon, "Music and Reform in Sixteenth-Century Italy" in *Belarmino e la controriforma. Atti del simposio internazionale di studi Sora, 15-18 ottobre 1986*, ed. Romeo de Maio et al. (Sora: Centro di Studi Sorani "Vincenzo Patriarca", 1990), 862; and "Varieties of Musical

favored by Florentines conveyed sacred themes conveyed in the vernacular, with lyrics classified as poetic text. By the late 1400s, they were musically indistinguishable from contemporary motets. Like rosaries and novenas, laude had no liturgical function, although they were often performed in church and incorporated into daily and festival ritual culture alike.[346]

The Florentine, Savonarolan laud prized simplicity over polyphonies, particularly multiple vocal parts and organ accompaniment. Still, Iain Fenlon argues that Savonarola's critiques of polyphony have been fundamentally misunderstood. Fenlon differentiates between Savonarola's regard for secular song and sacred polyphony. While the texts associated with secular song would have been regarded as heterodox, Savonarola opted for expediency and adaptation of local vernacular cultural traditions as a means to encourage popular engagement with sacred music. Thus, Savonarola favored simple lauda and chants set to the melodies of French and Italian folksong and vernacular poetic texts composed on sacred themes.[347]

In sixteenth-century Rome, Philip Neri revived and adapted "the late medieval tendencies towards sectarianism and lay piety" that Savonarola had championed, but in the context of direct proximity, scrutiny and authorization of the papacy. Neri was raised in Florence, exposed to the "quite specific Florentine Dominican traditions of popular music and prayer which were fostered by the community of San Marco," and continued to be influenced by the Florentine community living in Rome.[348] The early meetings of the Roman Congregation of the Oratory in the 1550s

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Experience: Music and Reform in Renaissance Italy" in *Forms of Faith in Sixteenth-Century Italy*, ed. Abigail Brundin and Matthew Treherne (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), 204-205.

[346] Fenlon, "Music and Reform in Sixteenth-Century Italy," 865.

[347] Ibid, 867-870.

[348] Ibid, 874.

drew much of its inspiration from the devotional practices of Rome's Florentine community in their private, domestic oratories, and presented those spiritual exercises as a revival of ancient Christian practices.[349] While the spiritual exercises of the Congregation of the Oratory drew upon Florentine tradition, they also modified and innovated it in significant ways. Oratorian spiritual exercises incorporated more complex polyphony, and created specific, occasional event pieces. These changes were largely due to increased involvement of professional musicians and attendance by the more bourgeois and aristocratic denizens of Rome.[350] The *oratorio vespertino* also pushed the Florentine tradition to new lengths of complexity, combining urban pilgrimage and youth preaching, but most importantly recasting the devotional exercises as "a kind of recreation...to allure every sort of person." Other more elaborate urban pilgrimages were held on feast days, especially Mardi Gras, "as an alternative to the excesses of carnival."[351]

Accounting for the transfer of *oratorios* to the local cultures of Spain and Spanish America is far less straightforward than tracing the chronological establishment of Oratorian communities. Monserrat Sánchez Siscart argues that the histories of Oratorian culture, *oratorios*, and *villancicos* were intertwined in the mid-seventeenth century, when Oratorian congregations began to form in Spain. Still, there is no singular trajectory of influence between the extant polyphonic musical traditions of Spain, particularly the *villancico*, Oratorian communities, and the *oratorio*. The *oratorio*, in his view, was "but one example in the larger branch of period theater or religious paratheater, with strong ties to other genres...like the villancico, sermons and

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[349] Fenlon, "Varieties of Musical Experience," 209.

[350] Fenlon, "Music and Reform in Sixteenth-Century Italy," 880-881.

[351] Ibid, 884-885.

saints' dramas."[352] María Teresa Ferrer Ballester and Rafael Carreras y Bulbena agree that "Spain, despite its intimate relations with Italy, remained indifferent to the *oratorio* movement initiated in Rome by Saint Philip Neri" during the seventeenth century.[353] The clearly denominated genre of *oratorios* does not surface in published or manuscript music in Spain until the eighteenth century within the spiritual exercises of Spain's Congregations of the Oratory. From there, Sánchez Siscart argues that oratorios spread elsewhere in the Spanish Empire through the mobility of the *maestros de capillas*, but some musicologists argue that earlier texts labeled *villancicos* include all the essential qualities of *oratorios*.[354] Andrea Bombi describes an "osmosis between the villancico form and other—especially the chamber cantata and Italianized theatre music—[that] came about precisely because these could all occupy the same ceremonial space or, in other words, they took on the same generic function."[355] Villancicos, too, circulated

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[352] Monserrat Sánchez Siscart, "Los oratorios, comedias de santos fuera del teatro" in *La comedia de magia y de santos,* ed. F.J. Blasco, E. Caldera, J. Alvarez Barrientos, and R. de la Fuente (Madrid: Ediciones Jucar, 1992), 261-262. "*como un ejemplo dentro del tronco del teatro o parateatro religioso, y con fuertes concomitancias con otros géneros de gran desarrollo en España como el villancico, los sermones o la comedia de santos.*" See also the same author's entry for "Oratorio" in *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana*, dir. Emilio Casares Rodicio, (Sociedad General de Autores y Editores, 2001), 8: 125-128.

[353] "*España, a pesar de sus íntimas relaciones con Italia, permaneció indiferente al movimiento musico-oratoriano iniciado en Roma por San Felipe Neri*". María Teresa Ferrer Ballester, "El oratorio barroco español: aportación de nuevas fuentes" *Revista de musicología* 16.5 (1993), 2865-2866.

[354] Such is the opinion of Francesc Bonastre, cited in Ferrer Ballester, ibid.

[355] Andrea Bombi, "'The Third Villancico was a motet': The Villancico and Related Genres" in *Devotional Music in the Iberian World, 1450-1800: The Villancico and Related Genres*, ed. Tess Knighton and Álvaro Torrente (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 150.

throughout the Spanish Empire, passed from cathedral to cathedral as musicians intermingled and corresponded overseas.[356]

What is clear in Mexico is the prominent role of some Oratorians in the financing of regular polyphonic musical services in the Mexico City Cathedral. The many ceremonial occasions that called for production of villancicos in the Spanish Empire, and required that each text provide a novel explication of a traditional text from early modern Catholicism, led even the most innovative writers to draw from and add to a lively and fluid pool of poetic culture dedicated to embellishing Catholic tradition.[357] Many seventeenth and early eighteenth century villancicos produced for the Mexico City Cathedral were financed by Oratorians Simon Esteban Beltrán de Alzate and García de Legaspi y Velasco.[358] In eighteenth century records of polyphonic musical services in the Mexico City cathedral, Javier Marín López found sixteen

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[356] Paul Laird, "The Dissemination of the Spanish Baroque Villancico" *Revista de musicología* 16.5 (1993), 2864.

[357] The most widely celebrated composer of villancico lyric in New Spain was the famed nun Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, and in recent years, scholars have painstakingly situated her work within the broader traditions of Hispanic lyrical production. See, among others, Aurelio Tello, "Sor Juana, la música y sus músicos" in *Memorial del Coloquio Internacional 'Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz y el pensamiento novohispano"* (Toluca: Instituto Mexiquense de Cultura, 1995), 465-482; Martha Lilia Tenorio, *Los villancicos de Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz* (México: El Colegio de México, 1997); Anastacia Krutitskaya, "El villancico novohispano después de Sor Juana" in *Plumas, pinceles y acordes. Estudios de literatura y cultura española e hispanoamericana (siglos XVI al XVIII),* coord. Serafín González, Alma Mejía, María José Rodilla, and Lillian von der Walde (México: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana – Iztapalapa, 2011), 286-303; Jorge Gutiérrez Reyna, "Andanzas de una oreja rebanada en algunos villancicos novohispanos" *Acta Poetica* 32.1 (enero-junio, 2011), 303-312.

[358] A "Sammelband" at the John Carter Brown Library contains villancicos sponsored by García de Legaspi y Velasco and Simón Estéban Beltran de Alzate. See Jessica Knauss, "Villancico Culture in New Spain: as seen in a Unique 'Sammelband' in the John Carter Brown Library" (Providence, R.I.: s/n, 2002); and Magdalena Altamirano, "Encrucijadas poéticas: una colección de villancicos novohispanos en la John Carter Brown Library" *Colonial Latin American Review* 21.3 (December, 2012), 441-456.

separate festival events commemorating the lives of Jesus, Mary and various saints funded by donations from Oratorians in the Venerable Union that were still operating regularly in the eighteenth century.[359] Gutiérrez Dávila also notes that the Oratorians organized citywide bell tolling to commemorate Christ's passion, a small window into the musicology of urban experience that is often absent from historical documentation.[360] Oratorian contributions to the musical culture of Mexico City show interest in influencing a diverse array of textual media and performance venues, demonstrate a pervasive effort to install clergy as mediatory figures in scenarios of musical performance, and a determined effort to isolate and criminalize those who

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[359] Javier Marín-Lopez, "Apéndice 1: Intervenciones con polifonía de facistol en la Catedral de México a mediados del siglo XVIII" in *Los libros de polifonía de la Catedral de México. Estudio y catálogo crítico*, (Jaen: Universidad de Jaen / Sociedad Española de Musicología, 2012), Vol. 1: 119-126, notes the following services and sponsors: Juan Díez de la Barrera (Viernes de Cuaresma y Miércoles Santo; 25 de enero, Conversión de San Pablo), Antonio de Villaseñor (Viernes de Dolores y Sábado siguiente, ó Domingo de Ramos), José de Torres y Vergara (Tercer y Quinto Domingo tras la Pascua), Alonso Ramírez de Prado (23 de Enero, San Ildefonso) Rodrigo García Flores de Valdés (13 de Marzo, San Rodrigo Martír), Simon Esteban Beltrán de Alzate (19 de Marzo, San José; 18-24 de Diciembre,), Juan de Torres Calderón (8 de Mayo, Aparición de San Miguel Arcángel), Bartolomé Quevedo Ceballos (7 de Agosto (San Cayetano) Manuel de Escalante (11 de Agosto, Cadenas de San Pedro), José de Castrillo (Domingo infraoctava de la Natividad de la Virgen, Dulce Nombre de María), Diego de Malpartida Centeno (8-14 de Octubre, siete gozos y siete angustias; 26 de Noviembre, Desposorios de la Virgen), and Antonio de Cardenas y Salazar (13 de Noviembre, San Diego de Alcalá).

[360] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas,* I: 73, II: 38-39. According to Gutiérrez Dávila, the Third Provincial Council announced indulgences granted for recitation of credos in coordination with city bell tolling; Geoffrey Baker and Tess Knighton, "The Resounding City" in *Music and Urban Society in Colonial Latin America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 1; Matthew O'Hara, *A Flock Divided: Race, Religion and Politics in Mexico, 1749-1857* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 24; and Karen Melvin, *Building Colonial Cities of God*, 195. According to Melvin, "[b]ells not only gave a church a voice in its community, calling residents to services, lamenting a death, or informing of an emergency, but also helped define that community. Spaniards used the phrase *sujetarse a campana* (to submit to the authority of the bell) in describing their efforts to bring Indians into communities, because part of a community meant to live within earshot of church bells."

performed outside the control of the priesthood and embellished sacred music with worldly instrumentation and vocals.

Ambiguous and Subversive Oratory

Rosary and novena prayer cycles are familiar forms of orthodox Catholic spirituality, and appear all the more licit when circulated as printed documents dressed with civil and ecclesiastical licenses, and promises of indulgences from popes and bishops granted as rewards for their execution. But those public representations paper over a significant ambiguity surrounding popular devotions in colonial society. Literary representations, court transcripts, contemporary dictionaries and modern encyclopedias reinforce the instability surrounding knowledge of how to be orthodox in early modern Catholicism. Peter Stallybrass and Rosalind Jones argue that the focus of power in the rosary as a worn object is conceptually parallel to the power invested in West African fetish amulets. "The concept of the 'fetish' was developed literally to demonize the power of 'alien' worn objects (through the association of *feitiço* with witchcraft), while at first preserving the notion of the sacramental object."[361] Stallybrass and Jones analyze an encounter between a Cape Verdean trader and an African man wearing amulets and a Mandinga smock over a European doublet and smock "in our fashion" in West Africa, but when Mexico City Inquisitors apprehended Antonia de Ochoa as a superstitious *ilusa* in 1686 she wore a similarly layered set of identities signified through clothing and objects, including several rosaries.[362] The *Diccionario de autoridades* describes the Camandula rosary, so popular in the

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[361] Peter Stallybrass and Ann Rosalind Jones, "Introduction: Fashion, Fetishism, and Memory in Early Modern England and Europe" in *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* ed, Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 9.

[362] Solange Alberro, *Inquisición y sociedad en México, 1571-1700* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1988), 500-508.

Oratorian church, simply as a three-part form of rosary prayer, but in the following entry notes an alternate meaning: colloquially, a "camandulero" or to "do many camandulas" could also mean a disingenuous masquerade of faithful Catholic devotion, indicating tensions inherent in contemporary religious oratorical practices.[363] Likewise, the New Catholic Encyclopedia's entry for "Novena" relates: "Novenas have been attacked as superstitious, partly because of the peculiar efficacy the practice seems to attach to the number nine, and partly because of the many extraordinary and even miraculous effects with which some novenas have been credited. No doubt the possibility of superstitious abuse exists and should be guarded against, and no other effectiveness should be attributed to novena prayers as such than is attributable to devout prayer earnestly and perseveringly undertaken in other forms."[364]

At the same time Oratorians sought to produce public examples of "good" oratory through their devotional exercises and services, they also strove to shape the fate of heterodox oral culture, which took on new and unexpected dimensions in the Americas. In 1659, the same year Oratorians began hosting their first services in Mexico City, the Inquisition issued an edict prohibiting "illicit" private religious gatherings and other devotional acts. With the aid of their licensed printer and founder of the Venerable Union, Antonio Calderón Benavides, the inquisitors literally spelled out their meaning in a printed broadside:

> We hereby relate, that in this city of Mexico, and in other cities of our district for some time has been introduced, by pernicious and intolerable custom among all types of people and causing notable scandal for the Christian People, the conduct of Oratories in private homes, of particular devotions commemorating the Birth of Our Lord and Redeemer Jesus Christ, and Altars to the

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[363] *Diccionario de autoridades* (1729), I: 84.

[364] "Novena" in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd Ed. (New York: Thomson Gale & The Catholic University of America, 2003), 10: 446-447. Interestingly, the entry also states that it was not until the nineteenth century that the Church recommended the practice by granting indulgences, but my sources show that Mexico's bishops and Archbishops issued indulgences as rewards for some of the earliest novenas printed there, ca. 1703, on through the colonial period.

> Most Holy Virgin MARY Our Lady, His Mother, and to other Saints, placing in said Altars certain superstitious numbers of lit candles, and portraits of certain persons who died with an air of sanctity, all with resplendence and signs of glory but without authorization from the Holy Apostolic See and against its determinations, congregating for said celebrations in said Oratories where men and women eat and drink to excess, to play games, sing and dance with great immodesty and indecency, taking under cape and cover those and other grave sins of word and deed, posed as devotion to the Birth of Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Most Holy Virgin Our Lady and His Mother, or a Saint whose feast they claim to celebrate through such illicit and reprobate means… [365]

Such fears of superstitious candle-burning, unsupervised devotion to Jesus and Mary, illicit dress, drinking, eating, singing and dancing all emerge in subsequent raids of urban devotional gatherings in New Spain, whose Inquisition cases Oratorians often managed. In 1663, for example, they learned of one such gathering in a closed-off street in Puebla de los Angeles. Maccario Ansures y Guebara, a local priest and member of the cathedral choir, reported seeing "lights afire, and drawing closer I recognized an Altar with a purple covering (*frontal*) and four illuminated candles, and to the song of a harp I saw a woman dancing, and the Altar had different painted and carved images, and I thought it all ran counter to the dispositions of the edicts of the Holy Office of the Inquisition…"[366] Returning later to what they learned was the house of María

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[365] *…[N]os hizo relacion, que en aquesta dicha Ciudad de Mexico, y en otras Ciudades de aqueste nuestro districto, se ha introducido de algun tiempo a esta parte, por perniciosa, é intolerable costumbre, entre todo genero de gentes, con notable escandalo del Pueblo Christiano, el hazer en sus casas Oratorios privados, de particulares devociones, haziendo Nacimientos de nuestro Salvador, y Redemptor Iesu Christo, y Altares a la santissima Virgen MARIA nuestra Señora, su Madre, y a otros Santos, y Santas de su devocion, poniendo en dichos Altares cierto numero supersticiosso de candelas encendidas, y algunos retratos de personas que murieron con opinion de virtud, con resplandores, y señales de gloria, sin determinacion de la santa Sede Apostolica, y contra lo por ello determinado, congregandose para tales celebridades, en las partes donde se hazen los dichos Oratorios, hombres, y mugeres, a comer, y bever demasiadamente, a jugar, cantar, y baylar con grande deshonestidad, é indecencia, tomando por capa, y cubierta de aquestos, y otros mayores pecados, de obra, y de palabra, la devocion al Nacimiento de IESV Christo Señor nuestro, a la Virgen santissima nuestra Señora su madre, al Santo, o Santa cuya festividad, pretenden dar a entender que celebran por tan ilicitos, y reprovados medios...* "Nos los Inquisidores Apostolicos..." Mexico: 1659. Inquisition 242, Miguel Ángel Porrúa Collection, University of Notre Dame Rare Books & Special Collections.

[366] "*lucses encendidas y llegar ai mas serca rreconosio un Altar con un frontal morado y quatro lucses encendidas y que al son del Arpa estaua baylando una muger y el Altar tenia diferentes*

Rodríguez, a *castiza* woman out of town at the time of the fiesta, the Inquisition notary Juan de Herrera Galves joined Ansures de Guebara, two other clerics, and the acting *regidor* Diego Dávila Galindo to apprehend the residents and take stock of the material possessions found in the house. In addition to a variety of women's clothing, the Inquisitors found several two-dimensional and sculpted images of Jesus and Mary as well as images of Saints Joseph, Nicholas Tolentino, Theresa, Douglas, and Ines.[367] During the inspection, they also found two *indios*, Nicolas Bernabe and Simón de la Cruz, playing the guitar and harp (respectively) before the altar, while another *indio*, Juan Ramírez, watched Magdalena María, an *india* apparently responsible for the event. All were taken into custody in the local Inquisition prison and held without further questioning for more than a month, until the local commissary Antonio de Peralta Castañeda agreed to release them and return their belongings, but under a sworn oath of secrecy. In a private communication, Mexico City's Oratorian senior prosecutor (*fiscal*) Rodrigo Ruíz de Cepeda Martínez admonished Peralta Castañeda for proceeding so slowly and forcing the suspects to languish in prison.

Authorities often viewed oratories in urban domestic spaces as a site of anxiety for clerical authorities, even among New Spain's elite populations.[368] Discussing a comparable case from 1691, Linda Curcio-Nagy argues that Mexico City was home to an "oratorio tradition"

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ymagines de bulto y pincel y que paresiendole que todo lo dicho contra biene a las dispocissiones de los edictos del sancto officio de la ynquiçission..." AGN-M, Inquisición, Vol. 502, Exp. 15, f. 571r.

[367] Ibid, 573r.

[368] See, for example, Antonio Rubial García, *Profetisas y solitarios: espacios y mensajes de una religión dirigida por ermitaños y beatas laicos en las ciudades de Nueva España* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2006), 41-51.

beginning in the early seventeenth century and continuing unabated well into the eighteenth century despite repeated edicts prohibiting unsupervised devotions.[369] Curcio-Nagy frames oratorios as an appealing social phenomenon across social hierarchies, some carried out by Spaniards but others including *mestizo* and Indigenous attendees.[370] Robert Stevenson, on the other hand, emphasizes the important roles Africans and their descendants played in organizing nocturnal oratorios, and teaching guitar and dance lessons crucial to their continued reproduction.[371] Likewise, a 1684 diary entry by Antonio de Robles reads as follows: "Sweat of Jesus of Nazareth.—Wednesday the 26th [of April, 1684], there were reports of a small statue of Jesus of Nazareth sweating, near the Church of Merced, in the house of some mulattoes. The Provisor confiscated and brought the statue to the Archbishop's oratory."[372] Such semi-public devotions were another important space where Oratorians sought to define their particular form of expertise in local society and their differences from other religious organizations in the Catholic Church. Rather than pursue lay devotees through purely punitive measures such as the edicts, Oratorians also sought to tread the ambiguous terrain as mediators, presenting their own services and perspectives as exemplary spirituality while policing unsupervised Catholic ritual practice and rogue innovation.

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[369] Linda Curcio-Nagy, "Rosa de Escalante's Private Party: Popular Female Religiosity in Colonial Mexico City" in *Women and the Inquisition: Spain and the New World*, ed. Mary Giles (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 255-258.

[370] Ibid.

[371] Robert Stevenson, "La música en el México de los siglos XVI al XVIII" in *La música de* México, ed. Julio Estrada (México: UNAM, 1986), Part 1, Vol. 2, p. 40.

[372] Robles, *Diario de sucesos notables,* I: 395. "*Sudor de Jesus Nazareno*.—Miércoles 26 [de abril de 1684], dicen sudó una hechura chica de Jesus Nazareno, junto á la Merced, en casa de unas mulatas; llevólo el señor provisor al oratorio del señor arzobispo."

Another Inquisition case from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries captures traces of Oratorians in the process of mediation. The case file marked "Actions against different persons who formed a new religion of Saint Augustine" contains a similar raid and inventory of another space of semi-public worship. Joan Bristol frames the case as an illustration of the African diaspora in practice. She argues that the devotional meetings held in an alley off Lainez street in Mexico City, this time organized by a cohort of Afro-Mexicans described in the trial transcript as *negros* and *mulatos*, "reflect [*sic*] larger processes by which members of the African Diaspora negotiated their responsibilities and rights as Christian and imperial subjects...[I]n the Mexican case these blacks, mulattoes, and others seem to have been participating fully in mainstream Christianity rather than separating themselves through unsanctioned practices (although, paradoxically, they did so through an unlicensed group)."[373] Bristol also frames this meeting as different among other African-descended religious organizations in the diaspora for being inclusive of Spanish priests and laymen, although it significantly was not organized or hosted by them. Unlicensed activity may have gone beyond the informal organization of a confraternity: witnesses also reported hearing songs and possibly preaching in the context of a larger celebration for Saint Nicholas, thus potentially usurping ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Although many witnesses testified that they had heard the sounds and sensed the broader "public and notorious" reputation of ecclesiastical practice in the mulatto's house, no clerical vestments were found there and others testified that, to the contrary, their religious services were within the

[373] Bristol, "Saintly Devotion in a Mexico City Alley" in *Africans to Spanish America: Expanding the Diaspora*, ed. Sherwin Bryant, Rachel O'Toole, and Ben Vinson III (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2012), 116. This essay was previously published as Chapter 6 of Bristol's *Christians Blasphemers and Witches: Afro-Mexican Ritual Practice in the Seventeenth Century* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007).

bounds allowed to lay practitioners' pious devotions. Nevertheless, the "ringleaders" Isidro de Peralta, Juan Bautista and Miguel Ramírez were threatened with exile and ordered to report regularly to the Inquisition about their behaviors.

Bristol argues that the African heritage of the leaders rendered even orthodox private devotions suspicious, and observes that the trial may not have uncovered heterodox rituals conducted in secret alongside their Christian counterparts. Chanted responses, described as part of the Lainez rituals, are part of both Christian and West Central African indigenous ritual that may have been transmitted through the diaspora, but the ambiguous evidence might also be interpreted as Afro-Mexican integration into the local Christian community, and therefore be seen as a relatively proactive and zealous congregation at that. Still, such an interpretation leaves undervalued the suspicions evident in several witness testimonies. Although the list of detainees from the Lainez chapel were evenly split between African-descended and Spanish persons, Bristol asserts that the description of the group as black and mulatto is telling of the witnesses connection of perceived illegality and blackness, and perhaps also telling of a fear that blacks were "passing" as something they were not (clerics). From yet another perspective, "[p]erhaps it was the very thinness of the boundary that existed between Spanish and non-Spanish workers that led Spanish neighbors to emphasize the mulatto nature of the Lainez group when they made their allegations about illicit activities. They may have wanted to maintain social divisions, just as Spanish officials and clerics did."[374]

Interpreting Oratorian history within the case stands to complement Bristol's excellent study by using Oratorian history to amplify the context, putting smaller groups of marginalized

[374] Ibid, 124.

people's history within the lived context of the larger social population.[375] The common bonds of Oratorian identity that connect the clerics responsible for investigating the back-alley devotional meeting lie subsumed beneath the internal hierarchies of the Inquisition and diocesan institutions that the Oratorians worked for, and remain unmentioned in the trial transcript of this case and Bristol's interpretation of it. Actively highlighting the network of Oratorian regulators of Catholic spirituality shows that both the Oratorians and the Inquisition made use of existing social networks during the investigation of the Lainez alley devotion. The 1702 investigation transcript elaborates that only after not being able to locate the Oratorian Hernando Deza did the weaver who made the initial denunciation, Francisco Xavier, relate his tale to Deza's nephew, Simon Deza y Ulloa. After observing the altar and some of the residents, Deza y Ulloa then passed his concerns on to the ecclesiastical court's public prosecutor (*promotor fiscal*), another Oratorian named Andrés Moreno Bala. In his deposition before the Inquisition a few days later, Simon Deza y Ulloa commented that he recognized one of the mulattoes he saw at the house on Lainez, not by name but as a servant of another Oratorian and choir chaplain of the Mexico City Cathedral, Marcos Romero.[376]

The unnamed web of Oratorians involved in this case illustrates several important aspects of Oratorian involvement in the production and circulation of spirituality in Mexico City. First, just as the devotees at the Lainez meeting seemingly traveled across the city to a precise location

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[375] This approach to scholarship is eloquently described, albeit in a different context, by Karen Graubart in *With Our Labor and Sweat: Indigenous Women and the Formation of Colonial Society in Peru, 1550-1700* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), 7.

[376] HM 35169, 17v, 7v, and 18r, respectively.

for their devotions,[377] likewise did Francisco Xavier have an immediate outlet for his concerns in mind: the Deza y Ulloa household. We are left only to wonder if Hernando Deza held an individually prominent reputation as a resource of the first instance in the matter of remedying heterodox devotions, if his family connection to the Inquisitor presiding over the case, Francisco Deza y Ulloa (another Oratorian) drew Xavier's attention, or if some other force prevailed upon his decision-making. As Bristol observes, the intimations in the initial reports about the Lainez devotional group that their leaders were usurping ecclesiastical jurisdiction likely drew Simon Deza y Ulloa to report the matter to Moreno Bala.[378] The public prosecutor's voluntary circulation of his own cautious and detailed assessment of the situation suggests genuine concern about the potential abuses, some hesitancy to arrive at a quick judgment of heterodoxy, and inclination to generate a collaborative approach to evaluating the case in further depth.[379] Moreno Bala's careful approach to classifying the oratory as licit or illicit is in keeping with Oratorian interests in cultivating Catholic devotion spurred by free will, and the testimonies offered by ordained clerics that endorsed the meeting seem to have kept the principal players out of a strictly criminal categorization, if not out of the Inquisition's surveillance. Finally, Simon Deza y Ulloa's identification of Marcos Romero's servant provides a fleeting example of how the Oratorian community might become activated, through the exigent needs of the Inquisition,

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[377] Bristol, "Saintly Devotion," 128. Bristol helpfully connects the home addresses of the attendees, provided in their depositions, with the meeting location using contemporary maps.

[378] Here it is important to know that Ecclesiastical and Inquisition courts represented two separate, if often overlapping, jurisdictions in the Spanish Empire.

[379] The case notary wrote that Moreno Bala transferred the prisoners from the Ecclesiastical jails "with very little security" to the better-equipped Inquisition prison, and voluntarily gave testimony to the Inquisition court without being called. HM 35169, 13r.

as a network of urban informants whose diverse connections to the city's residents across social hierarchies could provide the tribunal with quick access to intimate details about the known individuals in a particular case. That network, moreover, could be put to very different strategic ends: when the bailiffs who accompanied Moreno Bala apprehended and questioned one of the house residents, a *mulata* woman named Bernarda de la Cruz, she explained that these devotional meetings had been going on for many years in another house on Escallerillas Street owned by another Oratorian, Francisco Vázquez, and as he was a Master of Ceremonies in the Mexico City Cathedral, she had always considered their fiestas as good activities full of virtue.[380]

While some Inquisition trials illustrate tensions surrounding explicitly Catholic prayer, others scrutinizing practitioners of *hechicería* illustrate how laypeople's adaptation of religious oratory to secure similar ends of healing, love and divination magic through heterodox routes could prove efficacious and circumvent clerical authority.[381] The inquisitors of New Spain mapped what they saw as a geography of perverse creolization of local American ritual traditions, plants and other natural substances, African-descended religious experts, and a broad array of heterodox beliefs, desires and practices imported from European popular culture through

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[380] HM 35169, f. 12r.

[381] During his tenure as a *fiscal*, the Oratorian Tomás López de Erenchun vigorously interrogated and prosecuted several women charged with *hechicería*. See Celene García Ávila, "Amuletos, conjuros, y pócimas de amor: Un caso de hechicería juzgado por el Santo Oficio (Puebla de los Angeles, 1652) *Contribuciones desde Coatepec* 17 (julio-diciembre, 2009), 45-63, and Amos Megged, "The Inquisitorial Perspectives of an Unmarried Mulatta Woman in Mid-Seventeenth Century Mexico" in *Voices from the Bench: The Narratives of Lesser Folk in Medieval Trials*, ed. Michael Goodich (New York: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2006), 67-98. As Jessica Boon shows in *The Mystical Science of the Soul: Medieval Cognition in Bernardino de Laredo's Recollection Method* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 86-87, European tradition had conflated the roles of clerical and lay healers since at least the late medieval period. Thus, the criminalization of some healers reflects evaluation and discernment of their practices and the power attendant to them as evil and demonically inspired.

allegations, denunciations, and sentences related to *hechicería*. While dictionaries like the *Tesoro de la lengua castellana* of Sebastián de Covarrubias and the Inquisitors' *procesos* alike frame *hechicería* as a malevolent manipulation of peoples' wills, Oratorians also described their own effective evangelical work and preaching as "hechizos sagrados," demonstrating another form of ambivalent terminology related to spirituality in New Spain.[382] Gutiérrez Dávila, for example, described the devotional culture of Oratorians as

> the holy liberty the Sons of Saint Phillip profess to sanctify their souls through diligent observance of his Statutes [Constitution]; and to sanctify the souls of all those drawn by the enticing scent of his apostolic ministry, and who wish to participate in the sweet efficacy of his doctrine which they [the Oratorians] circulate through the intimate distribution of the Holy Word, in their own Church and Oratory and beyond in the Vespertine Oratories, in which our Holy father seasoned the force of the Holy Word with such good measure of sweet musical harmony and the soft attraction of tender young voices, I knew him to confect something of a holy spell [*hechizo sagrado*], to draw out with sweet efficaciousness innumerable souls, both free and captive, toward Heaven[383]

The confluence of sensory metaphors in this description of Oratorian devotions combines the hearing and seeing of clerical performances with the experience of tasting and smelling a delectable spell. Gutiérrez Dávila's description parallels the radical difference in reception of the same lexicon when ascribed to hechicería in Inquisition trials. It is particularly reminiscent of a 1678 *hechicería* trial against a young *mulata blanca*, María de Arceo, for creating and

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[382] Frank Proctor discusses the ambivalent character of *hechicería* in *Damned Notions of Liberty: Slavery, Culture, and Power in Colonial Mexico, 1640-1769,* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2010), 71.

[383] *la santa libertad, que professan los Hijos de San Phelipe para la santificacion de sus almas con la puntual observancia de sus Estatutos; y para la de todas aquellas, que atrahidas de el buen olor de sus Apostolicos ministerios, quisieren participar en la dulce eficacia de su doctrina, que frequentemente reparten con la familiar distribucion de la Divina palabra, assi en la propria Iglesia, y Oratorio, como fuera tambien en los Vespertinos Oratorios, en que aviendo sazonado nuestro discretissimo Santo Padre con la dulce armonia de la Musica, y suave atractivo de la tierna voz de vn Infante, la fuerza de la Divina palabra, supo confeccionar vn como hechizo sagrado, para llevar con eficacia, y dulzura libres, y captivas innumerables Almas à el Cielo...*Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas*, I: 34. See also II: 45.

distributing enchanted dates intended to poison those who ate them.[384] In Arceo's case, witnesses testified that the material sweet treats likewise enticed their targets, and conversely endangered the souls of the larger community of Mexico City. Whereas the Oratorian priests received laudatory biographies sometimes running for hundreds of pages, María de Arceo was put to torture and only released because of a combination of her steadfast denial of the accusations, lack of an explicit pact with the devil, skillful representation by her Oratorian lawyer as a minor of the "weak sex", and perhaps some discomfort among the Inquisitors about torturing a child. Considering these sources jointly underscores the imbricated existence of heterodoxy and orthodoxy within the performance of power in early modern Catholicism.

The same Oratorians who garnered widespread fame for their own preaching, and who provided licenses to publish the sermons of others, also used their authority as Inquisitors to denounce and censor sermons they found heterodox. In 1681 the Procurador General for the Franciscan Province of the Holy Gospel, Fray Juan Cavallero Carranco, denounced a sermon delivered on the feast day of Saint Catherine of Siena (May 4th). The sermon under scrutiny was delivered by Fray Juan Pimentel, a Dominican preacher, in Mexico City's Convent of nuns devoted to Saint Catherine, and undertook a polemical interpretation of the latest scholarship interpreting the wounds of Saint Catherine's martyrdom. As Karen Melvin has shown, Franciscans regarded their patron as a second Christ-figure and held his visible stigmata as clear proof of their correspondence as well as Francis' superior position relative to other saints in this regard. Pimentel, on the other hand, favored a view that elevated Catherine of Siena to equal footing with Francis. Rather than maintaining interpretations of her stigmata as visible (and

[384] HM 35132, Part 2, f. 79r-80v for a brief summary of the effects of one of the dates, and the reactions of the Inquisitors to its effects.

therefore less substantial), Pimentel chose to characterize them as "luminous," of an immaterial but visible quality.[385] Cavallero Carranco's denunciation particularly targeted Pimentel's disparaging presentation of Franciscan scholarship on the topic, which he used as a rhetorical fulcrum for elevating the interpretations of Dominican theologians. Such divisive politics, Cavallero Carranco argued, not only contradicted the current understandings of Saint Catherine's martyrdom held by the Inquisition, but furthermore dangerously inculcated a culture of misunderstanding among her devotees and did so at the expense of the reputation of Franciscans.[386]

The Inquisition quickly demanded that Pimentel submit his sermon manuscript for review, and assembled a panel of theologians including two Oratorians, one Jesuit, two Augustinians and two Dominicans.[387] Despite glowing reviews from the Dominicans, the Inquisitors ultimately decided to prohibit further circulation of the sermon in manuscript or print form on recommendation of the Oratorian Cathedral Chantry Isidro Sariñana y Cuenca, without considerable revisions.[388] Sariñana's review located the central problem as the sermon's gratuitous use of a book by the Franciscan Fray Martin del Castillo, *El humano serafin y único llagado*, recently denounced by another Dominican in 1680. By extensively citing the work of

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[385] Melvin, *Building Colonial Cities of God*, 215.

[386] AGN-M, Inquisición Vol. 645, exp. 6, fs. 337r-339v.

[387] The sermon manuscript is preserved in the Inquisition file (as fs. 350r-365v, and also separately foliated as fs. 1r-18v), and accompanied by a personal note from Pimentel, submitting what he humbly calls an "untitled scribble" ("*un borrón que no le encuentro otro titulo*") to the better judgment of the tribunal.

[388] Theological censorship was not uncommon for Oratorians, and many negative assessments often found their way into Inquisition files. See, for example, AGN-M, Inquisición Vol. 581, Exp. 3; Vol. 624, Exp. 2; Vol. 633, Exp. 10; Vol. 643, Exp. 2; and Vol. 667, Exp. 2.

Castillo to represent Franciscan theology, Pimentel was both disparaging another religious order and further circulating the problematic ideas in censured material through his own writing.[389] Sariñana took further issue with hyperbolic sections claiming, for example, that Saint Catherine was the sole example of perfect charity, and passages where Pimentel spoke to his audience as if he was Saint Catherine herself.[390]

The censorship of Fray Juan de Pimentel's sermon demonstrates both the methods of textual and theological analysis employed by Oratorians, and the high regard in which the Inquisition and its special tribunal of clerical judges held Sariñana's opinion.[391] The emphasis Sariñana placed on Castillo's *El serafin humano, y único llagado* shrewdly allowed him to frame the theological argument of the sermon as polemical and divisive, to offer suggestions for amending the sermon for better public utility, and to avoid explicitly favoring either Dominicans or Franciscans as superior theologians in comparison. Sariñana's analysis is emblematic of the types of negotiations Oratorians made between rival religious orders, and as spokesmen within the secular church on behalf of regular orders and institutions where they held employment or particular social ties.

Other trial records portray the complex overlapping of jurisdictional regulations that Oratorian bureaucrats used in their efforts to control oratorical ritual. Competitions and conflicts

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[389] Sariñana's opinion, included as fs. 368r-370v, includes a passage-by-passage refutation of Pimentel's use of Castillo's text, supported by scriptural references that contradict his interpretations.

[390] Ibid, f. 376r.

[391] Between 1663 and 1682, Sariñana produced twenty-eight licenses endorsing imprints from Mexico City, making him one of the most frequently consulted reviewers of the late seventeenth century.

between the Inquisition and Crusade tribunals de-center the image of the Inquisition in our view of how clerical power was distributed, regulated and exercised in Mexico City, and the roles Oratorians played in shaping their influence on local spirituality. 1686, for example, was a tense year in the Mexico City parish of Santa Catarina Martír. Early in January, a popular penitential brotherhood (a confraternity, or *cofradía*) dedicated to the Precious Blood of Christ proudly printed a broadside poster describing the indulgences available to resident confraternity brothers and visitors to their altar of the Most Holy Crucifix.[392] The following month, however, a denunciation submitted by a Dominican Friar named Nicolás de Merlo demanded to the Tribunal of the Holy Crusade that the broadside be withdrawn and revised to correct false representations of the rewards granted to faithful devotees and almsgivers for their efforts. The *Cofradía de la Preciosísima Sangre de Cristo* issued a new broadside in March, but apparently Merlo remained unsatisfied by its revisions, for in May Merlo himself printed and circulated a lengthy legal argument defaming the character of the broadside itself, as well as the urban officials responsible for its circulation as a piece of print culture.[393] The *Espejo de indulgencias* (*Mirror of*

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[392] Nicole Von Germeten, "Black Brotherhoods in Mexico City" in *The Black Urban Atlantic in the Age of the Slave Trade*, ed. Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, Matt Childs and James Sidbury (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 250-251. William Christian, Jr., and Maureen Flynn have argued that penitential confraternities became popular in the Iberian Peninsula in the 1520s. Jessica Boon argues that specifically Castilian form of penitential culture focused narrowly on the experiences of Christ and Mary developed in the first two decades of the sixteenth century in tandem with Franciscan reformed focus on the humanity of Christ. Boon, *The Mystical Science*, chapter 1. Although the term 'brotherhood' is gendered male, it was quite common for confraternities to include both men and women as active members.

[393] Medina, *La imprenta en México (1539-1821)*, III: 25, and Andrade, *Ensay bibliográfico del siglo XVII*, 549, mention Merlo's text, but neither provides a title page transcription with line-breaks, indicating by their own bibliographic standards that neither author personally consulted an original. Both, according to Medina, relied upon reference to Beristain, *Biblioteca hispanoamericana septentrional*, II: 264-265. I consulted a rare and badly worm-eaten copy of Merlo's argument preserved in the John Carter Brown Library in Providence, Rhode Island.

Indulgences), as Merlo entitled his claim, comprises much more than a placid reflection of truth and falsity. The details embedded in this imprint reveal many of the complexities required to translate the operations of a European imperial system within the context of a global empire, and thus sheds light on several forms of legal culture at play in early modern society. Merlo's libel critiques the work of several Oratorian administrators in the viceregal capital of New Spain for their interpretations of Royal Patronage and its consequences for Papal power, the respectability of canon law, and ultimately the salvation of an untold number of souls in the parish of Santa Catarina and beyond.

Most scholarship on the bulls of the Holy Crusade emphasizes its importance as a form of revenue for the Spanish monarchs, but pays little attention to the work conducted through it's court. The Tribunal of the Holy Crusade (*Santa Cruzada*) was a branch of the civil judiciary designed to manage legal questions and disputes related to the crusading indulgences circulating in the Americas. The tribunal's jurisdiction encompassed the promulgation of penitential and dietary privileges and exemptions, the circulation of orthodox prayers, and the relationships between prayer and indulgence enacted through human engagement with the architecture and somatic performances of early modern Catholic devotion.[394] Officially controlled by a superior figure residing in Madrid (the *Comisario General*), local tribunals in the Americas were run by

[394] On the historical origins of the Bulls in medieval and early modern Europe, see Patrick O'Banion's "For the Defense of the Faith? The Crusading Indulgence in Early Modern Spain" *Archive for Reformation History* 101 (2010), 164-185, and "The Crusading State: The Expedition for the Cruzada Indulgence from Trent to Lepanto" *Sixteenth Century Journal* 44.1 (Spring, 2013), 97-116. On the concept of somatic performances of devotion, see the first chapter of Boon, *The Mystical Science*; Mitzi Kirkland-Ives, "Alternate Routes: Variation in Early Modern Stational Devotions" *Viator* 40.1 (2009), 249-270, and *In the Footsteps of Christ: Hans Memling's Passion Narratives and the Devotional Imagination in the Early Modern Netherlands* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013).

delegates empowered to exercise the ordinary power of the Superior (*Comisarios subdelegados*), but also required to submit reports and maintain regular epistolary correspondence. From their foundation in Mexico City in 1659 through at least the early eighteenth century, a successive chain of Oratorians held the local position in New Spain, using the viceregal capital as a home base for managing the circulation of crusade indulgences among such diverse cities as Manila and Merida. Examining how Oratorians worked as Comissaries of the Holy Crusade illustrates how Oratorians used a largely forgotten tribunal to exercise control over spirituality, and how the Holy Crusade alternately coordinated and competed with the other tribunals of the Inquisition, Archdiocese and Royal Audiencia.

Merlo's text alternates between two sections of point-by-point argumentation made by the author (ff. 2r-4r; 7v-16r), and two sections of transcribed documents – both the January and March summaries (ff. 4v-7v) and the 1604 and 1610 Papal bulls essential to Merlo's argument (16r-19v) – followed by a brief summary of the arguments made in total (ff. 19v-20v). The first section, the denunciation, consists of ten points outlining the author's perspective on how the conflict at hand arose. Merlo claimed significant familiarity with many summaries of this particular chapel, and thus knew upon seeing the January summary that it was false and, more specifically, outdated. As proof, Merlo referred to two papal bulls containing the relevant sources of canon law that contradicted the recently published summaries. Clement VIII's *Quaecumque á Sede Apostolica*, issued in 1604, established a base line for the reform of indulgences in the wake of the Council of Trent.[395] Among its stipulations, the bull of 1604 mandated that confraternities had to be established within a fixed sacred space that did not already have another confraternity

[395] Merlo, *Espejo de indulgencias*, 2r.

by the same name; that their attendant indulgences were formally recognized and authenticated by the local bishop or Archbishop; and that Archconfraternities and Confraternities had one or two years, respectively, from their foundations to request and secure their corresponding indulgences from Rome.[396] This legal authentication of correspondence, called *aggregation*, fused two separate institutional sites together in a state of shared identity and connected spirituality.

Clement VIII's successor, Paul V, enforced transition to the new regulations by declaring a general revocation of indulgences currently held in 1606. Thereafter, all brotherhoods had to submit new requests for their indulgences, which would all be composed in such a uniform manner and language that, according to Merlo, "he who has seen one has seen them all."[397] Initially, Paul V's revocation included all indulgences issued *except* those originally pertaining to San Juan Letrán. As the premier pilgrimage church in Rome with the most distinguished assemblage of relics and historical artifacts of Christendom, the Lateran church stood apart from all others as the source-pattern of indulgences issued elsewhere in the Catholic world.[398] But in 1610, Paul V extended his rule of revocation even to San Juan Letrán in the bull *Quae salubritér*. The "first falsity" of the Confraternity of the Precious Blood of Christ in Mexico City, according to Merlo, was its use of the antiquated forms of indulgence when they petitioned to join their altar to the schedule of indulgences corresponding to the altar of the Most Holy Crucifix in the Lateran church in 1682. Moreover, he noted, the Roman church had not sent the Mexico City

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[396] García Ayluardo and Bazarte Martínez, *Los costos de la salvación*, 83-84. The authors explain the difference between Archconfraternities and Confraternities in detail on page 96.

[397] Merlo, *Espejo de indulgencias*, 2v.

[398] García Ayluardo and Bazarte Martínez, *Los costos de la salvación*, 97-98.

confraternity an updated form upon receiving the request. As a result, the altar denigrated the otherwise well-styled and orderly parish church in his view, and left the attending faithful praying in vain without the actual benefits of indulgences they thought they were accruing, and could serve as a bad example for other subsequent requests if left uncorrected.

Merlo's report highlights several other suspicious elements of the January summary. The standard, post-1610 format for summaries includes three plenary indulgences – one upon entry into the confraternity, another at the hour of death, and one more each annual feast day – as well as other enumerated non-plenary rewards for specific devotional services. Each of these features are notably absent from the Sangre de Christo broadside. Nor did it indicate where and when *Ave Marías* should be recited in order to gain indulgences, or when to visit the altar to activate them.[399] Such inconsistencies and false representation of true doctrine effectively enchanted the faithful "simple folk" (*gente sencilla*) who, according to Merlo, know nothing of the diligences to be observed in the matter and merely follow the first directions to pass before their eyes. It is these very abuses, he asserts, the Council of Trent sought to abolish with its decree on indulgences.[400]

Why, Merlo pondered, would an authentic legal document also clearly misrepresent the powers invested in the Church's hierarchical figures? The January summary credited the Confraternity's Chapter and Canons – internally elected figures of authority – with the acts of

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[399] These elements do appear inconsistent with other confraternity indulgences published in the same era. See, for example, *Indulgencias y gracias, concedidas...á la Archicofradia de la Doctrina Christiana* (México: 1679); *Indulgencias, y gracias concedidas...a la Cofradía de la Coronación de Nuestro Señor Jesu Christo, llamada vulgarmente de San Benito de Palermo* (México: 1692); and *Sumario de las indulgencias, y gracias perpetuas...de la pia, y devota Cofradía del glorioso S. Benito de Palermo* (México: 1684).

[400] Merlo, *Espejo de indulgencias*, 3v.

aggregating the Mexican Confraternity to San Juan Letrán, while the March summary credits the current Pope, Innocent XI. The latter attribution, Merlo argues, is a clear attempt to hide its falsity behind the Pope's authority by "giving it the color...of something new."[401] Other passages in the March summary vaguely referring to "many and infinite indulgences" conferred by a set of printed verses on the chapel's wall, and the summary header's references to the words of the Roman emperor Constantine and Saint Sylvester likewise demonstrate the authors' reliance on false and antiquated understandings of the legal culture of indulgences in its recent, modernized form.

The second section of Merlo's argumentative prose elaborates on many of the issues expressed in his initial denunciation. The twenty-seven-point "notable objections" (*reparos notables*) are primarily meant to help the reader understand the context of Merlo's complaints and the reasons behind the falsities he saw in the indulgence summaries. What emerges most strongly in Merlo's objections, however, is an acute sense of bitterness and outrage directed at the Roman church, the Mexican confraternity, and the viceregal lawyers and judges in Mexico City at different moments. In addition to providing a plausible critique of the legality of the summaries based on the modernization of indulgence law, Merlo's legal representation also produces the effects of a libelous discourse through rhetorical questions, sarcasm, deliberate exaggerations, and accusations of delusion and connivance among the other interested parties he names. As the three key players Merlo identifies in Mexico City are all connected to the Venerable Union, so the detailed account of *Espejo de indulgencias* provides some insight about

[401] Ibid, 10v. "*quererle dar color [al dicho Sumario] con alguna cosa nueva*".

how Oratorian engagement with the bureaucracies policing indulgences was perceived by interested outsiders.

Several times in *Espejo de indulgencias*, Merlo implicitly compared Mexico City's *letrados* – its distinguished legal professionals – with the simple folk who fall victim to the false indulgences. He both marveled that "such learned and devoted men as those found in this city" could become so easily enchanted by such obvious fraudulence, and decried their inaction in the face of their sworn responsibilities.[402] More specifically, Merlo critiques the conduct of the crusade tribunal's local Oratorian comissary in 1682, Gonzalo Suárez de San Martín, for apparently negotiating with the Confraternity to suspend the general revocation of indulgences, and to issue them a license to print their unusual summary instead of submitting the summary to the Supreme Commissary in Madrid, who could have cross-referenced the summaries' contents with the regulatory papers from the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences.

Merlo seems more upset with the professional conduct of Suárez de San Martín's successor, José Adame y Arriaga. It was he who Merlo first approached on February 7th, 1686, with his denunciation. When the Confraternity initially ignored Adame y Arriaga's request to see their January summary, Merlo was pleased that the commissary's second notice included a stern threat of excommunication and a stiff fine of fifty pesos if they did not produce the document within three days.[403] The confraternity conceded to the second notice, and Adame y Arriaga turned the document over to Alonso Alberto y Velasco, the tribunal's appointed reviewer of the case (*el Aprobador*) and a founding member of the Venerable Union. Subsequently, however,

[402] Ibid, 12v. On letrados, see also 8v, 10v.

[403] Ibid, 7v.

Adame y Arriaga kept the proceedings of his tribunal regarding denunciation private enough to exclude Merlo from the outcome of the review. It seems from his own description of the events that Merlo only learned of Alberto y Velasco's decision to support the summary when he encountered the March summary publicly displayed in the parish church.

For Alberto y Velasco, "un grande Letrado," Merlo held nothing but contempt. Throughout his criticism of the inconsistencies in the March summary, which Alberto y Velasco authorized, Merlo's language frequently shifts from legalistic to injurious prose. Regarding the "many and infinite indulgences" allegedly commemorated in verse, Merlo argues that the confraternity "would like us to believe with our eyes closed." Turning to Alberto y Velasco, he writes "Behold the Aprobador, who has worked so many years and been entrusted with many official tasks, and has now thrown his charges to the ground, for he has made any remedy forever impossible."[404] Merlo compares himself to Alberto y Velasco in a martyr-like fashion, vowing to press onward righteously with his claims despite ridicule he sustained and the applause Alberto y Velasco received.[405] The disparity of reception, in Merlo's view, is due to the fact that Alberto y Velasco knowingly authorized the Confraternity's old indulgences, and used his local esteem and reputation to openly defy the laws established by papal authority.[406]

The heated language, and the distinguished careers of the administrators under fire in *Espejo de indulgencias* suggest that there is more to the issues Merlo raises than meets the eye. Within the broader context of Spanish imperial legal culture, Merlo was arguably taking a

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[404] Ibid, 12v. "*Vea el Aprobador los muchos daños que ha hecho, y los muchos cargos que á cuestas se ha echado, pues casi para siempre ha impossibilitado el remedio*."

[405] Ibid, 8v.

[406] Ibid, 9v.

relatively hardline approach to legal modernization. The tradition of Spanish legal cultures puts much more of a premium on precedents. That is, just because a new law or decision is made, innovation in the law is not necessarily valued and earlier opinions are not automatically repealed or displaced. There are, for example, many royal orders that specify that particular laws should *actually* be enforced, suggesting that this was not always or often the actual practice by legal officials in given situations.[407]

Merlo's arguments also resonate with many other complaints leveled at the Spanish Crown by religious orders by the late seventeenth century, and highlight an enduring tension between Royal and Ecclesiastical control over spiritual matters. The control of the Tribunal of the Holy Crusade in the Americas is a Royal jurisdiction. Merlo makes clear that from his perspective the Pope's rules should be upheld in the first instance. However, the behavior of the judges involved suggests alternate interpretations were also plausible. Suárez de San Martín, Adame y Arriaga, and Alberto y Velasco all owed their prestigious positions within the imperial administration to royal appointments. Interpretation of the ecclesiastical powers and privileges granted to the Spanish Crown had a long and contested history by the 1680s, including papal prohibition of some of Spain's most prestigious legal writers for suggestions that the monarchy had acquired some vicarial powers by exercising them in practice.[408] The privileges of Royal

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[407] Charles Cutter, *The Legal Culture of Northern New Spain, 1700-1810*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), 35; Rogelio Pérez Perdomo, "The American Lawyers of the Spanish Monarchy" in *Latin American Lawyers: A Historical Introduction* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), 17-18.

[408] On the broader origins of Royal Patronage, see John Schwaller, "The Ordenanza del Patronazgo in New Spain, 1574-1600" *The Americas* 42.3 (January, 1986), 253-274, and Robert Padden, "Ordenanza del Patronazgo of 1574: An Interpretive Essay" *The Americas* 12 (1956), 333-354. On the conflicts over interpretation see Paulino Castañeda Delgado's excellent "El Regio Vicariato en Indias: 1493-1622" in *Iglesia y poder público. Actas del VII simposio de historia de la iglesia en España y América* (Córdoba: Publicaciones Obra Social y Cultural

Patronage enjoyed by the Crown may have allowed these three jurists to prioritize the continued, unimpeded circulation of indulgences over the technicalities of canon law.

Returning to the controversy surrounding the Confraternity's indulgences with an eye for Oratorian connections shows some of the multi-directional ties among affiliates, and the dynamics of relationships between institutions. Alonso Alberto y Velasco was a founding Oratorian member since 1659, and was the parish priest in Santa Catarina from 1669-1672.[409] Gonzalo Suárez de San Martín joined the Oratorians March 16, 1682, just after approving the indulgences for the Confraternity. He directly preceded Adame y Arriaga's tenure as Commissary of New Spain, and held the prestigious position of judge (*oidor*) in the Real Audiencia. José de Adame y Arriaga joined the Oratorians February 3rd, 1681, and had a long working relationship with Alberto y Velasco promoting a case to canonize a local lay holy man

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Cajasur, 1997), 11-44, and Antonio de Egaña's classic *La teoría del Regio Vicariato en Indias* (Romae: Apud Aedes Universitatis Gregorianae, 1958). For analyses of the enduring and changing character of the controversies surrounding the theory of the Royal Vicariate, see Fernando de Arvizu y Galarraga, "Notas para una nueva interpretación de la teoría del Regio Vicariato indiano" in *XI Congreso del Instituto Internacional de Historia del Derecho Indiano*, (Buenos Aires: Instituto de Investigaciones de Historia del Derecho, 1997), Vol 2: 205-223; Roberto Jaramillo Escutia, "El Regio Vicariato y las reformas del siglo XVIII" in Relaciones estado-iglesia. Encuentros y desencuentros ed. Patricia Galeana (Mexico: AGN & Secretaría de Gobernación, 2001), 13-24; Purificación Gato Castaño, "Un obispo de Charcas expone la teoría del Regio Vicariato Indiano, 1780-1810," in *Europa e Iberoamérica: Cinco Siglos de Intercambios. IX Congreso Internacional de Historia de América (Asociación de historiadores latinoamericanistas europeos/AHILA)*, Coord. María Justina Sarabia Viejo, (Sevilla: AHILA, 1992) Vol. II: 237-256; Rosa María Martínez de Codes, "La regulación estatal del factor religioso en el siglo XIX en México: el ocaso del Patronato," in *Derecho, instituciones y procesos históricos: XIV congreso del Instituto Internacional de História del Derecho Indiano. Tomo III: Pervivencias del Derecho Indiano en la América Independiente*, eds. Jose de la Puente Brunke and Jorge Armando Guevara Gil, (Lima: Instituto Riva Aguero/Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2008), 355-372.

[409] Beristain de Souza, *Biblioteca hispanoamericana septentrional*, III: 251.

(*beato*), Gregorio López.[410] Although they were not all Oratorians conspiring to push any kind of collective corporate agenda, the present and future ties to the group suggests that the interests of their careers intersected and help define the cultural issues that in turn shape the meaning of Oratorian identity. All of these individuals were invested in deciding how to shape the oratory of prayers linked with indulgences, either as Oratorians (in the case of Alberto y Velasco) or as Oratorians-to-be, whose inclusion into the group was impacted in part by their career experience working on the relevant subject matter (in the case of Adame y Arriaga and Suárez de San Martín).

In the end, Merlo's strategy of public defamation generated mostly unintended effects. While the fate of the Confraternity's indulgences remains unknown, a 1691 denunciation submitted by Alonso Alberto y Velasco signaled *Espejo de indulgencias* to the Inquisition for itself being printed without a license and presenting such a scandalous conflict in the public sphere. Alberto y Velasco strategically side stepped the central allegations of Merlo's text and instead focused his criticisms on Merlo's failure to observe the diligences of hierarchy required to print and publish his opinions as a representative of the Dominican order.[411] The case file ends with an order from the Inquisition, commanding Merlo to submit any remaining copies of his text in his possession to the tribunal, and to provide a statement detailing the known whereabouts

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[410] A six-page broadside from 1686 lists Adame y Arriaga alongside fellow Oratorians Diego de la Sierra and García Legaspi y Velasco as the official appointees assigned to the collection of López's *informaciones* to be submitted to the Sacred Congregation of Rites in Rome for consideration as a local saint. See *Nos el Doctor D. Diego de la Sierra*... (México: s/n, 1686). Alberto y Velasco, in turn, printed the formal legal protocols for deposing the witnesses whose testimony formed an essential part of the case file. See *Mexicana, del siervo de Dios Gregorio López* (México: 169? [1690-1699]).

[411] AGN-M, Inquisición, Vol. 498, Exp. 20, 1691.

of any other copies no longer in his possession. While there is no direct evidence that Merlo complied, the scarcity of extant copies in rare book collections worldwide suggests that the Inquisition's order was at least partially successful.[412] Ironically enough, of course, I was only able to create a full transcription of the text by comparing the deteriorated, worm-eaten copy in the John Carter Brown library with the pristine copy filed in the Inquisition denunciation. As chance would have it, the institution that sought to erase the text from public memory ultimately did the best job of preserving it to serve as a locus of public discussion in the present.

Inquisition and Audiencia papers in Mexico and Spain richly document another *competencia*, or contest of jurisdictional power, between the Crusade Tribunal and the Inquisition in 1694 that further demonstrates Oratorian efforts to use Mexico City's institutional powers to shape and control ritual oratory. The trouble in this case began February 12, 1692, when José de Adame y Arriaga published a broadside edict in Mexico City, using printed text and an oral proclamation to prohibit the use of three new prayers to seek favor from Saints Felipe Benicio, Domingo de la Calzada, Eulalia Emiritense. The Inquisition quickly took offense, alleging that he had overstepped the bounds of his authority as a Cruzada official, and on March 8 produced its own edict and oratorical event prohibiting Adame y Arriaga's earlier orders.[413] Such public and stark disagreement over orthodox Catholicism was hardly new, but nevertheless infrequent enough as to merit a thorough exploration of the perspectives of the competing tribunals and an adjudication process by the Royal Audiencia.

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[412] Víctor Julián Cid Carmona includes another copy of *Espejo de indulgencias* in his *Repertorio de impresos mexicanos en la Biblioteca Nacional de España, siglos XVI-XVII* (México: El Colegio de México, 2004), 133-134, no. 148. It is unclear when the text arrived in Spain.

[413] AGI, México, Legajo 278. Richard E. Greenleaf Eighteenth Century Ecclesiastical Mexican Collection, Latin American Library, Tulane University, Box 7, Folders 58, 67 and 68.

The Inquisition prosecutors assembled testimony from several Franciscan, Jesuit, Dominican, and secular diocesan authorities during February and March (beginning before their public proclamation) assessing Adame y Arriaga's transgression.[414] On the other hand, Adame y Arriaga composed his own rebuttal of the charges levied against him. He cited his referral of the matter to the Mexico City cathedral's master of ceremonies (another Oratorian named Agustín Carrión[415]), and submitted several royal licenses demonstrating specifically the granted authorities that the Inquisition authorities suggested were outside his jurisdiction in their initial denunciation. He also argued that the inquisitors had created an unnecessary public scandal, and burdened him with considerable fines. The Audiencia held its trial the 15th of June, 1694, and found in favor of Adame y Arriaga's argument. During the next two years, King Charles II issued two royal orders (*cédulas*) declaring the sanctions imposed by the Inquisition null, and further admonishing the Inquisition for having overstepped its authority.[416]

Conclusion

Oratorians strove to make their mark on colonial society in Mexico City by both creating experiences of orthodox Catholic oratory and carefully classifying and punishing heterodox and unauthorized forms. Over the course of the seventeenth century, Oratorians in the Venerable Union inscribed their church and strategically chosen external sites around Mexico City with symbolic meanings that made it possible for those who had participated in their services, seen them in communal processions, and witnessed their works as jurists in action to remember urban

[414] AGN-M, Inquisición Vol. 694, exp. 4, 322r-325r, 329r-330r.

[415] Ibid, 358r-361.

[416] Ibid, 369r, 371r.

spaces as Oratorian spaces, or expressions of what Oratorian devotion meant. The chapels and artworks of the Oratorian church organized devotions to Christ, Mary and the saints with whom Oratorians shared some affinity. Other clandestine oratories and chapels, tribunal courtrooms, prison cells and torture chambers were conversely charged with memories of Oratorians' actions to classify, repress and punish oratory at odds with the Venerable Union's aims and ideals. The cultural production that resulted from navigating the ambiguities and anxieties associated with defining oratory was the basis upon which individual members of the Venerable Union sought to establish Oratorian identity in seventeenth century Mexico City, as lone actors, through collective movements conducted with fellow members, through collaborations with some corporate institutional cultures and collisions with others. The world these Oratorians created is also the basis for measuring cultural change over time in the chapters that follow.

With respect to Christian Animism, the Engelgrave rosary addresses individual souls as listening subjects while María de la Antigua's rosary entreats practitioners to embody the spirits of the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalene by reproducing their emotions and actions during prayer. Oratorian preachers literally stand in as the voices of Catholic spirit, reading biblical, medieval and contemporary typologies into the current events and leaders of Spanish American Catholicism. The Archconfraternity of Christian Doctrine here combines earlier patterns and extends the logic of sameness expressed in chapter 3, where the actions of one member represent and impact all, and furthermore connects the institution's Roman, non-Oratorian root to an Oratorian center in mexico City through the process of aggregation. In the realm of negative cultural production, the double standard of applying the term hechizo to criminal behavior in Inquisition cases and efficacious evangelism in the Oratorian chronicle foregrounds roles of power and hierarchy in determining the fate of animistic practices in colonial Spanish America.

Likewise, Cueva Quiñones' favorable comparison of Philip Neri to Saint Theresa stands in stark contrast to Theresa de Ahumada's attempt, in the previous chapter, to imitate Saint Theresa in her own way as a lay holy woman without clerical supervision and endorsement in colonial Mexico City.

CHAPTER 5: CORPORATE TRANSITION AND COMMEMORATION: THE CONGREGATION OF THE ORATORY, 1701-1771

In 1701, the Venerable Union received word from Spain that their second request to join the Congregation of the Oratory had received both Papal and Royal approval. The eighteenth century thus opened for the Oratorian community in Mexico City with a great deal of joy and satisfaction at the fulfillment of a process some forty years in the making. It also ushered in new representative forms of identity that built upon the traditions of the Venerable Union, but also diverged from its precedent in significant ways. The Congregation's new status generated a prolific sense of hindsight. Many writers consolidated the status and achievements of their antecedents from the Venerable Union and innovative contemporary expressions of Oratorian identity through memorial texts. During the Congregation's inaugural celebrations, Juan Millan de Poblete's 1701 Sermon gratulatorio joyously proclaimed that "Our Lord Christ wished to perpetuate and extend that [Venerable] Union he had composed of one hundred twenty disciples, and that the Congregation extended itself from the Catholic Church to those who Christ sent them to; and to those others be the first to manifest that He is given all the power in Heaven and earth..."[417] His providential language portrays the Venerable Union as happy recipients of the Bull, at full Confraternal strength with externally housed members.

[417] Millán de Poblete, *Sermón gratulatorio*, 4. "*Quiso Christo Señor n[uestro] perpetuar, y dilatar aquella Unión que tenía compuesta de ciento y veinte Discipulos, y que se dilatasse la Congregación de su Catholica Iglesia a que los eniaba; y para ellos les manifiesta primero, que le es dada toda la potestad en el Cielo, y en la tierra...*"

But such consensus was short lived, as the new rights bestowed by a new status also entailed new responsibilities and submission to a more rigid interpretation of the Roman Congregation's constitutions. Representatives of the vast majority of the Oratorian community, who lived in apartments and private homes outside the Church dormitory, were less than enthusiastic to learn that, according to the new constitution, they would no longer be able to participate in community elections as voting members.[418] Disagreements among members over the appropriate, local interpretation of the Oratorian constitution came to a head in 1707, during the second triennial election of Oratorian officials since their formalization in 1701. Commuter Oratorians, objecting to the 1707 election conducted exclusively within resident members and electing exclusively resident members to the Oratorian corporate council, declared the election nullified and wrote to the Archbishop in protest. In response, Archbishop Juan de Ortega Montañez decided definitively in favor of the resident Oratorians, definitively shifting the internal organization and political culture of Mexico City's Oratorian community.

This chapter explores the diverse array of efforts catalyzed in the early eighteenth century by the Venerable Union's transition into a Congregation of the Oratory to define and interpret memory of Oratorian history in Mexico City. The governing council of Mexico City's Oratorian community embarked on a multi-directional campaign to memorialize a strict interpretation of the Oratorian constitutions as the *true* history of local Oratorian devotion. Members and admirers of the newly consecrated Congregation outfitted the Oratorian church with a new entryway (*portada*) and church bells, choir stalls, an organ, books of sheet music, administrative offices,

[418] José María Marroquí, in *La ciudad de México*, Vol. 2, p. 432.

instructional space for the novitiate, and a cloister for additional residents.[419] The new Oratorian leadership published the first translation of a Tuscan life story (*vida*) of Neri into Spanish authorized in Mexico, funeral sermons and biographies of members of the Oratorian governing council, an exhaustive description of the catechistic methods practiced in the Oratorian church, and a lengthy chronicle detailing the institution's development and the lives of many of its prominent members.[420]

Alongside the printed memorial efforts, the Congregation of the Oratory also began a sustained effort to memorialize its leaders through portraiture in the eighteenth century. Their traditions of portraiture consolidated a public image of leadership for the Congregation of the Oratory using iconographic conventions associated with local viceroys and archbishops, and selectively represented certain members of the Venerable Union to simultaneously celebrate and control the master narrative of Oratorian identity. Together, I argue that the diverse examples of

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[419] Maza, *Los templos de San Felipe Neri*, 25-27; Eguiara y Eguren, *Vida del Venerable Padre Don Pedro Arellano y Sosa* (México: Imprenta Real del Superior Govierno, 1735), 72-73; Eguiara y Eguren, *Biblioteca Mexicana*, V: 485; and *Gazetas de México*, I: 332. The donated bells indicate a surviving Oratorian connection, as the donor (Juan Ignacio de Castorena y Ursúa) was officially appointed far away in Merida in 1729. Tavárez, *The Invisible War,* 239.

[420] Francesco Ormea, *Vida de...San Felipe Neri*, tr. António Díaz de Godoy (México: Herederos de la Viuda de Miguel de Ribera Calderón, 1714); Manuel Garrido de Rivera y Vargas, *Vaticinios de Joseph...cumplidos, en el sentido fallecimiento de el señor doct. D. Joseph Torres, y Vergara...*(México: Los Herederos de Miguel de Rivera, 1728); Antonio Guillén de Castro, *Despertador catequístico...platicas que en la Iglesia de S. Felipe Neri de Mexico predicó el P. D. Antonio Guillen de Castro...* (México: Doña

María de Rivera, 1736); Julián Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas de la Congregación del Oratorio de la ciudad de México* (México, Imprenta de María de Rivera, 1736); *Vida y virtudes de el siervo de Dios...Domingo Pérez de Barcia...*(Madrid: Nicolás Rodríguez Francos, 1720); *El sabio con el corazón en la diestra. Oracion funebre...del Sr. Dr. D. Joseph de Torres, y Vergara...*(México: Los Herederos de la Viuda de Franciso Rodríguez Lupercio, 1727); Juan Millán de Poblete, *Sermon fúnebre...del Señor Doctor Don Juan de la Pedrosa...*(México: Miguel de Ribera, 1701).

Oratorian portraiture provided an important pair of discourses that consolidated their image of stable leadership in the civil sphere alongside a historic and growing body of local sanctity in New Spain. Finally, I turn to a variety of acts of memorial suppression employed by and against Oratorians in the eighteenth century to provide a sense of how the "labor of the negative" worked in a complementary fashion to consolidate an image of Oratorian identity for public consumption and internal corporate reproduction.[421] Inquisition cases and expurgation of printed texts written by Oratorians both provide insights into the acts employed to adjust the design of Oratorian corporate identity in the eighteenth century.

The Politics of Memorialization

The Congregation of the Oratory first sought to frame the policies and practices of the Venerable Union as phenomena of the past. Gutiérrez Dávila in particular used editorial and rhetorical strategies of celebration to frame the Venerable Union as a beloved and distinct, but definitively concluded manifestation of Oratorian history. A series of full-length portraits begun in the eighteenth century also framed select members of the Venerable Union as representatives of Oratorian history. Second, the Congregation sought to establish the primacy of its own claims to represent Oratorian identity in Mexico City. Gutiérrez Dávila and others especially encouraged comparison of Mexico City's Oratorian historiographers with earlier Oratorian traditions of historical writing. In place of the hallowed forefathers from the Venerable Union, eighteenth century writers in turn emphasized members of the Congregation whose life and work legacies embodied new turns in Oratorian identity. Focus on the figures of Juan de la Pedrosa, Domingo Pérez de Barcia Pedro Arellano y Sosa and Antonio Guillén de Castro in particular

[421] Michael Taussig, *Defacement: Public Secrecy and the Labor of the Negative* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999).

modeled a new character of Oratorian identity that featured Oratorians as exemplary men in colonial society. Other biographers employed the virtues of hagiographic and political life writing to Oratorian histories, and drew attention to folkloric elements of their lives, remaking traditional sayings and other elements of popular oral culture, and including tales of supernatural experiences and episodes. In doing so, Oratorian biographers staked out a middling ground between ordinary subjects and those holy people and objects selected for attempts to legally authenticate American sanctity that emphasized local interpretations of holiness and exemplarity. They also contributed to uses of religious oratory to simultaneously elevate the piety and devotion of their followers, and portray local sanctity as accessible and relatable to ordinary Catholics.

In the largest and most diverse collection of life stories, *Memorias históricas*, the structure of Julián Gutiérrez Dávila's chapters reflects a controlled sense of Oratorian history through its own structural organization. The book begins with a narrative spanning from the foundation of Oratorian devotion in Mexico City as the Venerable Union, to the receipt of the legal documents confirming their transition to the Congregation of the Oratory. Here, the author establishes some of the key themes and metaphors used subsequently to narrate Oratorian history in Mexico City. First, Gutiérrez Dávila frames the Congregation of the Oratory as an always-already missing piece of the "fabric" of the "rich vestment" of the Church Militant, making their legal institutional manifestation providential and inevitable. He credits Pope Clement VIII for authenticating the first Congregation of the Oratory in Rome, and extends the metaphor by calling the Pope's cape a fabric of Institutes (institutions), each of which holds a portion of his spirit. Gutiérrez Dávila describes the spiritual similitude between Pope Clement and his vestment

through another analogy: “leaving like another Elias, in the cape of his Institute, no small portion of his singular spirit”.[422]

Finally, Gutiérrez Dávila directs readers interested in more Oratorian history to a five-volume history of Oratorian histories produced by Juan Marciano, a leader of the Congregation of the Oratory in Naples, and dwells on the significance of the spread of Oratorian devotion to Latin America. Neri's initial desires to bring Christianity to the Indies were "repressed" by God's will (*Divina Voluntad*), but ultimately fulfilled "not personally, but through his Institute, a Sacred Copy or transfer of his generous spirit."[423] Still, he specifies, the beginnings of Oratorian communities in the Americas were incomplete, copies not yet filled with life, or mere sketches by definition distant from the original.[424]

Taken together, the themes and metaphors that characterize Gutiérrez Dávila's history of the Venerable Union frame it as a necessary but preliminary stage on the path toward full Oratorian identity. As such, its historical population can be effectively hallowed and respected despite increasingly stark differences of opinion concerning Oratorian organization and governance. Using the flexible concept of spirit, Gutiérrez Dávila is able to amplify the legitimacy of the Venerable Union by emphasizing its measure of sameness relative to Saint Elias, Pope Clement VIII and Philip Neri, while simultaneously casting it as a mere sketch, devoid of the same livelihood enjoyed by the Congregation of the Oratory. Gutiérrez Dávila

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[422] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas*, I: 1.

[423] Ibid. "*no personalmente, en su Instituto Sagrada copia, ó traslado de su generoso espiritu*."

[424] Ibid. "*si bien no desde luego se vió cabal, y retocada al vivo la copia, precediendo los que pueden llamarse unos bosquejos tan solos distantes del original, que ser debía*."

would return, time and again, to the device of the Venerable Union as *bosquejo*, in contrast to the Congregation as a fully formed living image of Oratorian identity.

Reference to Marciano's history links Gutiérrez Dávila's narrative choices to a much longer and larger tradition of Oratorian historical writing, thus enhancing its legitimacy through additional comparison.[425] In the introduction to *Memorias históricas*, too, the Archidiocesan censor Baltasar Sánchez de Estrada endorsed the chronicle in opulent Baroque prose that tied Gutiérrez Dávila's work to earlier Oratorian histories. He found in such "fresh memories, well attested marvels of God wrought through His servants," and evenly distributed praise for both the virtuous lives of the Oratorians featured, and the author's skillful craftsmanship. For the latter case, Sánchez de Estrada praised Gutiérrez Dávila as a "Baronio indiano" for his work.[426] Cesare Baronius ("Baronio" in Spanish) joined the fledgling Oratorian community in mid-sixteenth century Rome and later became a prominent Oratorian leader as well as a cardinal. Baronius' major writing project, the origin of Sánchez de Estrada's praise, was the *Ecclesiastical Annals*, an official response to Protestant allegations that the Catholic cult of saints amounted to nothing more than a pantheon of folkloric superstition.

The Annals comprised twelve folio-sized volumes first published in Rome, 1588-1607, aimed at proving the historical veracity of the cult of saints since its ancient origins. Baronius

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[425] Giovanni Marciano, *Memorie historiche della congregatione nell'oratorio* (Napoli: per lo De Bonis stamparore arciverscovale, 1693-1702); *Memorias históricas de la Congregación del Oratorio, en las cuales se da noticia de la fundación de cada una de las congregaciones erigidas hasta aquí, y de los varones más ilustres que han florecido en ellas*, trans. Félix Cumplido (Madrid: Establecimiento tipográfico-literario de D. Nicolás de Castro Palomino, 1853-1854). Marciano's text covers foundations of the Congregation of the Oratory in Catholic cities in eastern and western Europe, the American continents, and in India.

[426] Julián Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas de la Congregación del Oratorio de la Ciudad de México*, (México: Doña María de Ribera, 1736), np10-12.

collaborated extensively with what Simon Ditchfield has called "local Baronios," clerical historians like Marciano who funneled source material related to regional saints' cults from across the historic Roman empire back to Baronius in Rome.[427] Their collective efforts produced the first ecclesiastical history based on relatively modern standards of evidence and interpretation. Baronius privileged written documents that could be easily submitted to the courts established during the Catholic Reformation to evaluate the veracity of saints' cults, but where such documentation was lacking he subsequently privileged archaeological evidence and oral historical narratives collected by his correspondents.[428] In light of such comparisons, readers of Gutiérrez Dávila's chronicle are encouraged to view the history of Mexico City's Oratorians through two lenses of sameness, both in comparison with the other Oratorian communities featured in Marciano's text, and in the context of the larger fabric of Catholic Institutes that Baronius traced back through the earliest Church history. Along with Juan José de Eguiara y Eguren, Gutiérrez Dávila continues Oratorian traditions of memorialization in the Americas.

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[427] Simon Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

[428] On the composition and impact of Baronio's text, see Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History,* 278-284; Irena Backus, "The Annals of Caesar Baronius" in *Historical Method and Confessional Identity in the Era of the Reformation (1378-1615)*, (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 375-382; Anthony Grafton, "Back to the Future 2: The Antlike Industry of Ecclesiastical Historians and Antiquaries" in *The Footnote: A Curious History*, 2nd Ed. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 148-189; Enrico Norelli, "The Authority attributed to the Early Church in the Centuries of Magdeburg and in the Ecclesiastical Annals of Caesar Baronius" in *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West: From the Carolingans to the Maurists*, 2 vols. ed. Irena Backus (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 745-774; and Giuseppe Antonio Guazzelli, "Cesare Baronio and the Roman Catholic Vision of the Early Church" in *Sacred History: Uses of the Christian Past in the Renaissance World*, ed. Katherine Van Liere, Simon Ditchfield and Howard Louthan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 52-71.

The individual life stories that follow the institutional narrative lend the Venerable Union complex and varied personality without relinquishing a sense editorial control and selectivity. In "Part One", first come the biographies of the Venerable Union's highest corporate leader, the *Prefecto*, in chronological succession. Then Gutiérrez Dávila provides short biographies of members of the Venerable Union who were also members of the Mexico City Cathedral chapter. The Part ends with other short biographies of members who, "with the example of their actions, bring light to the Venerable Union as loving children."[429] At the end of the last two sections, Gutiérrez Dávila includes comparatively much smaller entries for additional Chapter members and those who "illustrate" how to correctly behave as loving children of Philip Neri.

"Part Two" primarily narrates the biography of Juan de la Pedrosa, followed by shorter biographies of three others, Martín de la Llana, Bernabé Partida and Marcos Monzón Salcedo. To give some perspective, the single longest biography in the first Part addressed the life of Isidro Sariñana y Cuenca in thirty-nine pages. Pedrosa's biography alone comprised 165 pages, the final thirty-one pages of Part Two being evenly spread among Llana, Partida and Salcedo. These proportions allow Gutiérrez Dávila to comparatively emphasize the importance of Pedrosa's role within the Venerable Union without pressing it to the point of exclusivity.

"Part Three" features two roughly even chapters dedicating one hundred pages each to the lives of Pedro Arellano y Sosa and José Montaño, followed by two sections of fifty pages each. In the first, Gutiérrez Dávila briefly tells life stories for Miguel Caballero, António Guillén de Castro, and Joaquín de la Piñuela. The second, in contrast, is dedicated entirely to the life of

[429] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas*, I: 220. This section importantly suggests that the role in which these biographies serve as didactic tools is to reflect an ideal manner in which an imperial (Catholic) subject should conduct themself in age subordination relative to their Saint.

Carlos Antonio Díaz de Castro. The final two life stories of *Memorias históricas* turn the reader's attention to the lives of Manuel de Miranda and Francisco de Vanegas, lay brothers (*hermanos legos*) of the Congregation of the Oratory.[430] Gutiérrez Dávila concludes his chronicle with transcriptions of three papal bulls authorizing the authenticity of Mexico City's Congregation of the Oratory, and an extensive thematic index to his work.

In their details, Gutiérrez Dávila's life stories exceed definition within a single generic category and historiographic tradition. Certainly, their structure and organization bear strong resemblances to the narratives of virtues prominent in the spiritual lives of male religious orders within the Catholic Church.[431] Many additionally emphasize the importance of working as confessors with women, and use their relationships with noble Peninsular and Creole women, the nuns of Mexico City's female convents, and the diverse population of the Recogimiento de San Miguel de Belem to illustrate their power, charisma and constancy.[432] The Oratorians' lives often hinge in part on stories of dramatic contrast between a wild and sinful youth and virtuous adulthood, or the temptations of urban vice successfully avoided by the recollect behavior of urban hermits.

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[430] See below, and in Chapter 5.

[431] Asunción Lavrin, "Los hombres de dios. Aproximación al estudio de la masculinidad en Nueva España" *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura* 31 (2004), 283-309.

[432] On the importance of relationships with female penitents for developing clerical masculinity, see Jodi Bilinkoff, *Related Lives: Male Confessors and their Female Penitents* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), and and J. Michelle Molina and Ulrike Strasser, "Missionary Men and the Global Currency of Female Sanctity" in *Women, Religion, and the Atlantic World (1600-1800)*, ed. Daniela Kostroun and Lisa Vollendorf (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 156-179.

The style and subject manner of *Memorias históricas* thus reproduces many aspects of rhetoric and reality common to European medieval religious writing, leading Antonio Rubial García Patricia Escandón to contextualize the chronicle squarely within the historiographical tradition of baroque rhetoric despite Gutiérrez Dávila's expressed skepticism of visions, ecstasies and raptures among male clergy.[433] Although he explicitly emphasized the authority of archival research, oral interviews and personal experience with the material culture as the foundation of Oratorian historical knowledge, he also implicitly favored Oratorian supernatural experiences and events that reproduced characteristics of Philip Neri's sanctity such as clairvoyance and the ability to read hearts or discern spirits.[434] In a sense, then, *Memorias históricas* activates Mexico City as a new *locus amoenus* in New Spain, bringing a medieval tradition of spiritual and material renewal of the landscape to imperial territory in the Americas.[435] Some lives also include episodes of personal transformation. Narratives of young and adolescent urban experience in Mexico City provides insight into episodes of immorality that provide contrast to the standard priestly and masculine virtues. We might read the episodes of urban vice as connective conduits, or bonding experiences that Oratorians used to relate to their parishioners.

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[433] Antonio Rubial García and Patricia Escandón, "Las crónicas religiosas del siglo XVIII" in *Historia de la literature Mexicana. Volúmen 3: Cambios de reglas, mentalidades y recursos retóricos en la Nueva España del siglo XVIII*, coord. Nancy Vogeley and Manuel Ramos Medina (México: Siglo Veintiuno, 2011), 298-299. Maza, *Los templos de San Felipe Neri*, 48-49, shewdly observes that Gutiérrez Dávila disavows such "superstitions" at one moment, but then relates Pedro Arellano y Sosa's ecstasies and levitations without critical commentary.

[434] Donnelly, "The Congregation of the Oratory," 192.

[435] For an analogous argument about viceregal poetry, see Martha Lilia Tenorio, "La función social de la lengua poética en el virreinato" in *Historia sociolingüística de México. Volumen I: México prehispánico y colonial*, dir. Rebeca Barriga Villanueva and Pedro Martin Butragueño (México: El Colegio de México, 2010), 355.

Arellano y Sosa and Sariñana both had a predilection for playing dice games. Arellano y Sosa and Pérez de Barcia each had violent streaks as well. The former drew a blade on a store owner during a dispute, while the latter accidentally fired an arquebus, killing a close friend with the discharge. José Montaño in turn maintained a steady sexual relationship outside of wedlock with a woman.[436] The life experiences of these Oratorians, wayward by their own standards, function within hagiographic models as major turning points in their lives, from frivolous youths to serious and pious priests in the making. Yet, they are also powerful localized stories of modern engagement in the development of virtuous character that center human vulnerability to vice and transpire in places known to their parishioners and public.[437]

The lives and iconic moments of Oratorians from the late seventeenth century who weathered the transition to the Congregation of the Oratory were important figures for the consolidation of its authority for two primary reasons. First, they were good candidates for representation of Oratorian identity because Gutiérrez Dávila had some lived experience interacting with them and could incorporate personal details into his narrative. Secondly, they were prime candidates for representing holiness as Oratorians, rather than supporting devotional cults associated with other saints and places. An important facet of local devotional culture in early modern times entailed the promotion of local cults developed around saintly individuals, miraculous events and objects imbued with sacred immanence. In the seventeenth century,

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[436] Maza, *Los templos de San Felipe Neri*, 47, 50; Gutiérrez Dávila, *Vida y virtudes*, 15-16.

[437] This strategy operates in marked contrast to the mendicant friars' emphases on the apostolic and biblical saints and ancient martyrs as justification for their evangelical enterprise. See Antonio Rubial García, "Icons of Devotion: The Appropriation and Use of Saints in New Spain" in *Local Religion in Colonial Mexico*, ed. Martin Nesvig (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006), 41.

Oratorian connections through the Venerable Union provided important networks of knowledge and resources relative to at least six distinct cases formally submitted for public consideration and consmption, whether to the Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies in Rome or as a part of licensed print culture: the Virgin of Guadalupe, Gregorio López, the Miracle of the "Panecitos de Santa Teresa", the Renovated Christ of Ixmiquilpan (or, of Santa Teresa, as it was later called), San Felipe de Jesús and San Juan Diego. In the eighteenth century, the Congregation of the Oratory made a concerted effort to produce and circulate knowledge about several members who lived in their dormitory, supported the transition to a new structure of rule and organization, or served as a locally appointed bishop or Archbishop within the Archdiocese of Mexico. These figures embodied particularly Oratorian manifestations of holiness. However, in contrast to the strategies employed in the seventeenth century, the Congregation of the Oratory seems to have been more interested in developing strong local cults of devotion without taking additional steps to broaden worship to all of early modern Catholicism, or secure authentication from the Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies.

The change in attitude and strategy was a response to the evolving culture of holiness within Tridentine Catholicism. Simon Ditchfield suggests that Protestant criticisms of the Catholic cult of saints likely prompted a 63-year "failure of nerve" related canonization of new saints from 1525-1588. The foundation of the Roman Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies installed a legal body of expertise representing papal discretion on canonization trials.[438] The investment of papal authority in the Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies both set legal terms

[438] Simon Ditchfield, "How Not to Be a Counter-Reformation Saint: The Attempted Canonization of Pope Gregory X, 1622-45" *Papers of the British School at Rome* 60 (1992), 379-380.

for the determination of future saints, and adjudicated appeals related to cults excised from the Roman breviary in the wake of several waves of official revisions and the Oratorian Cesare Baronio's archival, archaeological and oral history research during the creation of the *Annales Ecclesiastici*.[439] Indeed, Philip Neri's canonization in 1622 formed part of a momentous celebration of five new saints of the thirteen total introduced to early modern Catholicism from 1588-1629.

In the Americas, the central issue was not maintaining saints' cults through waves of liturgical reform. Rather, Catholics first endeavored to produce adequate documentation for consumption in Rome that could validate the production of authentic sanctity in the New World. Canonization of American saints was an especially alluring goal for Creole elites since it would allow them to refute Peninsular theories and claims that American climates (and the peoples born in them) were naturally degenerate.[440] The seventeenth century Oratorian contributions to local sanctity cases reflect the broader trends of Creole efforts to define and control Catholicism in the Americas. These cases also show that Oratorians used the particular dynamics of each case to bolster important relationships within Mexico City, and thereby shape their local identity as an integral force to the operations of empire. The eighteenth century cases, in contrast, show the

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[439] Simon Ditchfield elaborately details the sequence of revisions to the Breviary before and after the Council of Trent in *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy: Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 17-67.

[440] See Rebecca Earle, *The Body of the Conquistador: Food, Race and the Colonial Experience in Spanish America, 1492-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Jean-Paul Zúñiga, "Visible Signs of Belonging: The Spanish Empire and the Rise of Racial Logics in the Early Modern Period" in *Polycentric Monarchies: How Did Early Modern Spain and Portugal Achieve and Maintain a Global Hegemony?,* ed. Pedro Cardim, Tamar Herzog, José Javier Ruiz Ibáñez and Gaetano Sabatini (Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 2012), 125-146.

exhaustive efforts of the Congregation of the Oratory to control the narrative of Oratorian identity.

In defining the cultural space between ordinary mortals and saints, scholars of early modern Catholicism have most often focused on the group of individuals Antonio Rubial García has called the "non-canonized venerables", all subjects of canonization trials that failed to produce a saint during the colonial period.[441] The Oratorian biographies produced in the eighteenth century commonly feature biographical elements that suggest other middling positions between ordinary and saintly lives. These figures add diversity and nuance to the field of global Catholicism as a world religion that scholars like Karen Melvin and Simon Ditchfield have highlighted as a new wave of historical inquiry.[442] Ditchfield writes of a broader "range of ways whereby the cults of holy men and women could be furthered and honored", including comparisons of more widely hallowed individuals with persons whose holiness was recognized on a more localized, regional scale. Additionally, even papal publications referred to concepts like "equivalent beatification" that "described official recognition of non-universal cults that therefore enjoyed the same rights to public worship as those permitted to fully-fledged *beati*."[443]

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[441] Antonio Rubial García, *La santidad controvertida. Hagiografía y conciencia criolla alrededor de los venerables no canonizados* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1999).

[442] Karen Melvin, "The Globalization of Reform" in *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation*, ed. Alexandra Bamji, Geert Janssen and Mary Laven (Burlington: Ashgate, 2013), 435-450, and Simon Ditchfield, "Carlo Borromeo in the Construction of Roman Catholicism as a World Religion" *Studia Borromaica* 25 (2011), 3-23.

[443] Simon Ditchfield, "'Historia Magistra Sanctitatis?': The Relationship Between Historiography and Hagiography in Italy After the Council of Trent (ca. 1564-1742)" *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History,* 3rd Ser., Vol. 3 (2006), 164-165.

Oratorians show these patterns extended beyond Italy and Europe, and developed differently in keeping with local context. The life stories that convey the Oratorians' virtues and merits -- Gutiérrez Dávila's chronicle and biography of Domingo Pérez de Barcia, and Juan José de Eguiara y Eguren's biography of Pedro Arellano y Sosa -- all contain two separate *protestas del autor*. These paratexts officially disavowed any intention on the author's part of declaring the veracity of miraculous events or authentic sanctity beyond those confirmed by papal authority.[444] The repetition of such vows interestingly implies that the life story contained within the text in some manner overwhelms the sufficiency of a single statement. Secondly, within chapters presented as accounts of the conventional saintly virtues, the Oratorian biographies also preserve transcriptions of the more familiar and quotidian dimensions of orality that made Oratorians memorable among their peers and parishioners. The Congregation of the Oratory worked intentionally to present the key figures that championed its ascent as the legitimate corporate expression of Oratorian identity in Mexico City in terms that resonated with both local and Roman audiences. As part of the broader context of clerical narratives of Indigenous peoples in the Americas, the famous phrases and prayers of Oratorians, their minor supernatural gifts and graces, and the research methods used to preserve and circulate them comprise an ethnography of Creole folklore in New Spain.[445] Thinking about Oratorian historical writing in the (earlier)

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[444] On *protestas del autor*, see Ditchfield, "How Not to Be a Counter-Reformation Saint", 381. For another example of an Oratorian-authored biography with two protestas del autor, this time of Payo Enríquez de Rivera, see José López de Aviles, *Debido recuerdo de agradecimiento leal a los beneficios hechos en Mexico por su Dignissimo, y amadissimo Prelado...*(México: La Viuda de Francisco Rodríguez Lupercio, 1684).

[445] Similarly in the 1770s, German scholars begin to describe the masses of social data collected at home (folklore--the science of a single people) and abroad (anthropology--the science of multiple peoples) under the common rubric of ethnography bent toward making sense of otherness relative to local and imperial ideals of culture. Differences that amounted along regional or geographic lines were "tenaciously linked and covertly complicit -- the one feeding

eighteenth century as folkloric in nature contributes to new historical understanding of how the Spanish Empire was an early site for negotiating both domestic and distant otherness. Much scholarship has analyzed early Spanish missionary work, extirpation of idolatry, and urbanization campaigns in terms of early ethnography of Indigenous peoples, and considered it in terms of ethnography or at the crossroads between anthropology and history. Far less attention has been paid to the folkloric dimensions of Creole historical writing, how local cultural production extended and continued traditions seen as timeless or eternal. The Oratorian historical record merges the concerns of historical anthropology, folklore, and Catholic life writing to consider viceregal Creolization in an Atlantic context.[446]

In the life stories of Domingo Pérez de Barcia and Salvador Rodríguez de la Fuente, Gutiérrez Dávila portrays his subjects as continuations of Gregorio López's locally cultivated style of hermetic asceticism, adapted to the context of urban society. Pérez de Barcia lived on the city's swampy outskirts, and "being especially great in terms of reading spiritual books, recollection and silence, among his fellow students [Pérez de Barcia] acquired the nickname of

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off the other". See Uli Linke, "Folklore, Anthropology, and the Government of Social Life" *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 32.1 (January, 1990), 117-118.

[446] This framework in some ways answers Cañizares Esguerra's call to pay more attention to science in the Iberian empires. See "Iberian Science in the Renaissance: Ignored How Much Longer?" *Perspectives on Science* 12.1 (March, 2006), 86-124. In others, it corresponds with John Smolenski's sense of Creolization in Germany (see "Creolizations in the Old and New Worlds: Figuring Pennsylvania in an Atlantic Context" Paper Presented at "Envisioning the 'Old World': Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg and Imperial Projects in Pennsylvania, McNeil Center for Early American Studies, University of Pennsylvania, Saturday, December 1, 2012. Atlantic folklore allows for imperial subjects from/in various parts of the empire to reflect on and negotiate classifications of cultural spaces at home and abroad comparatively or relationally. Oratorians use their authority as writers to publish on local history, censor, criminalize and authenticate the writings of others as 'experts', and come under scrutiny from other experts

Gregorio López".[447] Rodríguez de la Fuente lived a similarly reclusive life within the Oratorian dormitory. "After [Salvador Rodríguez de la Fuente] had died," Gutiérrez Dávila wrote, "one of our [Oratorian] priests related in conversation with Pedro [Arellano y Sosa] that Ródriguez had been another Gregorio López, noting his general withdrawal (*retiro*) from society, silence and solitude." Fray Francisco de Santa Teresa, a Carmelite who attended Juan de la Pedrosa's funeral in 1701, recalled never having even seen Rodríguez before although he had been a member of the Venerable Union since 1695. The greatness of Rodríguez's spirit and smallness of his body at the funeral captured Santa Teresa's attention.[448] The fictive qualities of Oratorian life stories parallel other research on local innovations of early modern Catholicism that lie somewhere between Papally authenticated holiness and the "deviant orthodoxy" of mystics, *beatas*, and healers in colonial Mexico City.[449] They illustrate how Tridentine Catholicism had both a doctrinal dimension that presented religion as very precisely defined (in order to combat Protestant criticisms), and a local dimension wherein devout Catholics enacted devotional cultures in highly personalized and dynamic ways.

Oratorian Portraiture

The 1670s inventory of the Oratorian sacristy includes many paintings, but very little of explicitly Oratorian subject matter. Maza indicates that as part of Juan de la Pedroza's reorganization of the church interior during his tenure as Prepósito, two new naves housed

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[447] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas,* I: 220.

[448] Ibid, II: 159.

[449] Rubial, "Icons of Devotion", 53, discusses local, original private and public cults of devotion in New Spain through the example of Sor Agustina de Santa Teresa, who transformed a statue of the Virgin Mary into a likeness of St. Gertrude. His case indicates both the malleability of private devotion and belief in a continuity of holiness across malleable bodies.

enclosures created to facilitate the sacrament of confession. The associated pilasters were adorned with "venerable effigies, in gallant painted color, of the first children of Philip Neri, students of the Roman Oratory" whose images were curated by accompanying texts recounting their histories.[450] Then, in 1708, the Oratorians commissioned a series of canvasses from Antonio de Torres portraying the life of Philip Neri in nine scenes.[451]

Thus began, in the late seventeenth century, a sustained commitment to creating Oratorian portraiture that, I argue, was an increasingly important theater for playing out the politics of Oratorian memory in the eighteenth century. Most analyses of viceregal portraiture have centered on the portraits of New Spain's viceroys as an important means for constructing the form of imperial authority and legitimating the viceroy's position as the king's "living image."[452] However, thematic studies of portraiture and art exhibition catalogues illustrate the

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[450] Maza, *Los templos de San Felipe Neri*, 21, 26. Maza terms this space a "paleo-Christian atrium" similar to spaces that introduce the primitive basilicas and abbeys of Europe.

[451] Ibid, 26-27. These are presumably the same collection on display in the "Sala Congregación del Oratorio 'Cardenal Newman'" of the Pinacoteca de la Casa Profesa. Informational placards describe the scenes as follows: 1. Nacimiento y Bautismo en Florencia, Italia; 2. Renuncia a la fortuna de su tío, Rómulo; 3. Vende sus libros para dar limosna a los pobres; 4. Recibe al Espíritu Santo en forma sensible; 5. Se le aparece San Juan Bautista; 6. En éxtasis escucha concierto celestial; 7. Contempla la salvación del alma agonizante; 8. Recibe la visita de la Santísima Virgen en una de sus enfermedades; 9. Tránsito al cielo el 26 de mayo de 1595. Interestingly, Maza wrote that the series' whereabouts were unknown in 1970. Judging from the panoramic image of the hall's interior included in Rogelio Ruíz de Gomar's 1974 issue of *Artes de México*, "Las pinturas de la Profesa", 43, it is clear that the organization of the hall's paintings has changed subsequently, as they are differently hung today and now include the series.

[452] On the viceregal portraits see Michael Schreffler, *Art and Allegiance: Visual Culture and Imperial Power in Baroque New Spain* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007), 61-79, and Inmaculada Rodríguez Moya, *La mirada del virrey: iconografía del poder en la Nueva España* (Castelló de la Plana, Universitat Jaume I, 2003), 35-79. On viceroys as the living image of the Spanish kings, see Alejandro Cañeque, *The King's Living Image*. According to James Córdova, "the king's official portrait was much more than a representation of his physical likeness—it also referenced his political body and the dynastic legacy that legitimated his authority. In the king's physical absence, his representation (an official portrait)

broader popularity of portraiture among viceregal institutions and, increasingly in the eighteenth century, among wealthier families.[453]

The historiography of viceregal painting depicts portraiture as a relatively less important genre of production, and elevates religious themes over secular ones generally. Art historians generally agree to break down the fields of painting and portraiture into secular and religious works, but come to varied conclusions about how to classify portraits of male, secular clerics. In a path-breaking article, Elisa Vargas Lugo wrote "among thousands of religiously-themed paintings that constitute a fundamental center of work, the most brilliant and transcendental pictorial activity in New Spain is encountered, although in lesser number and with different artistic intention, in diverse types of ecclesiastical and secular personages whose production was motivated and justified by historical and social reasons more than artistic ones".[454] Portraits were

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or representative (the viceroy) demanded the respect and obedience of his subjects as if he were actually present, giving rise to the expression 'Regis imago rex est' (the royal image *is* the king)." See *The Art of Professing in Bourbon Mexico: Crowned-Nun Portraits and Reform in the Convent* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014), 42.

[453] See Marita Martínez del Río de Redo, *El retrato civil en la Nueva España* (México: Museo de San Carlos, 1992); María Concepción Amerlinck de Corsi, "Pintura de retrato" in *México en el mundo de las colecciones de arte*, (México: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 1994), 227-255; María Esther Ciancas and Barbara Meyer, *La pintura de retrato colonial (siglos XVI-XVIII)* (México: INAH, 1994); Rogelio Ruiz Gomar, "La pintura de retrato en la Nueva España" in *El retrato novohispano en el siglo XVIII*, (Puebla: Museo Poblano de Arte Virreinal, 2000), 9-20; and María Concepción García Saíz, "Portraiture in Viceregal America" in *Retratos: 2,000 Years of Latin American Portraits* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 74-85.

[454] Elisa Vargas Lugo, "Una aproximación al estudio del retrato en la pintura novohispana" *Anuario de estudios americanos* 38.1 (January, 1981), 671. "*entre los miles de pinturas de tema religioso, que constituyen el núcleo fundamental, la creación más brillante y trascendental de la actividad pictórica novohispana, se encuentran, aunque en número menor y con diferente intención artística, diversos tipos de personas eclesiásticas y seculares, cuya producción se vio motivada y justificada por razones históricas y sociales más que propiamente artísticas, por lo que en su gran mayoría no pueden considerarse con el mismo valor artístico existencial que determina al retrato académico-naturalista, ya que por principio filosófico de la época, el arte*

most often figural representations that "conveyed the attributes of a good ruler: unbroken lineage, military might, and high moral standing."[455] Still, portraiture's "relatively low artistic status" in a hierarchy of painting acts prevented artists from using portraiture as a means for high-profile recognition as painters. "The hierarchy of painting types was based on the values that artists, intellectuals, and critics assigned to simple imitative copying (*ritrarre*) and insightful representation intended to convey some greater meaning (*imitare*)."[456] *Ritrarre* faithfully reproduces what the artist observes in nature—a strategy traditionally associated with portraiture. *Imitare*, considered more intellectually demanding and therefore nobler, conveys a profound truth—usually a moral quality—about the subject depicted, something that cannot be captured by simple reproduction of appearance, but rather is captured by perfection of that appearance.

In the "Hapsburg model" of portraiture the sitter poses in a three-quarter view, and directs his expressionless gaze at the viewer. Family crests and inscriptions augment the subject's social status and provide details about his or her life and career. Colorful drapes of cloth often fills one corner of the composition, adding a sense of decorum, while the subject rests his hand on a table, upon which objects implying political, ecclesiastical, or professional rank are prominently displayed, emblazoning crests with rich crimson and gold cloth that is stylishly drawn back.[457]

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quedaba supeditado a la Fe y a la Iglesia y el hombre como tal, desempeñaba un papel secundario dentro de aquella cultura dirigida, que no le permitía figurar como tema de arte."

[455] James Córdova, *The Art of Professing in Bourbon Mexico: Crowned-nun Portraits and Reform in the Convent* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014), 38.

[456] Ibid, 39.

[457] Ibid, 40-42.

Kelly Donahue-Wallace discusses portraiture as a subcategory of secular painting because the subject matter – contemporary officials and elite families – was circumscribed to the worldly deeds and events of human lives. The portraits are commissioned by the sitters being portrayed, but "religious decorum prohibited drawing from the nude, which may have left artists uncomfortable with renderings from life."[458] The formality of viceregal portraiture contrasts with contemporary English and French portraiture that depicts more informality and intimacy. Viceregal portraits deploy an iconographic repertoire of objects and gestures to symbolize virtue and upstanding character. Women holding closed fans and with hands placed "demurely to her torso" show their chastity and circumspection. Watches show fleeting time, and project a sense of mortality. Cloth in hand, too, was viewed as "a sign of a humble life ruled by faith." In Donahue-Wallace's terms, Oratorian portraits joined the ranks of historical figures "whose praiseworthy lives supported Criollo patriotism, indigenous lineages, and the elite colonists' attempt to promote national histories". [459]

Still, portraits of male, secular priests occupy an uncomfortable space within the historiography on viceregal portraiture. They do not belong to the heroic portraits of early conquerors and evangelists (like Hernan Cortes or Martín de Valencia), or to the ostentatious and more complex civil portraits of the later eighteenth century that acquire personality through attributions of wealth and ostentation.[460] Portraits of male secular clergy do nothing to recover or represent women's history, as do the series of *monjas coronadas* and portraits of elite eighteenth

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[458] Kelly Donahue Wallace, *The Art and Architecture of Viceregal Latin America, 1521-1821* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008), 205.

[459] Ibid, 206-207, 209.

[460] Amerlinck de Corsi, "Pintura de retrato", 229.

century laywomen, yet neither do they count as religious paintings as do biblical scenes or even portraits of canonized saints. Instead, they represent subject positions torn between individuation and anonymity, between sustaining a living tradition of corporate authority through the individual lives of those who embodied it, and subsuming individual qualities beneath the commonly accepted virtues of good leaders.

The majority of portraits of Oratorians from Mexico City correspond to two distinct traditions of portraiture.[461] Both traditions comprise multiple portraits produced over the course of many years and by different artists, yet some unifying characteristics and the portraits' relationships to one another suggest some continuity of purpose and meaning reproduced through each new piece in the larger set. The Congregation of the Oratory commissioned sixteen full-length, individual portraits from a variety of artists over the course of the eighteenth century that commemorated related key traits of the Venerable Union [Figure 5.1].[462] They do not comprise a profile of the leadership of the Venerable Union, although several of those portrayed did serve as Prefect. Rather, the portraits of early Oratorians make use of iconographic standards for early modern bureaucratic portraiture to consolidate an image of the Venerable Union through selected personages who obediently bore the Congregation's understanding of Oratorian ideals across the

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[461] Here I use the sense of *tradition* articulated employed by Nelly Sigaut, involving "the assimilation of an original, inherited patrimony and all the subsequent experiences of transmission, reception, adaptation, assimilation and new transmission given within the *continuum* of history." See Nelly Sigaut, "El concepto de tradición en el análisis de la pintura novohispana. La sacristía de la catedral de México y los conceptos sin ruido" in *Tradición, estilo o escuela en la pintura iberoamericana, siglos XVI-XVIII* ed. María Concepción García Sáiz and Juana Gutiérrez Haces (México: UNAM, 2004), 210. Sigaut cites an unpublished manuscript, *Tradición. Esbozo de algunos conceptos*, by Carlos Herrejón Peredo.

[462] Small black and white reproductions of these paintings are included in Luis Ávila Blancas, *Iconografía*, 43-65, 155-158, and 163-166, accompanied by transcriptions of the informational *cartelas* in each painting and brief biographical notes.

corporate transition. In each portrait, the artist follows the standards of representation fitting for institutional representatives in early modern painting begun at the Hapsburg court that remained in use throughout the viceregal period. Sitters appear at either half- or full-length representations, usually turned three-quarters toward the viewer, and within a domestic architectural space. The room itself is often a study-space, adorned by a table or desk, a curtain, a text inscription, and a coat of arms when appropriate to the rank of the person portrayed.[463] Beyond the basic ornamental elements of viceregal portraiture, the desks and floor often contained objects that symbolized the work, status and character of the individual portrayed, such as inkwells, books, mitres and university graduates' caps, skulls, crosses, and parchment.[464] Aside of the faces and (in some cases) the hands of those portrayed, the bodies of the individuals almost completely disappear behind clothing that likewise represented the status and work of the featured individual.

Befitting their high levels of education and institutional responsibilities, the Oratorians are portrayed as learned men as illustrated by the books in their hands, virtuously obedient and selfless, and diligent performers of licensed clerical duties. They are commonly characterized as "Venerable Fathers", a requisite preliminary indicator of a saintly life within the Catholic Church, but were apparently never selected for legal advancement.[465] The poignant emphasis on

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[463] Michael Brown, "Portraiture in New Spain, 1600-1800: Patrons, Painters and Politics in Viceregal Mexico" Ph.D. Diss., New York University, 2011, 16.

[464] Vargas Lugo, "Una aproximación al estudio del retrato", 674.

[465] Francisco de Aguiar y Seijas is an exception. Further research is needed to determine whether or not Oratorians played an influential role in the "causa de beatificación" preserved in the Archivo Histórico del Arzobispado de México (AHAM). See AHAM, Provisorato, Causas de Beatificación, Caja 58, Exps. 1-6, "Fotocopia de los Autos originales obrados en orden a la santidad, virtudes y milagros del Ilustrísimo Francisco Aguiar y Seixas, Arzobispo que fue de México. 263, 245, 210, 207, 139, and 154 fs, in order of the six expedientes. On the eighteenth

their strict observance of the rules of the Institute is an adamant counterpoint to the early dissenters from the Venerable Union that echoed across the eighteenth century as it was reproduced in portrait after portrait of members of the Venerable Union.

The full-length portraits include inscriptions of "Verdadero Retrato", which Michael Brown has argued are "best interpreted [sic] as devotional representations...rather than as attempts to capture the actual physiognomy of the subject."[466] Brown's discussion of "true" likenesses refers to depictions of saints. In the case of Oratorian portraiture, this language indicates an attempt to place Oratorian portraits at the juncture of religious and secular portraiture, and memorialize Oratorian devotees in a new category of sanctity suspended between mundane civil subjects and candidates for formal sanctity. These local or everyday forms of holiness appeared as more imitable or attainable for New Spain's Catholic faithful, and illustrate ways of being virtuous Catholics for those who did not aspire to formal sanctity.

Each individual portrayed over the course of the eighteenth century represents an iconic manifestation of Oratorian memory that the Congregation of the Oratory wanted to preserve by *re-activating* at the moment of commission. The attribution of specific painters to many of the full-length portraits helps to date and contextualize the motives behind creating iconic representations of particular members of the Venerable Union at distinct moments in the eighteenth century after the organization had officially ceased to function in lieu of the new Congregation of the Oratory. They also confirm a sustained relationship as patron of Mateo

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century context of this process, see Antonio Rubial García, "Las monjas se inconforman. Los bienes de Sor Juana en el espolio del Arzobispo Francisco de Aguiar y Seijas" *Tema y variaciones* 7 (1996), 67.

[466] Brown, "Portraiture in New Spain", 4.

Montes de Oca. Manuel Toussaint's brief and condemning description of him as a second-rate, mediocre painter is the only reference work I have found to mention him at all.[467] Whatever his skill, the Oratorians' extensive collaborations with Montes de Oca suggest an alternate view of his aesthetic skill and prowess, as does the historic value of the paintings' complex iconographies. Antonio Calderón Benavides's portrait is certainly idealized, since he died in 1668 long before Montes de Oca was alive and an active painter, and long before most of the Oratorians who could personally recall the original intent of the founding Oratorians could intervene their perspectives in any sort of official Oratorian deliberations on how to represent their community identity. Similarly, the portraits of Diego Malpartida y Centeno, Francisco de Aguiar y Seijas and Payo Enríquez de Rivera simultaneously celebrate the Venerable Union and episcopal authority without creating controversy or commemorating individuals who lived to express any dissent regarding the Congregation of the Oratory.

Two of the other portraits by Montes de Oca best illustrate the uses of full-length "true" portraiture of the Congregation of the Oratory's "Venerable Fathers". Pedro Arellano y Sosa was the first leader of the Congregation of the Oratory [Figure 5.2]. He served as Prefect of the Venerable Union from 1698-1701, was then elected Prepósito of the Congregation in 1701, again in 1704, and once again in 1707. Arellano had the difficult task of firmly leading his community in compliance with the rules of the new constitution, and simultaneously negotiating the dissent expressed by Venerable Union members who protested their lack of voting rights. In an unprecedented maneuver of power as Prepósito, Arellano summarily dismissed his advisory council of deputies in 1707 who favored voting rights for non-resident members of the Venerable

[467] Manuel Toussaint, *Pintura Colonial en México* (México: UNAM, 1965), 154.

Union and secured a favorable judgment from Archbishop Juan de Ortega Montañez upholding his closed election among a new set of deputies aligned with the residential community as an exclusive group of voting members. Arellano also expanded the Oratorians' dormitory space to accommodate twenty-four residents, although some of those residents were occupied by non-voting members of a new Oratorian lay brotherhood.

As visual testament to Arellano's life and work, his full-length portrait positions him standing, his right arm leaning on a nearby table. His hands both occupied, the left a small book and his right with a rosary. He stands before a large book case illustrating his reading prowess, while on the table writing instruments and other books reiterate his prominent literacy and education. The descriptive text of the *cartela* at the portrait's base emphasizes his origins as a native of Taxco, exemplary embodiment of saintly virtues, zealous observance of the Oratorian "Institute" (i.e., its constitutions), his continuous service as confessor, and ecstatic experience, especially through a gift (*don*) of prophecy.

Antonio Guillén de Castro was a native of Zacatecas, framed as very erudite in profane and ecclesiastical history, wise in theology and well verse in "Expositive" forms of academic exchange -- providing spontaneous answers to questions, challenges and problems [Figure 5.3]. He is named an "animated Index" of the works of Cornelius a Lapide, a Flemish Jesuit whose exegeses of the bible reflected the heights of contemporary historical and scientific approaches to theology. To these ends, Guillén de Castro stands before a bookcase with some clearly legible titles on the shelves: "Historia", "Baronio", and "Alapide". He is also commended for applying his learning to the service of God and the well-being of his neighbors through the confessional and pulpit. Guillén de Castro joined the Venerable Union in 1701, lived in their dormitory, and for ten years organized Sunday conversations about Christian Doctrine. According to the

portrait's inscription, he preached and wrote some three hundred *pláticas* in eight tomes, two of which were published in 1735, the other six preserved as bound manuscripts that remain today in the Biblioteca Nacional de México. Each volume runs for several hundred pages. The monument and continued legacy of Guillén de Castro's doctrinal production within the Oratorian community can be appreciated through a later portrait of Manuel Bolea, whose bookcase includes a copy of Guillén de Castro's work [Figure 5.4].

Guillén de Castro's exercises were instrumental in shifting the core of Oratorian devotional practices away from those championed by prominent figures of the dissenting members of the Venerable Union. In the seventeenth century, Alonso Alberto y Velasco and Diego del Castillo Márquez helped found the Venerable Union and make their services popular by offering innovative rosary prayers that combined music and song with devotion. Their prayer manuals were printed and repeatedly reproduced through the nineteenth century. When the Congregation of the Oratory received its legal confirmation and became contractually bound to the new constitutions at the turn of the eighteenth century, Velasco and Márquez were the only two survivors of the original founders, and supported the Venerable Union's survival. In this context, Guillén de Castro's new devotional program provided the Congregation of the Oratory with an opportunity to simultaneously provide new spiritual practices through the Oratorian church, shift the basis of their claim to authentic Oratorian identity from local traditions to Roman precedent, and undercut the connections of dissenters from the Venerable Union to the control of daily ritual life in the Oratorian community.

In contrast to the portraits of members of the Venerable Union, the tradition of painting the leaders of the Congregation of the Oratory continued long past the colonial period, emphasizing community continuity over attention to state political regimes. The "Retratos de los

Prepósitos de la Congregación del Oratorio de San Felipe Neri de México (1702-1986)" paintings include twenty-four images of Oratorians who led the local community during the colonial period, hung today across three rows of the "Sala Cardenal Newman" in the Oratorians' portrait gallery, the Pinacoteca de la Casa Profesa [Figure 5.5]. They are uniformly half-length portraits framed to measure 84 x 104 centimeters each. Their iconographic presentation draws on a variety of symbolic precedents that shape their significance as Oratorian visual culture. Most prominently, the half-length size and inscriptions at the base recall the tradition of viceregal portraiture that decorated the viceregal palace and Real Audiencia in Mexico City. The viceregal portraits signified the efficacy and power of their subjects by drawing on aesthetic criteria used in royal portraiture, and creating a visual illusion of seamless control and leadership, from one figurehead to the next.[468] Such continuity neatly overlays many significant gaps in the presence of Viceroys in New Spain, as well as their often contested reception by local authorities and other empowered groups and individuals. The interim leadership of the City Council (*Ayuntamiento*) and Real Audiencia, for example, never receives pictorial recognition in this tradition, although graphic representations of that type of recognition do exist in other venues like dedications of printed texts to institutional councils [Figure 5.6]. As the viceregal portaits included images of Hernan Cortés, who never technically served as a viceroy, the Oratorian tradition of Prepósitos begins with an image of Juan de la Pedroza, who pursued the legal measures to transition the Venerable Union into a Congregation of the Oratory but never lived to serve as one of its leaders.

[468] Schreffler, *The Art of Allegiance*, 61-67.

The well known traditions of viceregal portraiture also drew upon an earlier iconographic frame of reference from a local tradition of portraying Mexico's Archbishops.[469] The ornaments and vestments of the Oratorian portraits resonate with the representations of material culture common in ecclesiastical portraiture -- books, parchment, quills, inkwells and university caps indicating their erudition and education [Figure 5.7]. Flowers, skulls and watches function as *memento mori*, reminding viewers of the inevitability and proximity of death and implying the sitter's embrace of his own mortality. Rosaries, open bibles and prayer manuals recall the Oratorians' individual and collective attentions to prayer and devotion to the cult of saints. Cayetano Álvarez appears praying to a Joseph and Jesus image, and Juan José González to an image of Mary and Jesus. José Gómez de Escontría appears to hold architectural plans, likely a reference to the augmentation of the Casa Profesa in the 1770s (see Chapter 6). Likewise, the drawing in Antonio Rubin de Celis's hands symbolizes his oversight of a new Casa de Exercicios begun in the early nineteenth century.

Others wear ornate jewelry and scapulars that became increasingly popular in eighteenth century portraiture.[470] Like the viceregal and archiepiscopal traditions, the Oratorian Prepósito paintings create a visual façade of continuous, individuated and uninterrupted rule. It is unfortunately unclear when and by whom many of these paintings were created. Like the full-length portraits of the Pinacoteca de la Profesa and indeed the vast majority of viceregal

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[469] Michael Brown, "Portraiture in New Spain", 23-71; "La imagen de un imperio: el arte del retrato en España y los virreinatos de Nueva España y Perú" in *Pintura de los reinos. Identidades compartidas: Territorios del mundo hispánico, siglos XVI-XVIII*, coord. Juana Gutiérrez Haces (México: Fomento Cultural BANAMEX, 2009), 1467-1485.

[470] For an illuminating study of male jewelry in viceregal portraiture, see Pilar Andueza Unanua, "La joyería masculina de la galería de retratos de virreyes del Museo Nacional de Historia (México)" *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* 34.100 (2012), 41-83.

portraits, many of their identifying marks were either omitted from the beginning, later eliminated, or painted over as later artists adapted and modified portraits to serve new community interests.[471] Such practices, while at times frustrating to historical investigations, lend further credence to the notion of painting traditions that continue to evolve over time both by adding new works to a collection and modifying existing ones.

Traces of Editing Oratorian History

A variety of Inquisition papers and processes provide important counterpoints to the officially sanctioned narratives of Oratorian history and identity, and indicate important shifts in the ways Oratorian identity circulated in the eighteenth century. Oratorian devotional texts censured and confiscated by the Inquisition, and expurgated copies of texts preserved in several rare book libraries reveal some dimensions of Oratorian identity that were at varied scales extracted from community memory, and illustrate how changing perceptions of orthodoxy over time altered the reception of Oratorian Catholicism within the Church. Court cases against two priests who performed Catholic rituals in the Oratorian church before being subjected to the criminalization procedures of the Inquisition contain testimony that records official Oratorian responses to the Inquisition cases, and thus present perceptions of religious deviancy, as well as other testimonies from non-Oratorians that represent alternate views on the impact of the Oratorian community in colonial society.

Local practices of censoring and expurgating books in New Spain built on a genealogy of law defining censorship of publications created and disseminated in the viceroyalty. The First Provincial Council's proceedings from 1555 mandated revision of any texts proposed for

[471] Vargas Lugo, "Una aproximación al estudio del retrato," 674.

publication through local presses by ecclesiastical authority, and remission of European texts included on the Spanish Inquisition's lists of prohibited or suspicious books to local authorities for inspection. With the establishment of a local Inquisition tribunal in New Spain in 1570, the Spanish Cardinal Diego de Espinoza advised the appointment of local commissaries in major port cities to oversee importation of new books. The Second Provincial Council in 1585 empowered ecclesiastical ordinaries to review and approve texts alongside the Inquisition, creating a system of dual tribunal review.[472]

The Spanish Inquisition's policies for censorship primarily evolved in response to Protestant publishing and editing of scriptural texts and the writings of Church fathers, and argued that Protestants had created new errors of translation and editing that decisively polluted their meaning and sanctity. Its officers consolidated their findings of such problems in the literature to date in a 1640 "Index and Catalog of Prohibited and Expurgated Books", but a 1707 re-issue of the 1640 Index stated that in reality very few books actually transgressed the "first-degree heresies" the Inquisitors feared. Nevertheless, the Inquisitor General in Spain in 1747 wrote that since the 1707 edict a larger number of "innovative books" had been published that required expurgation. The new Index of 1747 thus included a list of "Rules, Mandates and Advice" for expurgators.[473]

The rules provide insight into the ideal practices of review. Expurgators were to review an entire text, including standard and unique paratexts "and any other part" to distinguish

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[472] Ramón Aguilera Murguía and Xóchitl Martínez Barbosa, "Libros, inquisición y devoción" in *Inquisición novohispana*, ed. Noemi Quezada, Martha Eugenia Rodríguez and Marcela Suárez (México: UNAM, 2000), II: 362-363.

[473] Ibid, 363-364.

passages containing heresies, impieties, divinations and superstition. Prohibition was far less extreme and pervasive than one might expect. The Rules advised reviewers to target only specific passages, lines and words within suspicious texts, leaving the remainder legible. Notably, even works published by recognized Protestant leaders were allowed to circulate after they had been revised, expurgated and adorned with additional warnings. Furthermore, the laws and ideals of expurgation were not always applied with the rigor implied by the Inquisition's official directives.[474]

Oratorians censured the writings of others, and had their own texts come under scrutiny in the eighteenth century. Inquisition records dating from mid-century show that many Oratorian leaders worked as licensed "Revisores y Expurgadores" for the Holy Office.[475] Others worked on a voluntary basis bringing in new caches of donated and other suspicious works that came into their possession at their own discretion.[476] The history of expurgation in New Spain requires further research to better understand the extent of surveillance and intervention the Inquisition required or expected of its appointed officials. A few cases involving Oratorian texts illustrate the issues at hand. Murguía and Barbosa, for example, use a text by Andrés Serrano, entitled *Adición a la semana angelica* and published in Brussels in 1707 to illustrate the Inquisitors' differentiation between canonical and apocryphal angels. Although the Rules published by the

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[474] Ibid, 365-367.

[475] AGN-M, Inquisición, Vol. 840, Exp. 44; Vol. 847, Exp. 346 & 872; Vol. 1076, Exp. 503; and Vol. 1409, Exp. 7, regarding Antonio Díaz de Godoy, Cristóbal Ignacio de Barrientos, José Gómez de Econtría, Manuel Bolea Sánchez de Tagle, and António Rubin de Celis, respectively.

[476] AGN-M, Inquisición, Vol. 929, Exp. 27; Vol. 1033, Exp. 16; Vol. 1100, Exp. 6; Vol. 1273, Exp. 1; and Vol. 1281, Exp. 14, for documents related to Pedro Afonso Mayoral, Marcos Ortega, Ignacio Fernando Mateos, Juan Gregorio de Campos, and José Rosales de Velasco, respectively.

Inquisition specifically targeted this text, the Newberry Library's version of Serrano's text remains clean and unmarked, with all the angels' names exposed for readers to see. In contrast, the Biblioteca Nacional de Chile's copy of Alonso Alberto y Velasco's root text, *Semana angélica*, bears an Inquisition's stamp on the cover and inscription following the licenses noting that the text was "expurgated and corrected in the year 1742". Later in the text, the expurgator drew multiple hashed lines through the names of the apocryphal angels to obscure their letters, and a single, thin line through the following text describing them. The resulting effect is that readers have trouble discerning the angels' names, but can still clearly read the accompanying text with ease.

This strategy suggests either that readers were also expected to be prudent and circumspect as consumers of the texts, but trusted enough to not need all of the words rendered illegible, or that the particular expurgator placed more emphasis on the act of indicating omission and less emphasis on the creation of illegibility. It also suggests that expurgators may have primarily been expected to survey and process the texts in libraries local to their work and personal lives, extending to additional writings where and when chance provided the opportunity.

Another text by José de Lezamis illustrates the breadth of expurgators' concerns. Only one of three copies of Lezamis' *Vida del apostol Santiago el Mayor* in the Biblioteca Nacional de México contains an inscription that it was expurgated "following the expurgatorio of 1707" in September of 1716 by Julián Gutiérrez Dávila.[477] Only one portion of Part Three, Chapter Four,

[477] Lezamis, *Vida del apóstol Santiago el Mayor*, pp. 297-300 [Biblioteca Nacional de México - RSM 1699 M4LEZ ej. 2]. Other texts expurgated by Gutiérrez Dávila include Jerónimo Castillo de Bobadilla's *Politica para regidores y señores de vassallos* (1597) [342.46 CAS.p. 1597, ej. 2], and Fray Manuel Rodríguez's *Obras morales en romance* (1610) [241 RODR.o. 1610, ej. 98-20876]. Each includes an ownership marking from an Oratorian library in Mexico City. This,

entitled "Proving the Biscayan Language is the First Language of Spain, and Declaring it is not Romance or Castilian" bears manual correction. The expurgation begins with the first full paragraph on page 297. There, a marginal note reads “En lo borado oy escrevi”. The first sentence is fine: “Los fundamentos contra lo dicho en este capitulo acerca del origen de la lengua Castellana, son muy leves, y que tienen facil la respuesta. The expurgation begins in the next sentence: “Solo una cosa tiene alguna dificultad...” For the remainder of the text on 297, each line is carefully blackened with ink, although the letters are still fairly clearly legible, certainly enough to read. On pages 298 and 299 a few thin, squiggly lines run vertically through the middle of the pages, indicating that these, too, should be entirely expurgated. The expurgation continues onto page 300, line by line as on 297, until the sentence beginning “Assi concluyo este capitulo diciendo con el comun sentir de todos...”

In the censured section, Lezamis positions his reading within the terms of other published historians of Spain's distant past, especially the early seventeenth century Spanish cleric and humanist antiquarian Bernardo de Alderete. Alderete's history of the Spanish language forged "complicated ties...to religious conflict and to a growing ideology of racial difference in early modern Spain".[478] Alderete favored tracing "patterns showing analogous mutations in series of words across languages" over the commonly accepted method of citing philological parallels to

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combined with the note clarifying that the expurgation came by request from a special commission from the Mexico City Inquisition, suggests that the Inquisition probably published their commission orders widely, and expected local institutions with libraries including the specified holdings the order and *Expurgatorio* referenced would comply with the commission's aims. The mixed result of expurgation on surviving copies suggests that the commissions were only partially successful in carrying out their stated aims, and that the Oratorians may have been particularly compliant and collaborative in this regard.

[478] Kathryn Woolard, "Bernardo de Aldrete and the Morisco Problem: A Study in Early Modern Spanish Language Ideology" *Comparative Studies in Society and History* (2002), 447.

prove blood relationships.[479] Still, his work was motivated by the purpose of elevating the reputation of the Spanish language as a cultural form by demonstrating its spread as an index of imperial power and control. Lezamis' text undercuts Alderete's method for establishing authority by reading the textual present of the first-century saint's story as an expression of prophecy, using the terms and ideas of the future. He points first to descriptions in Pliny, Cicero and Pomponius Mela of Cantabrians and other peoples in Iberia whose names and languages were too hard to pronounce. Their language must not have been Castilian, he argues, since Romance and Latin languages are so agreeable and incorporating it would not have caused such difficulties for the Romans.

The source of information for both authors lay in the books and images associated with Saint Cecilius, found in Sacromonte de Granada, including the prophecy of Saint John that he translated from Greek and Hebrew to Castilian, and annotated in Arabic. Lezamis concedes that Castilian was present in Iberia before the invasion of the Goths, in agreement with Alderete. However, he further asserts that Basque language was the first in Spain, and that which Tubal used. Adaptation and "corruption" of Latin had already begun with Roman settlement and administration in the area, making the invasion and language change from the Goths part of a longer regional process. As proof, Lezamis first states (as a direct response to Alderete) that Saint Cecilius spoke a language that did not then exist (*"que no avia entonces, sino que avria muchos años despues"*). Secondly, he recalls that Saint Cecilius had the "spirit of Prophecy" and a "Gift of Languages."[480] Among other evidence, Lezamis cites an image included in the

[479] Ibid, 448.

[480] Lezamis, *Vida del apostol Santiago del Mayor*, 299.

collection of antiquities that apparently spoke of his skills, and an ancient parchment that allegedly referred to Saint Cecilius's title of Bishop of Granada before the appointment had ever taken place, and predicted the arrival of the Moors who would eventually martyr him. In the same manner, Lezamis argues, Saint Cecilius was also using the Castilian language in a prophetic way, prefiguring a future language revealed to him by God. Since in this reading Castilian is a borrowed, foreign language for Saint Cecilius, Basque figures as the obvious predecessor and first language of Spain, according to Lezamis.

The selectively applied expurgation indicates that the Inquisition was primarily concerned with the reading of Saint Cecilius's language use and life story as prophetic discourses rather than asserting Basque as the original language of Spain, since the expurgation begins well into the chapter, and ends just before its conclusion. Innovation of the context of the history of early Christianity to read Saint Cecilius's perspective through the lens of supernatural gifts ultimately led eighteenth century readers to lightly prune Lezamis' larger text.

While Rosary prayers developed by Castillo Márquez and Alberto y Velasco survived with enduring fame and circulation, the Dominican Fray José de Cabezas labeled another contemporary guide by José de Lezamis a "rosario intruso" in a 1757 denunciation, .[481] The case file explains that Cabezas' formal complaint was only the latest in a particular string of Dominican complaints that unauthorized prayers were greatly damaging to the souls of both the living faithful and the departed in need of salvation.[482] In 1655, King Philip IV called upon all bishops of the viceroyalty to help spread devotion to the rosary, and to provide daily recitals in

[481] AGN-M, Inquisición Vol. 975, Exp. 3, f. 22r.

[482] Ibid, 35v-36r.

the churches of New Spain. One result of the diffusion of leadership of rosary practices beyond the Dominican order was the creation of apocryphal rosaries with modified prayer lyrics, sequence of prayers, and associated images.[483]

Like the expurgators above, Dominicans challenged discursive innovations related to the beliefs and practices of early modern Catholicism produced by their intellectual and cultural peers. In both the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, they pointed to Pope Alexander VII's 1664 Bull *In supremo militantis* that prohibited any kind of innovation in rosary texts. Echoing Nicolás de Merlo's complaint in *Espejo de indulgencias,* once changed the rosaries would no longer confer the indulgences promised, and usurped the labor, time and devotion of the faithful under false pretenses. A 1680 denunciation of rosaries for Saints Anne and Joseph by Fray Francisco Sánchez further critiqued the lack of licenses on several devotional pamphlets from the Sacred Congregation of Rites as "a monstrosity, and intolerable abuse."[484] While Sánchez was a Dominican, and worked as the local vicar for the Dominican Hospice of San Jacinto near Mexico City, he also worked as a censor for the Tribunal of the Holy Crusade and reviewed textual claims to provide indulgences to the faithful public. In 1682, for example, Sánchez's approval of Diego del Castillo Márquez's popular "Camandula" rosary clarifies that he reviewed the indulgences the prayer manual featured upon request from the local Oratorian commissary of the tribunal, Gonzalo Suárez de San Martín, and did not find any listed that overlapped with a list of

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[483] Anastasia Krutitskaya, "Rosarios intrusos en la Nueva España: la indiscreta devoción de los fieles, amigos de novedades" in *No solo con las armas / Non solum armis: Cultura y poder en la Nueva España*, ed. Manuel Pérez, Claudia Parodi, and Jimena Rodríguez (Madrid: Iberoamericana / Vervuert, 2014), 205.

[484] Ibid, 206.

revoked or false indulgences circulated by Pope Paul V in 1678. He added that in fact, similar manuals were printed in Rome, of which he had many copies to use for comparative purposes.[485]

Among the experts consulted by the Inquisition, Isidro Sariñana's opinion represents the varied reception and interpretation of the 1664 Bull by different readers. He supports confiscation of the innovative rosary texts because they substituted *Ave Maria* and *Our Father* prayers with new lyrics directed toward Saints Anne and Joseph that claimed to produce the supernatural effects of indulgence from sin, but not any allegation of infringement upon Dominican jurisdiction or authority over the Rosary. He alternately emphasizes the importance of avoiding discord among religious orders, and recommends confiscation of the rosaries in question on basis of the potential harm they could do to Catholic clergy as a unified whole. In his reasoning, Sariñana followed contemporary trend among Oratorians in the late seventeenth century to authenticate variations in the practice of circulating indulgences that allowed the Catholics of the Americas to adjust for delays in shipments of new indulgence bulls from Spain, and emphasized the will and intent behind prayer over exact repetition in the wording of prayers.[486]

In 1757, Cabezas denounced eleven specific rosaries and extended his criticisms to "all others called rosaries without any faculty given from the Apostolic Holy See in those territories pertaining to your [the Archbishop's] jurisdiction".[487] Like Sánchez before him, Cabezas

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[485] Alonso de Rivera, *Ofrecimiento de la corona de Nuestro Señor Jesu-Christo, que comunmente llaman Camandula...ahora nuevamente [dispuesto] por el Br. Diego del Castillo Márquez* (México: La Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, 1682), np2.

[486] See Chapter 3 above.

[487] AGN-M, Inquisición, Vol. 975, Exp. 3, f. 22.

explained they were a pernicious form of the Devil's meddling in God's divine plan, tricking the faithful into whole heartedly embracing and energetically reciting the false rosaries while mortal souls present and past languished in sin. As in the first denunciation, Cabezas's attempt to use the Inquisition to suppress rosary innovations was not completely successful on its own terms. The tribunal's judges dismissed his allegations against most of the prayer manuals, but did confiscate three small manuals and enclosed them in the case file, among them José de Lezamis's 1684 *Modo de rezar el Rosario de N. Señora, de S. Joseph, de S. Miguel, y S. Francisco Xavier* [Figure 5.8]. Lezamis's text explicitly offers newly invented verses "in place of " the Ave Maria and Our Father prayers of the original rosary called *jaculatorias*, brief and fervent bursts of oral prayer "like loving arrows, lent and shot from the heart of God" that devotees used to call upon their saints in familiar terms for protection or assistance, using the *tú* form of address.[488] As Anastasia Krutitskaya shows, Lezamis selected some of the phrases in question from Spanish folkloric lyrics that drew on peninsular oral traditions and remain part of approved rosary texts still printed and circulated today.[489]

In the context of Oratorian history, the Inquisition's interest in the innovative jaculatorias is especially telling in that they contribute to a larger body of prayer innovations that were examined and approved by the Inquisition, Archdiocese and Crusade tribunals. The jaculatorias of Alonso Alberto y Velasco, Diego del Castillo Márquez and Francisco Romero Quevedo received repeated approval throughout the eighteenth century, both before and after Lezamis's

[488] "Jaculatoria" in *Diccionario de Autoridades* (1734), II: 315.

[489] Krutitskaya, "Rosarios intrusos", 210-211.

prayers were confiscated.[490] Krutitskaya suggests that Lezamis's text at first survived because Archbishop Aguiar y Seijas supported it, but in the wake of his rule and the Bourbon reforms imposed on religious practice in the mid-eighteenth century invited a second denunciation.[491] Since the Inquisition does not seem especially concerned with the production and use of jaculatorias *per se*, Lezamis's text may have been targeted for its Creolization of peninsular forms of lyric and culture. American Creolization, in contrast, seems to have attracted less attention.

Finally, another version of María de la Antigua's *Estaciones de la pasión*, newly arranged over three weeks in a style entitled *Cadena de Oro, Evangelica Red, arrojada a la diestra de los electos, y escogido: Que nuestra el más cierto, seguro, y breve ánimo para la salvación eterna* bears an inscription "Corrected by Order of the Holy Office, Torres [rúbrica]" [Figure 5.9]. Late in the manual comes a "Compilation of the Sorrows of Our Redeemer", the second to last station of Christ's passion narrated in the text. The expurgated text enumerates the wounds inflicted as part of a response exercise between one voice (the leader or narrator) and another (pupil or chorus), seven falls to the ground, eighty kicks, one hundred twenty punches, other figures for hits to Christ's mouth, chest, and arms, and yet others for the drops of blood and tears shed. The remaining text does not read smoothly, suggesting an assumption that priests reading the manual would improvise and adapt the text during presentations to listening audiences. The earlier, 1684 version of María de la Antigua's *Estaciones de la pasión* examined in Chapter Three bears a note

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[490] See, for example, Velasco's "Addición a la Semana angélica" in Andrés Serrano, *Los siete principes de los ángeles* (Brussels: Francisco Foppens, 1707), lx-lxiv, and Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas*, I: 74, 76, 107-108.

[491] Krutitskaya, "Rosarios intrusos", 212.

of correction by a "Villavicencio" in 1767, which may suggest a new order to generally review Stations of the Cross for the kinds of transgression located in *Cadena de Oro*. It bears neither signs of expurgated text, nor the enumeration of blows sustained by Christ during the passion narrative that drew the Inquisition's notice, perhaps explaining the absence of expurgated text within the document.

Conclusion

The transition of Oratorian corporate identity in the eighteenth century elicited a conscious effort on the part of the leadership of the new Congregation of the Oratory to present and control its image and interpretation of the past. To this end many Oratorians published memorial texts, commissioned oil paintings, and operated the tools of licensure and censure offered by the legal systems of the Archdiocese and Inquisition. Gutiérrez Davila endeavored to feature the spiritual connections between the pope and Mexico City's new Congregation, while his laudatory censors in turn placed him in direct comparison with hallowed Oratorian authors Giovanni Marciano and Cesare Baronio. The Congregation of the Oratory portrayed itself primarily through reference to the historical leaders, members of the Venerable Union who advocated for conformity with the Roman constitutions of Oratorian governance, and early members of the Congregation of the Oratory and Hermanos Legos that provided living example of how to survive the community's transition and thrive in its wake. Oratorians also sought to critically edit the collective public image of their community's spirit through favorable discernment, as in the case of Fray Francisco de Santa Teresa's reading of Salvador Rodríguez de la Fuente, and through the negative assessments of José de Lezamis's practice of discerning prophecy in the writings of Saint Cecilius and Lezamis' innovative rosary prayers.

The tools the Congregation of the Oratory used to portray itself include modifying traditions established by the Venerable Union, creating new traditions as the Congregation of the Oratory, and balancing recourse to both in efforts to appeal to both local and distant imperial audiences. In some respects, Oratorian identities appealed to hagiographical traditions of representation to emphasize members' holiness in doctrinal terms. In others, the narratives of Oratorian life stories made recourse to popular cultural forms -- through lyric performances, innovative prayer, local histories and Creole Catholicism. If this chapter addresses processes of memorialization, Chapter Five follows the threads of sub-corporate growth in greater detail, examining how the creation and evolution of Oratorian traditions through other corporations like the Hermanos Legos was a crucial dimension of the Congregation of the Oratory's survival and stability over the course of the century.

CHAPTER 6: CORPORATE SUB-GROWTHS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Despite its ideological differences from the Venerable Union, the Congregation of the Oratory similarly employed the strategy of creating and fostering new corporate institutions within and beyond the Mexico City community and its properties that bore some devotional affiliation with Oratorian Catholicism. Oratorian sub-corporations helped forge Oratorian identity through relationships with the Congregation of the Oratory, actualizing a subordinate or deferential status, and accommodating interest in Oratorian spirituality and identity that did not otherwise fit in the Congregation of the Oratory. This chapter examines the variety of institutional developments internal and external to the Congregation of the Oratory in the eighteenth century. Some sub-corporate representations manifested as internal, proprietary parts of the Congregation of the Oratory itself. As a display of its newly recognized institutional legitimacy, the Congregation of the Oratory began to produce its own corporate licenses for certain types of imprints evaluated by an appointed reviewer that provided an implicit likening of their institution with the extant religious orders working in New Spain. Like the Franciscan, Dominican, Augustinian and Jesuit "Licencias de la Religión", Oratorian "Licencias de la Congregación" were not technically required for publication. Rather, their appearance in printed documents indicates a conscious form of negotiation and exchange between the leaders of the Congregation of the Oratory and those authors who published texts about Oratorian subject matter. They also created an appearance of hierarchy and order for the Oratorians using the established forms and functions of imperial licensure. For example, Gutiérrez Dávila's sermon

Deseos de S. Joseph, commemorating a new altar to Mary in the Oratorian church, begins with the standard reviews provided by Inquisition and Archdiocesan censors, but the prefatory materials conclude with a review by the Oratorian Juan de Contreras and license conferred by a "Junta particular" of the Congregation's Prepósito and Diputados.[492] Other imprints, however, illustrate the narrow scope of reach the Congregation intended for claiming print culture as a proprietary part of their identity. Sermons authored in 1716 and 1719 Lucas Verdiguer Isasi and Juan Ignacio de Castorena y Ursúa contain neither mention of their Oratorian affiliations among considerable lists of titles and epithets, nor a License of the Congregation authorizing the sermon's printing.[493] Verdiguer and Castorena are among the most prolific Oratorian authors of licensure during the early eighteenth century, which also decline to mention Oratorian affiliations. From another point of view, the feast day sermons in the Oratorian church in 1703 and 1718, preached by Castorena and Bartolomé Felipe de Ita y Parra respectively, bore no license even though the printed versions of the sermons were dedicated to Saint Philip Neri by the Congregation (in 1703) and Our Lady of the Snows by an anonymous Oratorian (in 1718).[494] Considered together, these Oratorian imprints and their licenses suggest that the "License of the Congregation" was intended to control the public speech of leaders in office, the *Prepósitos*, rather than all publications by or about Oratorians.

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[492] Julián Gutiérrez Dávila, *Desseos de S. Joseph*, 5v.

[493] Lucas de Verdiguer Isasi, *Moyses retratado* (México: Herederos de Francisco Rodríguez Lupercio, 1716); Juan Ignacio de Castorena y Ursúa, *El predicador convertido* (México: Herederos de Juan José Guillena Carrascoso, 1719).

[494] Juan Ignacio de Castorena y Ursúa, *Cíngulos del espíritu con que se ciñen, pero no se atan...*(México: Miguel de Rivera Calderón, 1703), Bartolomé Felipe de Ita y Parra, *Nuevo camino, que descubrió para el Cielo, el gran Patriarcha San Phelipe Neri...* (México: Herederos de la Viuda de Francisco Rodríguez Lupercio, 1718).

Other members of the Congregation of the Oratory publicly presented their religious identity through published prayer manuals, especially nine-day prayer cycles called novenas [Figure 6.1].[495] Novenas emerged as increasingly popular publications in the eighteenth century. They worked alongside licenses to embody Oratorian identity in two distinct ways. As authors and publication financiers, Oratorians in the Congregation of the Oratory published and reprinted novenas that broadened local knowledge of and access to prayers tailored to reach a greater diversity of saints than had the Venerable Union. Some overtly identified as priests of the "Sacred" or "Venerable" Congregation of the Oratory in their title pages. Others published novenas anonymously, as "A Priest of the same Congregation" or another similar appelation.

For example in 1720, former Venerable Union member Juan Ignacio de Castorena y Ursúa published *Novena angelica dolorosa, de los mil angeles marianos, y el Archangel San Miguel, que asistieron de guarda á María Santísima*, with the financial backing of Julián Gutiérrez Dávila, "Presbyter of the Sacred Congregation of Saint Philip Neri of Mexico".[496] [Figure 6.2] Preceding the title page, a copper-plate engraving depicts Our Lady of Sorrows, accompanied by the Archangels Michael and Gabriel. Above float two cherubs carrying a ladder and two lances, while another two float higher and together display a banner bearing the face of Christ wearing a crown of thorns. At the engraving's base, an inscription explains that the Virgin depicted jointly belongs to the Congregation of the Good Death, and the Company of the Thousand Marian Angels, the latter under the former's custody. Thanks to a concession from

[495] Citing Pierre Ragon's French doctoral thesis, Antonio Rubial García notes that novena production in New Spain surpassed sermon production in local printing presses circa 1680-1720. See Rubial, "Icons of Devotion", 54-55.

[496] Juan Ignacio de Castorena y Ursúa, *Novena angelica dolorosa* (México, 1720).

Archbishop José de Lanciego y Eguilaz, devotees who perform the novena's meditations are eligible to receive forty days of indulgence. Castorena y Ursúa's work illustrates the intersectional interests of new and old Oratorians, diverse manifestations of Jesuit spirituality, Marian devotion, and a concern for salvation at both local and global scales of early modern Catholicism.

In his novena contemplating the "sweet" name of the Virgin Mary, *Mana dulcísimo*, Juan Martín de Contreras identifies as "Presbyter of the Congregation of the Oratory of Our Holy Father Saint Philip Neri of this City of Mexico, and current Prefect of Novices".[497] [Figure 6.3] Contreras also negotiates between local and global scales of Catholicism through the dissemination of news and what Brendan Dooley calls "contemporaneity" in the early modern world.[498] The pamphlet begins with en *exemplum* relating to the recent miraculous image of Our Lady of Light possessed by the Congregation of the Oratory in Valencia, who persuaded a wayward husband there to make a general confession in the Oratorian church and his immoral demeanor.[499] Although nominally focused on devotion to the Virgin Mary, Day Four of Contreras' novena exhorts readers to seek out devotion to Philip Neri, and to support the local Congregation of the Oratory through alms and attendance at its services. Neri, the author argues, could be a powerful advocate to Mary on behalf of mortal devotees, especially those who use a

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[497] Juan Martín de Contreras, *Mana dulcísimo. Cuyo sabor se ofrece al gusto de las Almas devotas, que quisieren recrearse con su dulzura, y suavidad en esta Novena del dulcísimo Nobre de María* (México: José Bernardo de Hogal, 1729).

[498] See Dooley's introduction to his edited volume *The Dissemination of News and the Emergence of Contemporaneity in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010), 1-19.

[499] Contreras, *Mana dulcísimo*, np7-10.

special jaculatoria to seek his aid.[500] In addition to its structured nine days of prayer, the pamphlet ends with a short, formally addressed "everyday prayer" to Neri.[501] These novenas illustrate some of the ways Oratorian devotion continued to be grow in flexible ways to operate collaboratively with many other faces of early modern Catholicism. Oratorians endorsed jaculatorias, circulated news of current events in tandem with new prayer pamphlets, and thereby conveyed diverse elements of early modern Catholicism through a unified discourse.

The Oratorian Lay Brotherhood

Another part of the shift in expression of Oratorian devotion and identity in the eighteenth century comprised different methods for re-directing desire for affiliation in Mexico City beyond the capacity of residential, housed bodies in the Oratorian dormitory and inclusion of non-priest members in some official capacity. Called by various names including the "congregantes Hermanos del Oratorio de Afuera", "Hermanos Legos", the "Oratorio Pequeño" and the "Oratorio Parvo", one new corporate formation of Oratorian devotion functioned like a Third Order among the regular clergy, "not a confraternity but rather an integral part of the Oratory to whose attention the Congregation was dedicated".[502] Juan José de Eguiara y Eguren's biography of Pedro Arellano y Sosa dedicates several chapters to framing the origins and meaning of the Hermanos Legos, and in the process roots the institution's origins in the early eighteenth century conflict between the Congregation of the Oratory and the Venerable Union. His account is especially interesting because it uses the figure of Arellano y Sosa to ventriloquize

[500] Ibid, np20-22.

[501] Ibid, np35.

[502] Ávila Blancas, *Bio-bibliografía*, 321.

a lay brother's defense of the new Congregation leadership, and thus creates a discursive space for articulating a claim on Oratorian identity from outside the Congregation. He first used an agricultural analogy, arguing that planting some seeds -- the spiritual exercises and customs of the new Institute -- meant undoing other works and practices. Eguiara y Eguren calls the Venerable Union "peregrinos", indicating they pursued a devout path but were not an adequate substitute or alternative to the Roman constitutions of Oratorian identity, more rootless and unsettled in their intentions than institutional *policía* required.[503] Moreover, the "truth" of the matter mandated that the two institutions could not coexist, and the old rules must disappear like the night stars before the presence of the dawn. Still, Eguiara y Eguren recalled, some "learned and solemn" fathers could or would not reside within the dormitory, and wished instead to "imitate that Wise Man, who joined in his Treasury the New and Old, and believed both Institutes could be observed simultaneously".[504] Although he does not explicitly specify, Eguiara y Eguren is likely referring to the founder and first treasurer of the Venerable Union, Antonio Calderón Benavides, a strategy which shrewdly allows him to continue celebrating their virtues without drawing attention to any current member of the opposing faction. Sosa's detractors hoped elder members could continue observing the old rule, while new aggregates would be bound to observe the new Institute, phasing the Venerable Union out gradually. Eguiara y Eguren frames this as a loveable form of industry, but nevertheless an impossibility, and suggests

[503] Juan José de Eguiara y Eguren, *Vida del Venerable Padre Don Pedro Arellano y Sossa* (México: Imprenta Real, 1735), 55.

[504] Ibid, 56.

that their cumulative education may not have been enough to disenchant them, instead producing "ingeniously creative extravagances."[505]

Oratorian spirituality and governance could admit no innovation according to Sosa, who textually grounded his adamant refusal to accommodate the Venerable Union in Juan Marciano's monumental chronicle of Oratorian history. Since his deputies favored dual observation, Sosa abruptly terminated their positions, and the subsequent election was dramatic in that it neither followed the system of voting in urns promoted by the old constitutions, nor did it conform to the private ballot system among members of the ruling council mandated by the new Institute. Instead, Eguiara y Eguren writes, both external and internal members convened "all their lips joined in a single empowered voice, of uncommon consonance," and elected Sosa again. Although the image of total unity seems unlikely, given the open conflict among elders, Eguiara y Eguren's phrasing suggests that the overwhelming opinion of the larger body of affiliates supported Sosa's unorthodox approach.

A group of thirty-two affiliates excluded from the election proceedings "militated under the banner of the Venerable Union" and submitted a legal claim with Archbishop Juan de Ortega Montañez, arguing the election was null and demanding a new election that included their votes as well as those of the remaining affiliates.[506] Eguiara y Eguren's version of the conflict emphasizes the ambiguity of the stance of the non-signatory members of the Venerable Union to implicitly critique the validity of the dissenting Oratorians. Returning to the possibility of a dual form of rule, he describes such a future as a monstrously ugly version of Janus, the two-faced

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[505] Ibid.

[506] Ibid, 59-60.

Greek mythological icon of leadership. Moreover, he asserts, the dissenters would be facing the very difficult task of "resuscitating the dead". Indeed, he argues that the Venerable Union's rule had already transformed the confraternity's collective body into a "venerable cadaver, well embalmed and sweet-smelling."[507] In this way, he manages to simultaneously praise the Venerable Union, claim it as an ancestor, and put it to rest as a viable political body.[508]

After having framed the Venerable Union as outdated and irrelevant to contemporary Oratorian culture, Eguiara y Eguren works to further diffuse the tensions through another rhetorical strategy. He names Diego del Castillo Márquez as a signatory of the lawsuit against Sosa's controversial election, and then portrays him sympathetically. Castillo Márquez appears as an exemplary cleric with admirable care for the well-being of souls and notorious in the city for his virtuous spiritual exercises, and his fervent spirit "as he preached frequently in the [Metropolitan Cathedral] after the Divine Offices, eliciting many gasps and groans from his audience".[509] In a telling anecdote, Eguiara y Eguren recounts a chance meeting between Sosa and Castillo Márquez in the street, where the latter expressed his feelings of anguish and divided opinion on the issue of community division and strife. This image puts a loving and submissive face on the opposition, and suggests that Sosa's political detractors were uncertain about their position and stood on fragile conceptual ground.

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[507] Ibid, 60.

[508] Ibid. On p. 65, Eguiara y Eguren further elaborates that living under dual institutes, the Oratorian community "will not be a Congregation, but rather an error, an entirely monstrous body that horrifies."

[509] Ibid, 68.

Gentle and sympathetic portrayal of the dissenters from the Venerable Union allows Eguiara y Eguren to shift toward description of the Hermanos Legos as the most obvious and positive way for the Oratorian community to balance obedience to their new, mandatory Institute and accommodate the great interest in Oratorian spirituality that exceeded their relatively small capacity to house people in their dormitory.[510] He recalls that in Rome, the original Congregation of the Oratory created both a private oratory and an "oratorio pequeño" to for non-residents to use, "so that they could matriculate those who aspired to reach the heavens from their own homes."[511] A 1703 Spanish edition of the Oratorian constitution devotes several chapters to the official organization of the "Oratorio pequeño" and its relationship to the Congregation of the Oratory. Lay brothers were to be ruled by a Rector, appointed by the Congregation's Prefect. Two to four Sacristans or Custodians worked to clean the oratory, light lamps and candles, wind the clocks, adorn the altars, and enforce discipline ("*poner las disciplinas*"). Another two to four medics (*enfermeros*) who worked as needed tending to sick Oratorian priests, lay brothers, or in the urban hospitals of the local city. Other positions included Alms Collectors, a Secretary, and an appointed Reader who delivered oral performances of texts on festival days.[512] All officials of the lay brotherhood were to report the expenses of their office monthly to the Rector or Prefect, "because in matters of the [Congregation of the] Oratory, the laybrothers [*"los de Afuera"*] have neither rights nor power beyond the administration granted by the Prefect".[513] Unlike the

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[510] Ibid, 73.

[511] Ibid, 69.

[512] *Constituciones vulgares de la Congregación del Oratorio de Roma* (Madrid: 1703), 124-126.

[513] Ibid, 127.

Venerable Union, the Hermanos Legos were not a confraternity. Their organization was "an integral part of the [Congregation of the] Oratory and an object of the Oratorian priests' dedicated attention.[514] Its development was crucial to the consolidation of the Congregation of the Oratory in the eighteenth century.

Biographical and pictorial documentary sources provide locally grounded perspectives on the experience of Oratorian identity as lay brother. Two of the portraits considered in Chapter 4 depicted Oratorian Hermanos Legos who died with the "odor of sanctity" provide some measure of their relationship to the church. [Figure 6.4] Manuel de Miranda was the very first laybrother aggregated to the Oratorio Pequeño, and managed the Sacristy and entryway to the Oratorian church, a *portero* evidently trusted by the Congregation members and portrayed with a large ring of keys slung over his left hand.[515] Unsure why Miranda never entered the priesthood, Gutiérrez Dávila draws from the oral testimony of a female "servant of God" Catarina Eufracia de Mesa, who claimed that Miranda never lost the grace afforded him by baptism as a child, his honesty and innocence forging a straight path to salvation irrespective of his unknown homeland and bloodlines.[516] Despite the mysteries surrounding his family history, the Oratorians claimed him as a legitimate child, referring to Salvador Rodríguez de la Fuente's secretarial records and oral

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[514] Ávila Blancas, *Bio-bibliografía de la Congregación*, 321. Ávila Blancas notes that the last page of a locally produced 1824 version of the Constitutions of the Hermanos Legos contains a printed note, dated 1747 by Secretary Manuel de Eguiara, recording the entrance of Juan José Rodríguez into the organization. He does not make reference to the 1703 text from Madrid, although one version of it exists in the Biblioteca Nacional de México.

[515] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas*, III: 297.

[516] Ibid.

confirmations that Miranda's *limpieza de sangre* was clear not through word of mouth or archival research, but rather plainly shone on his face.[517]

Miranda moved to the Oratorian dormitory in 1688, when it was still controlled by the Venerable Union.[518] Gutiérrez Dávila configures Miranda as an early precursor for the shift in the Oratorians' public image, "immediately casting out the sketch for the retouched, colored image in the poor cloisters of the Oratory," and better representing the image of Oratorians presented in the Roman constitutions.[519] Miranda lived in an exemplary manner, conserving his soul to offer it up to God in total at death. He lived in a secular habit, and as a model of poverty, obedience, chastity, humility, gentleness and all of the other "precious virtues". His room had a single, sparse bed on the floor, and he attentively saw to his duties as porter and keeper of the sacristy for fifteen years before joining the Hermanos Legos. All those years, he lived reclusively withdrawn from commerce and especially interactions with people. He attended mass daily in the Oratorian church, and confessed frequently to Pedro Arellano y Sosa. He even spoke minimally, and with humility and contempt for his own person. He went about clothed only in what garments charity could afford him. His "despicable obsolescence" (*"despreciable por viejo"*) added to his humble person an industrious sort of debasement. He always went about without his

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[517] Ibid, III: 298.

[518] Like Miranda another resident Layman, Francisco Cipriano Morales, resided in the Oratorian dormitory for thirty-six years and impressed his neighbors with his own array of saintly virtues and obedience to the Congregation's Institute as well as any full member, according to the inscription on his portrait.

[519] Ibid, 297-298.

cape, with ragged vestments exposed at the shoulders to show his mortifications and "refresh his lungs," perhaps an allusion to Neri's ventilation of his overheating heart.[520]

Visitors marveled at how the priests of the Congregation of the oratory lived in imitation of *Miranda's* example, according to Gutiérrez Dávila. He rarely left, except to attend meetings of the Congregación de la Purísima, of which he was also a member, and to visit his friend Tomás de la Fuente. Miranda worked as Catalina Eufracia de Mesa's personal scribe for the duration of her life, but kept her confidences secret, never giving in to those who pried under false pretenses of piety. Miranda always managed to change the topic of conversation "as happened once in my presence".[521] Gutiérrez Dávila laments that since Miranda's confessor was already dead by the time he began collecting stories for *Memorias históricas*, we can only content ourselves with the other memories that remain. Still, he affirms, it was Arellano y Sosa who first raised the idea of admitting Miranda as a lay brother, as part of his efforts to enact a constitutionalist Oratorian community.

In that state Miranda, too, would have to make sacrifices, like giving up his Tuesday participation in the Congregación de la Purísima's services. Miranda was admitted June 1st, 1703, and stoically shed his external devotions to fully attend to life as an Oratorian lay brother. Gutiérrez Dávila configures his life in the Hermanos Legos in relation to Solomon's faith, Abraham's resistance to temptation, and Joseph's anguish. Miranda used his work at the church door as a path through the door to heaven. He prayed whenever possible: "seated in the entryway

[520] Ibid, III: 298.

[521] Ibid, III: 299.

and wrapped in his shawl he continuously persevered."[522] Gutiérrez Dávila also gives insight into the kinds of prayer Miranda pursued, elaborating that he "took his cues from the Manual of Villacastín, that after his death was found pure in its *other* meditations if not those pertaining to the unitive path to Divine Love."[523] Framing Miranda's prayer as virtuous and partially based on a manual later expurgated for content contributes to an image of relatable, fallible holiness that withstands error and corruption, remaining essentially pure. As a focal point of virtuosity, Miranda gives hope to those who have been violated or damaged for resolution and redemption in salvation.[524]

Miranda boisterously greeted Oratorians coming and going from the church complex, calling out "Great morning to you!" and "Let us go have mass". In a telling anecdote, Gutiérrez Dávila records an interview with a servant who reported that one time after ringing the bell for silence in the evening, a servant came to his dwelling (*choza*) under a staircase and found him kneeling deep in meditation, in a mystical dream-state that helps to leave the past behind to rest in the peaceful embrace of love. This memory offers the contingent possibility of awakening readers' attention to the loving impulses of Miranda as a faithful subject discretely concealed beneath obsequies to God.[525] In stark contrast to his edifying virtues, Gutiérrez Dávila confesses that Miranda did have a single vice: he regularly smoked and snuffed tobacco. However, he

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[522] Ibid, III: 300.

[523] Ibid.

[524] The manual in question is likely the Jesuit Tomás de Villacastín's *Manual de exercicios espirituales para tener oración mental,* publishesd in several Spanish cities in the early seventeenth century, and quickly translated to French, English and Dutch. None of the copies I located bore expurgations.

[525] Ibid, III: 301.

quickly qualifies, he was always out of cigarette papers, having sold whatever accessories were in his possession to give the proceeds to charity.[526] Miranda's acceptable fallibility make his example all the more appealing for a local audience in search for role models and with hopes of living virtuously on balance, if imperfectly in total.

Sosa's biographer Eguiara y Eguren was himself a lay brother of the Oratorian community, all the more fascinating since he was an ordained secular priest and excelled in the university and ecclesiastical structure of the Viceroyalty. [Figure 6.5] Despite his prime eligibility, Eguiara y Eguren never joined the Congregation of the Oratory itself, perhaps choosing private residence over the communal lifestyle of the Oratorian dormitory. Whatever his reasons, Eguiara y Eguren's Oratorian identity merges Oratorian lay society with the broader field of intellectual and political culture of mid-eighteenth century New Spain. Through both written and practical measures, Eguiara y Eguren worked to disprove the assertions of some Spanish intellectuals that "the Spanish American colonies, with no libraries and no authors of note, had little to offer inquisitive minds."[527] He particularly focused on the richness of the Royal University's intellectual environment, and signaled the important contributions Oratorian graduates made as financial benefactors, founders of institutions and creators of pious works that became local devotional traditions. The prologue to his *Selectas Disertaciones Mexicanas,* a foundational work for colonial Mexican bibliography, helped memorialize extensive Oratorian contributions to local culture. Among other Creoles, Eguiara y Eguren emphasizes the financial

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[526] Ibid, III: 304.

[527] Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World: Histories, Epistemologies and Identities in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World,* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 210.

investments of Juan de Caballero y Ocio and José de Torres y Vergara in the creation of religious institutions in Querétaro and Mexico City, Domingo Pérez de Barcia's creation of the Recogimiento and Colegio de San Miguel de Belem, and Juan de la Pedrosa and Pedro Arellano y Sosa's work creating the Congregation of the Oratory.[528] In practice, Eguiara y Eguren was a founding member of a theological academy, first begun in the Oratorian church and later housed in the Royal University.[529]

As a prominent writer in colonial society, the secretarial papers of Eguiara y Eguren and some of his successors from the Oratorian Hermanos Legos have been published in a modern edition and reveal the changing cast of the institution's officials, its material and ritual structures, and the broader network of relationships in which the lay brothers operated.[530] With a steady monthly influx of new Brothers, the Hermanos Legos began to implement new measures to accommodate the needs of their changing corporation in the 1730s. On September 16, 1731, Archbishop Juan Antonio de Vizarrón y Eguiarreta issued a license to transform the *sala de quieta* of the Oratorian church into a distinct oratory for the lay brothers because the old oratory was too confining a space for the many brothers in attendance.[531] Construction began June 25th,

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[528] Roberto Heredia Correa, "El prólogo a las selectas disertaciones mexicanas" in *Juan José de Eguiara y Eguren y la cultura Mexicana,* coord. Ernesto de la Torre Villar (México: UNAM, 1993), 54, 66. See also María Cristina Montoya Rivero, "Juan Caballero y Ocio, patrono y benefactor de obras religiosas" *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* 32.97 (2010), 29-70.

[529] *Relación de meritos y servicios de Juan José de Eguiara y Eguren*, (México, 1747), 1v, and *Biblioteca Mexicana,* V: 483. See below for more details.

[530] Juan Jose de Eguiara y Eguren, *Biblioteca Mexicana: Monumenta Eguiarense* ed. Ernesto de la Torre Villar and Ramiro Navarro de Anda (México: UNAM, 1989, V: 483-504.

[531] Ibid, V: 485, 493.

1732, and at the suggestion of Sosa years earlier, involved creating a new doorway in the oratory that opened onto the city street in order to comply with a stipulation of the Congregation's constitution. The newly expanded oratory measured 10 1/2 *varas* wide by 22 *varas* in height, and required demolition of some offices and two or three of the Oratorian dormitories. [532]

Several members of the Congregation of the Oratory next made a variety of donations to help the lay brotherhood conduct their services in the new prayer hall. On August 5th, 1738, Cayetano Álvarez established a pious work to fund candles and mass for the Mystery of the Holy Trinity, and on December 5th of the same year Pedro Anfoso Mayoral, an Oratorian also working as Prefect of the Oratorio Pequeño, arranged for sponsorship of a ceremony on December 12th for the Apparition of the Virgin of Guadalupe.[533] The following year, other Oratorians donated art objects and made explicit that their bequests must remain separate from the property and inventories of the Congregation of the Oratory. On April 13th, Álvarez donated a painting of the Holy Trinity and a silver statue of Our Lady of Loreto. On August 3rd, the Congregation's Prepósito donated a crucifix, two painted copper engravings (*láminas*) of Our Lady of the Star, one *Ecce homo*, and two more small images of Our Lady of Mercy, and an oil painting of the life of Saint Joseph. If any of the stipulated terms for donation changed, he elaborated, the objects should then be transferred to the choir hall of the Recogimiento de San Miguel de Belem. These particular objects are so precious, he explained, because they had once belonged to Domingo Pérez de Barcia.[534]

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[532] Ibid, V: 493.

[533] Ibid, V: 494-495.

[534] Ibid, V: 496-497. The transcription reads "Domingo Pérez Barrios".

The gradual growth of the Oratorio Pequeño was also accompanied by increased responsibilities and regulations for the new community. On February 10th, 1732, the Congregation of the Oratory mandated new statutes for evaluating and admitting new members. Prefects were to verbally examine two people known to the new candidate who could testify to their purity of blood, "clean of all bad roots in heresy, judaism, etcetera", have neither been prosecuted or sentenced for a crime, nor worked an indecent occupation.[535] The Oratorio Pequeño continued to admit new members in the mid-eighteenth century, and in the wake of greater membership the Congregation of the Oratory again issued new regulations to address the community's changing size and composition.[536] They issued an *auto* January 2nd, 1742 mandating separately kept account books for ecclesiastical and secular members, including a newly composed back log of historical members organized in the same fashion. New candidates now underwent a three month probationary period where their attendance and behavior at community services and events were monitored by the ruling council. Additionally, the new order stipulates that the Oratorio Pequeño must *follow* its earlier regulations of the background and qualities of new members, suggesting that the stringent categories of inclusion and exclusion may have been found lacking upon formal review. In the future, therefore, all records were to be kept in duplicate, and in an archive with two keys managed by the Prefect and Secretary and regulated by a log noting individual usage of the archival papers.[537]

The (Arch)Confraternity of Christian Doctrine

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[535] Ibid, V: 489.

[536] From 1731-1744, the Oratorio Pequeño admitted at least twenty-three new members. Ibid, V: 488, 490, 491-494.

[537] Ibid, V: 499-500.

In contrast to the increasingly constricted access to the ranks of the Congregation of the Oratory and its Hermanos de Afuera, the Archonfraternity of Christian Doctrine continued to spread its services broadly and welcomed a more diverse base of attendees at regionally established confraternities. From 1679 to 1683, Mexico City's Oratorians founded six additional schools in cooperation with local clergy: at the Cathedral parish (the *Sagrario*), the urban parishes of Saint Catherine the Martyr and the Holy Cross, the Churches of the Holy Trinity, the Hospital of Jesus of Nazareth, and one public site at the gateways to the city's central plaza, "where instruction in Christian Doctrine seems most precisely necessary, because of many uneducated people there, so in need of this spiritual succor."[538] In 1683, Archbishop Francisco de Aguiar y Seijas circulated a printed letter mandating all parish priests in the Archdiocese, whether secular or regular, to found Confraternities of Christian Doctrine in their parishes.[539] In the early eighteenth century, Manuel Sahagún de Arévalo recalled the foundation of 212 Confraternities of Christian Doctrine in the wake of Aguiar y Seijas' pastoral letter: seventy-four by secular priests, twenty-five by Domincans, seventy-five by Franciscans, and forty-eight by

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[538] "*donde parece mas precissa, y necessaria la enseñanza de la Doctrina Christiana, por la mucha gente vulgar, que ay en ella, y la mas necesitada de este socorro espiritual*." *Reglas, y constituciones que han de observar los Congregantes de la Union, y Confraternidad de N. P. S. Felipe Neri, Fundada en su Oratorio de esta Ciudad de Mexico, y los demás Padres Sacerdotes y Ministros Operarios: por lo que toca al instituto de la enseñanza de la Doctrina Christiana* (México, 1683), ff. 2v-3v.

[539] *Nos el Doctor Don Francisco de Aguiar y Seyxas...A todos los curas, Beneficiados, Vicarios...Hazemos saber como ante Nos parecieron el Prefecto, Consultores y demas Oficiales de la Unión de Clerigos...y por petición, que presentaron, nos hicieron relación diciendo, que dicha Unión se agregó a la Archicofradía de la Doctrina Christiana...y se le comunicaron todas las gracias, indulgencias y privilegios concedidos por...Paulo V...* (México, 1683). The only copy of this text I have been able to locate is in the Biblioteca Nacional de España.

Augustinians.[540] In a telling record from 1732 in the *Gazeta de México*, Sahagún de Arévalo describes the festivities surrounding the opening of a new Confraternity of Christian Doctrine and notes that the community called itself "by the title of the Holy Amends (*Desagravios*)", indicating that the Confraternities may have been better known locally by other names. In any case, their popularity remained strong in the city during the eighteenth century, as is evident through contemporary descriptions of the *Oratorios Vespertinos* conducted at regular intervals within the networks created by the Archconfraternity of Christian Doctrine.[541] The institution and repetition of the Confraternity meetings reflects an important and under-examined feature of mid-colonial Catholicism. Despite the differences between religious orders and the secular clergy, and despite the broad range of communities and ethnic groups that comprised the Archdiocese of Mexico, the services of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine addressed its audiences through a rhetoric of equality. The services of the Oratorian Archconfraternity of Christian Doctrine emphasize parallel, simultaneous strategies of imperial ideology that sought to entice African-descended and Indigenous participation in imperial society as social inferiors with promises of more equal and inclusive futures born of racial uplifting, social mobility and salvation acquired through good death.

Historical writers portray the Confraternity's processions and services as highly popular and well attended. The Oratorios Vespertinos began in Mexico City as a weekly affair when the combined populations of the Congregation of the Oratory, the Hermanos Legos, and the

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[540] *Gazetas de México* (México: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1949), I: 331-332.

[541] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas*. For earlier records of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine's processions in the late seventeenth century, see Robles, *Diario de sucesos notables*, I: 276-77, 282-284, 294, 343, II: 118.

Confraternities of Christian Doctrine departed after regular Sunday services from the Oratorian church and sequentially visited urban parishes and chapels that housed other branches of the Confraternity. On July 22nd, 1731, Santiago de la Sierra led the procession as standard-bearer, flanked by his fellow Oratorian priests José Hurtado de Mendoza and Pedro Pérez de Aviles who each bore ceremonial tassels (*borlas*). In addition to their official roles within the Congregation of the Oratory, each of the three procession leaders also worked as officials of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine.

Following the three leaders, the remainder of the ruling council of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, the Fathers, and the Brothers of the Oratory, marched solemnly. In their wake came a "most complete concourse of men and women and schools of children with crosses, singing all the prayers and Christian mysteries, divided into different troops but processing as a unified body."[542] Bells pealed as they left the Oratorian church, and again when they reached the parish church of Saint Michael Archangel and were greeted by its head priest (*cura propietario*) Bernardo de Yun y Barbia and his attending clergy.[543] The local clergy took the standard and placed it in the church presbitery. The procession then occupied the church's stalls, and the Oratorio Vespertino began with the Metropolitan Cathedral's first singer performing a religious song designed specifically for the event, followed by a child reciting a *sermoncico* from memory on a prefabricated, elevated theater platform "as required by the Oratorian constitutions."[544] Once

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[542] Eguiara y Eguren, *Biblioteca Mexicana*, V: 485.

[543] Yun y Barbia had joined the Venerable Union in the early eighteenth century.

[544] The term sermoncico presents a fascinating blend of solemn and satirical symbolism. The word is absent from the *Diccionario de Autoridades,* but Charles Presberg discusses its meaning in the context of Cervantes' classic *Don Quixote:* "If the narrator intends the diminutive 'little sermon' to convey a sense of endearment and praise -- 'a delight to hear and read' -- the reader can scarcely disregard that lexeme's disparaging overtones. The narrator further implies that the

the sermoncico ended, the Cathedral musicians played once again. Then the former Prepósito of the Congregation, Antonio Díaz de Godoy, ascended to the church pulpit and delivered the first *plática*, or conversational sermon. The Cathedral musicians subsequently played another piece, followed by another plática from Miguel de Moctezuma, identified in Eguiara y Eguren's records simply as a Presbyter. Both pláticas addressed the same theme as the child's sermoncico. To conclude, all attending sang the Hymn of the Holy Cross together, followed by a final prayer led by Yun y Barbia.

On other dates, the combined Oratorian processions visited the Hospital de Jesús Nazareno, the Church of San Agustín el Real, and hosted services in their own church. Still, the elaborate multimedia performance of the Oratorios Vespertinos became a burdensome expense to maintain on a weekly basis. On November 25, 1731, Eguiara y Eguren recorded a locally made decision by the Congregation of the Oratory's leaders to begin conducting the Oratorios Vespertinos on a monthly basis, "because we do not have the resources to cover them every week and on feast days...for the musicians alone cost two hundred pesos, and the Chapel Master Manuel de Zumaya already comes only for his devotion..."[545]

Pedro José Rodríguez de Arizpe's 1753 account of the Jubilee processions in Mexico City in 1750 contains another description of the Confraternity's festival presence two decades

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same aesthetic rationale informs the citation of authorities in contemporary books" (*Adventures in Paradox: Don Quixote and the Western Tradition,* [University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000]). With respect to the Oratorio Vespertino, the term may hold additional, alternate meanings that play on the simultaneous levity and solemnity that makes these services more appealing and popular to audiences. The term also recalls the ambiguous boundaries between sermons, villancicos and oratorios discussed in Chapter three, and could infer a connection between the aesthetic rationales of musicality and children's first forays into solemnity and sacred oratory.

[545] Ibid, V: 487.

later.[546] The Oratorian author begins with an edict published by Archbishop Manuel José Rubio y Salinas outlining a month of processions in imitation of pilgrimages in and to Rome, and describing the attending religious institutions in turn. According to Rodríguez de Arizpe, the attending student children in the Oratorian church so overwhelmed its capacity to house people in their normal spaces of worship that attendees improvised and occupied the auxiliary spaces during the event, including the church atria, sacristy, the Oratorio Pequeño, administrative offices and the church refectory. The "Padre Ministro" led the procession, carrying the cross on a standard and accompanied by two "Maestros Eclesiásticos" and the student "escuelas" in order according to age. Next followed the "Congregantes Seculares" preceded by their Prefect, and followed by "our Sacred Congregation" led by its Prepósito and augmented by many "Sacerdotes Seculares Hermanos de la Congregación de Afuera." Judging from the recorded order, it appears that the Hermanos de Afuera were complying with the orders of the Congregation of the Oratory for separating their ranks into secular and ecclesiastical branches issued in 1742 during the procession. Rodríguez de Arizpe also explains reduction in the number of visits by the Congregation of the Oratory and Hermanos de Afuera as a reaction to requests from the local schoolmasters to the Archbishop to allow them to continue their local lessons with less interruption, which complements the suggestion in the records of the Hermanos de Afuera that the Oratorio Vespertinos was a considerable expense to all involved.[547]

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[546] Pedro José Rodríguez de Arizpe, *Relación de lo acaecido en la celebridad de el jubileo de el año santo en esta ciudad, y arzobispado de México...*(México: Nueva Imprenta de la Biblioteca Mexicana, 1753).

[547] Ibid, 32.

Rodríguez de Arizpe counts all those in attendance, explicitly excluding women and other "personas extrañas", at more than three thousand individuals, two thousand of whom were children. In contrast to the shrunken size of the Congregation of the Oratory itself, the image of Oratorian identity presented in the description of the holy year procession is twenty-five times the size of the Venerable Union at its heights, and included several distinct corporate societies that collaborated in a public performance of Oratorian ritual. Rodríguez de Arizpe continues by qualifying that the most impressive feature of the procession to onlookers was the comportment of the children, whose "cleanliness [*limpieza*] and modesty exceeded their age". The children eschewed all distraction from the solemnity of the event at hand, and prayed in accord with the procession, signaling both voluntary obedience to Catholic ritual and special subjection to their schoolmasters. From Rodríguez de Arizpe's point of view, the procession showed God that the Mexican priests and children were more suited to a "spiritual conquest of Heaven" than the Israelites were prime for claiming the Promised Land.

Santas Escuelas de Christo

Another institutional culture rooted in Oratorian spirituality, the Santas Escuelas de Cristo or Holy Schools of Christ, further diffused and diversified the sites and character of Oratorian identity in Mexico City during the eighteenth century. While they commemorated their spiritual exercises as inspired by Philip Neri and the Roman Oratorians, the Schools were each governed independently by locally appointed councils, and operated independently of the Congregation of the Oratory, the Hermanos de Afuera, and the Arch-Confraternity of Christian Doctrine. The organization and practices of the Schools were not unique, but were part of a broader trend of innovative forms of early modern Catholicism like the Theatines, Barnabites,

the Companies of Divine Love, and of course the Congregation of the Oratory.[548] Fermín Labarga situates the particularity of the Schools among similar and simultaneously emerging devotional movements, and "in the wake" of the Roman Oratorian community. He points to the influence of Juan Bautista Ferruzo, an Italian migrant to Madrid. Ferruzo reproduced Oratorian spiritual exercises in a prayer hall there after having seen them performed in Valencia's recently formed Congregation of the Oratory, but also knew of similar practices by Oratorians in the Italian city of Saluzzo called the *Complutiva*. Bishop Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, recently returned from New Spain in the 1650s, helped promote and establish the first School in Madrid within the local Italian hospital in collaboration with Ferruzo.[549] Just as the spiritual practices of the Schools emerged in the context of innovations in early modern Catholic ritual, so too did the first institution of the Holy School in Spain emerge amid a variety of similarly oriented new organizations, such as the Congregation of Our Lady of the Presentation and a "Venerable Congregación de Sacerdotes de San Felipe Neri" in Valladolid that ironically never aggregated itself to the official Congregation of the Oratory.[550]

The Schools spread to the Americas through different channels of influence than did the origins of the Venerable Union and Congregation of the Oratory. The first Schools emerged in Lima, Peru, in 1660 and in New Spain in Guatemala in 1664. Like many other corporations, local Schools often struggled to maintain conformity to universal forms of organization provided

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[548] Fermín Labarga, *La santa escuela de Cristo* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 2013), 58-59.

[549] Ibid, 59-60.

[550] Ibid, 64.

by constitutions when local conditions made alternate arrangements seem more prudent.[551] In Lima, for example, the local School changed the day of services from Thursdays to Fridays, and omitted the disciplines of physical mortification and the *banquillo*, a ritual of public confession and repentance before the community leader (an official called *Hermano Obediencia*) and other members. They also added a ceremony dedicated to the Amends of Christ (*Desagravios*), and aligned with Oratorian services by including musical sequences. In Guatemala, the founders of the Santa Escuela later re-joined, in 1697, to found the city's Congregation of the Oratory. Although they used the constitutions produced from the original Madrid community, the Santa Escuela also occasionally charged members of various religious orders to deliver the pláticas and lead the exercises too. In this way, the American Santas Escuelas were similar to other Oratorian communities in that their initial development varied and grew somewhat independent of mandated ideals and precedents.[552]

The Mexico City Santas Escuelas developed in the early eighteenth century, initially according to the Madrid constitutions and without the variations exhibited by their American precedents in Lima and Guatemala. Over the course of the century, at least twelve Santas Escuelas developed across the city, adopted the patronage of Philip Neri alongside other appropriate avocations associated with the local religious orders, parishes and hospitals that hosted their temples, and sometimes included members of the Congregation of the Oratory as leaders.[553] Administrative personnel included six *deputies* drawn from both secular and

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[551] Ibid, 336.

[552] Ibid, 340-341, 352-354.

[553] Alicia Bazarte Martínez and José Antonio Cruz Rangel, "Las santas escuelas de cristo en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII. Ciudad de México" in *Corporaciones religiosas y evangelización en Iberoamérica, siglos XVI-XVIII*, comp. Diego Lévano Medina and Kelly Montoya Estrada

ecclesiastical members in a manner consistent with the standards of the local School, one *secretary* "with voice and vote" in meetings and charged with required attendance and keeping the book of accords and contracts of the School, one *co-secretary* to help ensure secretarial presence at all meetings, and a flexible number of *nuncios* who variously tended to the School's altar and oratory, organized disciplinary exercises and scheduled prayer. Lay nuncios worked more often as porters or door guards, recruiting new members, and working with disciples to fulfill group obligations.[554] They also served as community watchmen during exercises and services and beyond, informing leaders of known "bad public behavior" among affiliates.[555]

The Hermanos Obediencia who presided over and conducted weekly exercises in the Schools received advice from a locally appointed *Council of Elders* comprised of past Hermanos Obediencia and Nuncios, and made critical decisions for the community. All offices were subject to review and renewal every four months, although the last two above could pertain to the director's meetings indefinitely. Elections were held regularly at the ends of April, August and December. All members of the group had a vote regardless of status at these meetings. Votes were collected at the foot of the School's proprietary image of Christ, counted, and then newly elected officials would pray together and request community support for the good discharge of

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(Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 2010), 91, 107n24. Page 100 provides a table of the Hermanos Obediencia reported in 1799 at the following locations: San Francisco, Espíritu Santo, Santo Domingo, San Agustín, La Merced, Parroquia de Santa María, En Santa Cruz, Parroquia de San Sebastián, Parroquia de Santa Veracruz, Hospital de Jesús Nazareno, Hospital Real de Naturales, and the Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo.

[554] In this respect, they are similar to the Confraternities of Christian Doctrine for their use of family structures and inter-corporate relations to increase enrollment.

[555] Ibid, 91.

their duties.[556] Although many Schools began as organizations ran and populated by elite Spaniards, mainly clerics, they had no official rules for mandatorily excluding potential candidates, and some reported having "many members of *color quebrado*". New members were subject to public questioning by the Hermano Obediencia, and private review of *informaciones* generated to assess candidates' proclivity to create public scandal and sins or other indignant behavior. To avoid its own records being potentially used indiscreetly, such inquiries were explicitly not written and archived. Candidates had to make a general confession and write a testament, attend two School meetings "con capa" as a hopeful. Based on these criteria, the Council of Elders voted to accept or reject each hopeful candidate.[557]

Acceptance was consecrated through an entrance ceremony involving recitation of many prayers in Latin and an acrostic poem outlining the individual's community obligations and spelling out "Santa Escuela". One line particularly emphasizes the need to "know and repeat *jaculatoria*" during exercises. Indeed, the Schools printed and carefully guarded local access to their own manuals for best practices by storing them in the oratories they used for services (and, presumably, the local custodians associated with the particular parish or chapel). They apparently composed distinctive jaculatorias inspired by Christ's life, and for special weekly and monthly devotions, feast days and other liturgically significant commemorative dates. In light of their informal and highly personal style of devotional outreach to the holy figures of early modern Catholicism, and consequent position along the margins of orthodoxy and superstition, the Schools' particular attraction to jaculatorias emerging in tandem with the increased scrutiny of

[556] Ibid, 92-93.

[557] Ibid, 93.

seventeenth century Oratorian precedents suggests that the Schools helped maintain local practices while displacing them from the central representations of Oratorian spirituality in Mexico City.[558]

The oratories of the Schools also had some specific design requirements. Each must contain a crucifix (painted, sculpted or carved), an image of the Virgin Mary, and another of Saint Philip Neri, along with any additional patron saints locally declared. At the foot of the cross the community was to arrange two skeletons from deceased members and two instruments of discipline, possibly cilices or scourges. The Schools used two low benches separated by a desk adorned with another skull, holy water, a clock and a small bell before the main altar to conduct another signature service: the *banquillo*. Beside the altar, two more benches along the side walls separately accommodated the Nuncios and other members observing the rituals accordingly.[559]

The Schools used both dim candlelight and nighttime services to imbue their services with solemnity and an air of suspense around the acts of penance and discipline they purveyed. In comparative perspective, Bazarte Martínez and Cruz Rangel argue that the Santas Escuelas' combined objectives of advancing orthodoxy, submission to physical mortifications, and prayer and reflection upon the life and death of Christ definitively differentiate them from other confraternities and third orders "perhaps with the exception of the Confraternity of Christian

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[558] Ibid, 93, 98. On the marginal and superstitious status of jaculatorias related to pregnancy and childbirth, also see Martha Eugenia Rodríguez, "Costumbres y tradiciones en torno al embarazo y al parto en el México virreinal" *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 57.2 (2000), 501-522.

[559] Ibid, 94.

Doctrine."[560] Indeed, the locations mentioned in the 1799 report of Schools in Mexico City includes many known sites of the Confraterntiy of Christian Doctrine, and by the logic of Archbishop Aguiar y Seijas' 1683 pastoral letter, all other parishes in the Archdiocese should also have had their own Confraternity. In this light, the Schools and Confraternities of Christian Doctrine may have shared a great deal in terms of worship spaces and members in late colonial Mexico City.

The Schools' services were clearly distinct from those offered by the Congregations of the Oratory. While the latter concluded with music, song and theater, the former implemented rituals of public shaming and penance through the banquillo ritual and physical mortification. Bazarte Martínez and Cruz Rangel argue this was a natural adaptation to the circumstances of the late eighteenth century, especially considering the currents of modern ideas and customs associated with the Enlightenment and adjustments to the dramatically changed devotional landscape in the Spanish Empire after the expulsion of the Jesuits.[561] Matthew O'Hara offers an alternative view, instead suggesting that an experience of longer-term transformations, subtle changes and patterns of cultural reproduction better represent the style of Catholic governmentality that prevailed in eighteenth century Spanish America across the conceptual divide between "premodern" and "modern" times.[562] While some of the secular clergy in Mexico,

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[560] Ibid, 89.

[561] Ibid, 97-98.

[562] Matthew O'Hara, "The Supple Whip: Innovation and Tradition in Mexican Catholicism" *American Historical Review* 117.5 (December, 2012), 1376. O'Hara frames his periodization in relation to Michelle Molina's essay "Spirituality and Governmentality: The Jesuit Spiritual Exercises in Europe and Abroad" in *Postcolonial Moves: Medieval through Modern*, ed. Patricia Ingham and Michelle Warren (New York: Palgrave, 2003), 134. See also William Taylor, "An

especially peninsular officials and residents, advocated some level of Jansenist critique of Baroque spiritual aesthetics and emphasized efficacious grace over the "distracting clutter" of expensively financed public ritual, many of the faithful public held strong positive associations with collective, external expressions of public piety. The Schools were likely an institutional effort to guide devotees through sanctioned collective expressions that all parties could at some level appreciate.

O'Hara reads the records of the Schools' petitions and reports to Archdiocesan authorities as a "paratext" commenting upon the allegedly fixed rules and laws governing School culture: "The reform movements of the eighteenth century did not create the Escuela movement, but rather energized and repurposed it to new ends".[563] Within the context of multiple modes and faces of Oratorian devotion elaborated here, the Schools' practices provided an additional form of corporate belonging and access to public forms of confession and mortification, rather than an alternative to any one or another group. Although their services were not entirely unique, the Schools did restrict ritual performances to those conducted during private services, and were not part of public processions alongside the other Oratorian corporations and the city's confraternities except in some odd circumstances. They did, however, offer different use of disciplinary practices than those exercised by mystics and ascetics of the early modern era, who used them to destroy the worldly self and attempt union with God. The Schools, in contrast, used physicality to connect to others in the world, to build community in practice.[564] Despite their

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'Evolved' Devotional Book from Eighteenth-Century Mexico" *Catholic Historical Review* 101.1 (December, 2015), 65-79.

[563] O'Hara, "The Supple Whip", 1389.

[564] Ibid, 1391-1392.

faithfully observant beginnings, non-conflictive variations of practice in the Schools did emerge in the local context of Mexico City. The public penance and confession of School members, commonly known as the banquillo for the low benches where the penitent sat before the Hermano Obediencia, was a common point of contention among members. Some petitioned on numerous occasions to retire it as a community practice. In 1746, one of the School's Council of Elders rebuked their detractors, calling them "of shameful and small understanding" and ignorant of the School's guiding text *Dispertador Cristiano* and its mandate of the exercise in question. Without it, they argued, the Schools would be just like any other congregation in the city.[565] Others complained that the ritual examinations of conscience between brothers sometimes resulted in confrontations of spiritual equals, wherein neither one could truly help guide the other. Yet others reported hearing blatant lies from their brothers at the bench, and complained about the trifling devotional value of the jaculatorias.[566] Some Schools' preference for night rituals aroused suspicion from authorities, just as had the oratories and the back alley devotions on Lainez Street in the seventeenth century. Their leaders explained to inquirers that their hours helped cater to Bourbon initiatives to make plebeian and other day-laboring subjects more productive *and* devout for the Empire simultaneously.[567] The Santas Escuelas reproduced issues raised by the Venerable Union but came to different conclusions about best practices. They provide a venue for lay emulation of the same christian practices and virtues as are highlighted

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[565] Bazarte Martínez and Cruz Rangel, "Las santas escuelas", 94-95.

[566] Ibid, 96.

[567] O'Hara, "The Supple Whip", 1394.

by Oratorian vidas of priests, and like the CCDs, extend those practices beyond the clergy and to imperial subjects excluded by statutes of *limpieza de sangre*.

The Academy of Saint Philip Neri

In addition to the popular educational initiatives pursued through the Archconfraternity of Christian Doctrine and the Santas Escuelas de Christo, the Oratorians also sponsored the development of elite education through a newly formed Academy of Saint Philip Neri. This institution also likely originated in the late seventeenth century, when Isidro Sariñana y Cuenca began leading informal "conferences" on moral theology two days each week.[568] In the early eighteenth century, Oratorians such as Antonio Piñateli, laybrothers like Juan José and Manuel Joaquín Eguiara y Eguren, and outsiders such as Bartolomé Felipe Ita y Parra collaborated to transform the informal meetings into a more regular and amplified curriculum. The resident Oratorians elected Ita y Parra the first Rector of the Academy, who quickly expanded curriculum to include Philosophy, both Moral and Scholastic Theology, and Letters. Three days each week, the Academy hosted community disputations on each topic, and on some occasions hosted poetry contests (*certamenes poéticos*) to sharpen and feature the attendant members' erudition.[569]

Researchers and archivists have not yet located any corporate administrative documents related to the Academy. Still, a variety of printed and manuscript sources provide some insight into how the institution grew and helped transform the meaning of Oratorian identity in the

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[568] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas* I: 122, "*dos días á la semana, tuviessen los hermanos de la Venerable Unión sus conferencias de la Teología moral...*".

[569] Beristain de Souza, *Biblioteca hispano-americana septentrional*, I: 434-435; Eguiara y Eguren, *Biblioteca Mexicana*, V: 483; "Relación de los meritos, y grados del Doctor, y Maestro Don Bartholomé Phelipe de Ita y Parra, Presbitero del Arzobispado de México" AGI-Indiferente General 216, no. 108 (1717), 426r.

eighteenth century. Beristain only specifies that the Academy was founded in the early eighteenth century and that after fifteen years, it was transferred to the Royal University. A manuscript sermon preached by Cayetano Cabrera y Quintero sheds some additional light on important figures, dates and locations of the Academy. Cabrera y Quintero's sermon focused on commemoration of the Academy's foundation on the day of San Ángel, October 2nd, although he delivered it as a current student of the Academy on October 10th, 1720. His title clarifies, for instance, that before its transition to the Royal University, the Academy was first held for a time in the Royal Seminary College of Saint Peter, which Cabrera y Quintero uses to compound the number of symbolic correspondences in biblical texts, orthodox Catholic authors, and contemporary scholars that frame the Academy in a providential light as an institution that cultivates guardian angels. The Academy, in his vision, emulates wise Minerva (the goddess avatar of the Royal University) and serves as a fortified tower within the University that both lends to the defensive structure of the walls that guard practitioners of the Sciences and as a lighthouse signalling the way forward to distant travelers.[570] Framing the Academy students as Angels follows the local Oratorian tradition of angelic innovations discussed in chapter 5, now transferred from apocryphal textual authorities from sacred history to the examples of local individuals, recently deceased or still living. Cabrera y Quintero's construction of Academy members represents another Oratorian strategy for cultivating local narratives of holiness that supersede the qualities of civil society, yet remain less developed than cases formally submitted for beatification or canonization. It also provides a new and narrow elite venue for education

[570] Cayetano Cabrera y Quintero, *La academia de los ángeles de guarda,* MS 30_98-23593, Biblioteca Nacional de México, f. 9r.

alongside the more broadly popular and accessible manifestations of the Confraternities of Christian Doctrine and Holy Schools of Christ.

The *Relaciones de Méritos y Servicios* submitted by Academy students to advocate for professional advancement also praise its quality of education as a valuable credential.[571] Manuel Sebastián Cano's relación de méritos also contains a 1725 certification that he is a member of Mexico City's Congregation and a student of Ecclesiastical Theology with Eguiara y Eguren in the Royal University's Academy.[572] In the first half of the eighteenth century, other students followed the trend of listing their coursework and training within the Oratorian-born Academy to demonstrate their worthiness as candidates for all manner of clerical and legal positions within the Spanish imperial bureaucracy.[573] The Rectors and leaders of the Academy, moreover, seemingly continued to be drawn from members of the Oratorian community, including such famous academic figures as Juan José de Eguiara y Eguren and Juan Ignacio de Castorena y Ursúa, as well as lesser-known academics from the time like José Francisco Carballido y Cabueñas, even if the Academy itself was no longer officially an Oratorian corporation.[574] Even Manuel García de Arellano's 1755 *Elogia selecta*, a collection of poems submitted during

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[571] On relaciones de méritos y servicios, see Murdo Macleod, "Self-Promotion: The Relaciones de Méritos y Servicios and their Historical and Political Interpretation" *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* 7.1 (Winter, 1998), 25-42, and Robert Folger, *Writing as Poaching: Interpellation and Self-Fashioning in Colonial Relaciones de Méritos y Servicios* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

[572] AGI-Indiferente General 219, no. 27 (1724-1727).

[573] See Manuel José de la Sierra (AGI-Indiferente General 220, no. 68); Juan Ignacio de Castorena y Ursúa (AGI-Indiferente General 214 no. 34); and Manuel Sebastián Cano (AGI-Indiferente General 219, no. 27).

[574] AGI-Indiferente General 216, no. 60.

various competitions over time in the Academy, commemorates the institutional connections between the Oratorians and the University, recalling in 1753 its institutional origins and spiritual characteristics.[575]

San Miguel de Belem

The accumulation of significant populations of young girls in the Recogimiento de San Miguel de Belem demanded education that fundamentally changed the institution's social and architectural formation. Although official control of the Recogimiento transferred to the Archdiocese in the early eighteenth century, Oratorians remained intimately linked to the institution through a variety of important relationships and contributed to its transformation into a college that specialized in cultivating musical talent among women. To accommodate instructional relationships, living spaces were first organized for groups of young girls cohabitating with one "mujer virtuosa" of a more mature age, often called "nanas" or "señoras mayores", intended to provide their junior companions with lessons as Christians and as women who could produce valuable handicrafts such as artificial flowers, embroidery, woven textiles, spun thread, and sewn garments. Women's livelihoods in the Recogimiento were supposed to prepare them for the responsibilities of ruling their own domestic worlds in the future. Their devotional training came from reading such texts as Robert Bellarmine's Christian Doctrine and the works of María de la Antigua.[576]

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[575] Manuel García de Arellano, *Elogia selecta é varijs, quae Mexicearum scholarum more ab alumnis Academiae S. Philippi Nerij*... (México: Ex-Tipografía de la Biblioteca Mexicana, 1755).

[576] Josefina Muriel, *La sociedad novohispana y sus colegios de niñas. Tomo II: Fundaciones de los siglos XVII y XVIII* (México: UNAM, 2004), 80-81.

The transitions of the institution owed much to relations with individual archbishops. Archbishop Aguiar y Seijas supported the initial foundation financially, requested permission to begin its construction, and presented Domingo Pérez de Barcia to the Viceroy Conde de Paredes. He also blessed its oratory and chapels to the Virgins of Guadalupe and Remedies, named the internal corporate leaders and the Recogimiento under the supervision of the Provisor of the Archdiocese. Finally, he created a tradition of providing the Recogimiento with a monthly allowance of one hundred pesos for its expenses. The Archbishop's invested time and resources created an environment that prioritized separate women's spaces and organized, minimalized contact between men and women only for explicit purposes such as confession, a political agenda he pursued in women's institutions across the city.[577]

Aguiar y Seijas' support and initiative garnered additional aid from wealthy local residents, including the Viceroy Paredes, Captains Juvera, Pedro Ruiz Castañeda and Santiago Bollo, the Marquis of Urrutia, General Ardilla, Oidor Juan Saenz Moreno, Don Esteban Molina Mosquera, Don Miguel de Vera, and the Oratorian Cathedral Dean Juan Millán de Poblete. These donors helped the institution provide education for residents, as well as dowries to help them form families or join a convent or other institution for women, thereby ceasing to "pose a threat" to society. When Aguiar y Seijas died, first the Cathedral Cabildo and then his successor Juan de Ortega Montañez continued the official legacy of interest in the Recogimiento through

[577] Ibid, 81. According to Antonio Rubial García, Aguiar y Seijas enjoyed an uncommon success intervening in political affairs typically associated with viceregal administration. See "Las monjas se inconforman. Los bienes de Sor Juana en el espolio del Arzobispo Francisco de Aguiar y Seijas" *Tema y variaciones de literatura* 7 (1996), 65-67.

monthly expense allowances (although at a lesser rate of 50 pesos per month) and endowments for individual residents.[578]

In 1712, Archbishop José de Lanciego y Eguilaz inaugurated a new wave of interest in women as social problems. He focused especially on converting the Hospital of Mercy into a recogimiento for divorced women, and in 1720 appointed the Oratorian Antonio Villaseñor y Monroy as *visitador* of the Recogimiento. A former member of the Venerable Union, Villaseñor made repairs to the residential apartments, church, choir and chaplain's house, increased the monthly alms paid to the Recogimiento by the Archdiocese, and established a 1,000 peso dowry for marriageable women. Lanciego y Eguilaz called the Recogimiento "the most precious jewel in the mitre of the Archdiocese", and subsequently appointed Villaseñor as *juez privativo*, in charge of Archdiocesan policies concerning the Recogimiento, in 1724. The increased care for the residences and social situations of the women within produced a gentrifying shift in community formation where daughters placed in the Recogimiento's care for education by fee-paying fathers and husbands replaced the women "deposited" there out of charity or criminalized as prostitutes.[579] The wills and testaments of the Oratorian José de Torres y Vergara reveal other contemporary donations to the Recogimiento that clarify some of the financial support it received. One will recorded in Mexico City stipulates a 6,000 peso gift "for the girls of said Recogimiento de San Miguel de Belem," while another recorded by a Querétaro notary allots 4,000 pesos to Lanciego y Eguilaz "for the benefit of the Recogimiento de Belem".[580] This latter

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[578] Muriel, *La sociedad novohispana*, II: 81-82.

[579] Ibid, 84-85.

[580] AGN-M, Bienes Nacionales, Leg. 1185, Exp. 9 “Testimonio de el testamento cobdicilio so cuia dispossision fayecio El S. D. D. Joseph de Thorrez y Vergara Arçediano que fue de la Santa Iglecia Cathedral de esta Ciudad de Mexico”, and Jesús Mendoza Muñoz, "El presbítero Doctor

donation suggests that Oratorians were not only making direct donations, but also financing the Archbishop's charity through more circuitous channels. Total residents increased to 180 toward mid-century, and those who observed that education had become the primary goal of the institution began to call it the Colegio de Belem colloquially. In 1729, José de Garate established an Obra Pía to sustain two "colegialas" and endow their marriage or entry into a convent, and later increased the invested capital to cover twelve female students' expenses.[581]

Archbishop Vizarrón y Eguiarreta (1730-1747) imported Enlightenment ideals to adapt women's education in New Spain by supporting the Confraternity of Our Lady of Aranzazu's plan to erect a "Great College of Saint Ignatius Loyola" called "Las Vizcainas". The union of the Archdiocesan and confraternal interests had great impact on the fate of San Miguel de Belem. In 1734, as a dually-appointed Archbishop-Viceroy, Vizarrón y Eguiarreta appointed Cayetano Cabrera y Quintero, an alum of the Academy of Saint Philip Neri, as resident chaplain, and in 1740 began a music school to help women learn other means of earning money. The Archbishop paid teachers' salaries to help train women who showed interest and aptitude, and later invested his intentions in the form of an Obra Pía.[582] Establishment of the music school required reorganization of some of the structures and governance to include music instructors and their assistants. Training in music helped many women enter convents without dowries since they

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José de Torres y Vergara, fundador del Convento de Monjas Capuchinas de Queréraro" *Pensamiento novohispano* 9 (2008), 218. Mendoza Muñoz also reports 500 pesos "to aid the Oratory of San Felipe Neri in Mexico City", an annual Christmas present to the Recogimiento of "two reams of textiles (*bayeta*) valued at 50 or 60 pesos, 100 pesos for a mass in favor of his soul, and a conditional donation of 12,000 pesos in the event that the Franciscans of Queretaro's Colegio de Santa Cruz decline to use those funds to erect a new hospice in Mexico City (216).

[581] Muriel, *La sociedad novohispana*, II: 86.

[582] Ibid, 86, 89.

could use wages earned for their musical skills as singers, organists, and instrument players to purchase their own place in residence.[583]

Archbishop Manuel Rubio y Salinas (1749-1765) was deeply engaged with youth education, and opened nearly two hundred primary schools in the Archdiocese during his tenure. He named Francisco Jiménez Cano as Vicar General, who secured a royal order in 1762 guaranteeing an additional 100 pesos per month from the viceroy to help with the Recogimiento's increased expenses. The Confraternity of Aranzazu placed twenty-four girls in Belem, which they envisioned as a temporary shelter for the founders of their new College. However, jurisdictional problems in the Archdiocese delayed the project some sixteen years, and left the girls in Belem longer than expected. Realizing in 1739 that the permissions for the College would be delayed, the Confraternity built four residences and common areas for its women within the Belem complex. There, a sequence of women occupied the twenty-four sponsorships to live in Belem until 1767, when they passed to the new College as "fundadoras" who brought Belem's local system of community life based on Oratorian spirituality to their new institution. Other Obras Pías established during Rubio y Salinas' term supported the education and livelihood of Spanish-descended "niñas Montañeses", and reflect the growing social interest in viceregal education for women among donors and regional Spaniards of means.[584] Despite losing the women who left for the College of the Vizcaínas, a 1777 narrative description of Mexico City noted that the San Miguel de Belem educated and maintained more than three hundred women, "some at the expense of their fathers, others at the expense of the Archbishop,

[583] Ibid, 92-95.

[584] Ibid, 95-97.

and others from pious benefactors".[585] Although Pérez de Barcia's institution underwent a great many changes over the course of the eighteenth century, its relationship with the Oratorian community adapted in kind, and illustrates the resilient and dynamic nature of the relations that constituted Oratorian identity in Mexico City.

Conclusion

If the development of sub-corporations was an important dimension of the Venerable Union's outreach and development of resources and patronage in the seventeenth century, in the eighteenth century maintenance and adaptation of the old traditions and creation of new ones was an important aspect of the consolidation of the Congregation of the Oratory's authority as the cultural representative of Oratorian identity. The use of Licenses of the Congregation and publications *as* Oratorian priests both named and anonymous helped represent a larger community of Oratorians loyal and obedient to the new leadership's authority. The Hermanos Legos, as an integral part of the Congregation of the Oratory, helped conform Mexico City's community to the constitutions of the Roman Oratory, which included rules and provisions for its operations as a distinct but related institution. It also helped to fulfill some of the interest expressed by local people to participate in Oratorian ritual culture and identity in ways that did not include joining the Congregation of the Oratory as a member. Both priests and laymen joined the Hermanos Legos who might previously have joined the Venerable Union and for various reasons continued to live privately, outside the Oratorian dormitory. Manuel de Miranda in particular embodied Philip Neri's ventilated heart as a symbolic possibility of lay imitation. The larger complex of Oratorian corporations and sub-corporations both met and exceeded the

[585] Juan de Viera, *Breve y compendiosa narración de la ciudad de México* (México: Instituto de Investigaciones Dr. José María Luis Mora, 1992), 64.

conditions of sameness in Rodríguez de Arizpe's view of their jubilee procession, and Cayetano Cabrera y Quintero's sermon celebrating the Academy of Saint Philip Neri employed multiple layers of typological sameness to stylize Oratorian educators as the community's guardian angels.

Other sub-corporations further diversified the means and terms of access to Oratorian identity in Mexico City. The Archconfraternity of Christian Doctrine remained an important feature of ritual culture conducted through the Oratorian church in the eighteenth century. Its remote sites of schools for Christian doctrine in the city's parish churches, convent chapels, hospitals and public plazas connected the Oratorians to other centers of Catholic devotion and provided regular festival trips around the city in coordination with the Oratorian priests and Hermanos Legos. The Santas Escuelas de Cristo provided a separate venue for Oratorian devotion, although in many locations where the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine held services. Their more insular, private communities and particular rituals of public confession and group mortifications provided an endorsed and guided continuity for externalized devotional culture in an age where many reformers in the ranks and hierarchy of the diocesan clergy instead promoted enlightened forms of piety that featured internally oriented expressions of devotion, mental prayer and more austere ritual aesthetics. The Schools may also have helped maintain the Oratorian tradition of producing and innovating jaculatoria prayers while simultaneously divorcing association of them with the repertoire of new Oratorian priests who represented the Congregation of the Oratory.

The evolution of San Miguel de Belem's institutional character from a women's shelter to a girl's college especially known for its production of musical talent also illustrates the changing nature of Oratorians' relationships with women and religion. While the formal stewardship of the

Recogimiento passed from Oratorian hands to the Archdiocese in the early eighteenth century, Archbishops continued to appoint affiliates of Oratorian institutions as visiting inspectors and chaplains, and received important funds and donations from Oratorians to continue and enhance San Miguel de Belem's growth and transition throughout the century. While these transitions to the formal Congregation of the Oratory in many ways provided the defining contours of Oratorian identity for the eighteenth century, the next chapter provides a counterpoint by examining events that required dramatic re-examination of Oratorian traditions and culture at the end of Spanish rule in Mexico.

CHAPTER 7:
ROYAL TRANSITIONS IN LATE COLONIAL MEXICO

In the late colonial period, a combination of changes to the political climate of New Spain and reactions to a natural disaster -- the earthquake of 1768 -- prompted the Oratorian community to again re-invent their corporate identity in Mexico City. Expulsion of the Jesuits formed part of a broader trend of imperial reforms enacted by the Bourbon monarchs in the second half of the eighteenth century. In this context, the Oratorians became an icon of the Catholic clergy's loyalty in Spanish America in contrast to the Jesuits, at least formally accused of intrigues against the Spanish monarchs that led to greater local autonomy in the Americas. Three large-scale painted canvasses commissioned from the famed artist José de Alcíbar, publicly commemorated the Oratorians' third major transition during the colonial period that followed the Jesuits' expulsion: from a Congregation of the Oratory to a Royal Congregation.[586] Private corporate papers and financial records, however, suggest a more troubled and vulnerable image of the Oratorian community than their magnificent oil paintings suggest. The combined

[586] On José de Alcíbar, see Gabriel Loera Fernández, "Pintor José de Alzibar. Algunas noticias documentales" *Boletin de monumentos históricos* 6 (1981): 59-73; Marcus Burke, *Treasures of Mexican Colonial Painting: The Davenport Museum of Art Collection* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1998): 83, 85, 89-92; Susan Deans-Smith, "'This Noble and Illustrious Art': Painters and the Politics of Guild Reform in Early Modern Mexico" in *Mexican Soundings: Essays in Honour of David A. Brading* (London: Institute for the Study of the Americas, 2007): 90-98; Manuel de Toussaint, *La pintura colonial en México* (México: UNAM, 1965), 169-171; and Guillermo Tovar de Teresa, ed. *Repertorio de artistas en México: Artes plásticas y decorativas* (México: Grupo Financiero Bancomer, 1995-1997): I: 70.

set of sources reveal a community and organization in flux during the waning years of Spanish rule in New Spain.

Devotion to Saint Joseph

The first indications of the Oratorians' transition to Royal status came in tandem with the expulsion of the Jesuits. Official orders to expel the Jesuits from New Spain were executed in late June of 1767. Later that year, on September 12, the Oratorians signaled a transformation of their institution through new devotional commitment to Saint Joseph consecrated by a commissioned oil painting.[587] [Figure 7.1] The massive (3.9 x 4.8 meter) canvas centrally features an image of Joseph, standing on an inscribed grey plaque and sheltering a host of thirty Oratorian priests kneeling in prayer beneath an enlarged and unfurled brown and black cloak. Floating slightly above Joseph, four figures help to open and extend Joseph's cloak to shelter all thirty priests: two cherubim hold the extreme ends, while Our Lady of the Snows holds up the interior left with her right hand and supports the baby Jesus on her lap, who in turn holds a book in his left hand and balances against her breast with his right hand. On the interior right, Philip Neri holds Joseph's cloak with his left hand and gently indicates to the kneeling crowd of Oratorians with his right.

"Patrocinio de San José a los Bienhechores del Oratorio de México" is heavily laden with layered symbolism. First, as Charlene Villaseñor Black has persuasively argued, the forms used to portray Joseph in Spanish and Spanish American painting commonly drew upon Marian iconographic models. The cult of devotion to Saint Joseph, in contrast to Marian devotion, was of relatively recent development, and built from a paucity of details derived from historical

[587] Luis Ávila Blancas, *La pinacoteca de La Profesa* (México: 1993): 8, calls the painting "Patrocinio de San José a los Bienhechores del Oratorio de México".

sources endorsed by the Tridentine Catholic Church. "In the absence of an established visual tradition for Josephine imagery," Villaseñor Black writes, "most Spanish and Mexican Baroque depictions of Saint Joseph and the Christ Child consciously borrowed poses, gestures, and compositions previously reserved for images of Mary" in order to ennoble the saint's newly constructed identity.[588] Villaseñor Black's analysis primarily focuses on images of Mary and Joseph holding Christ on their laps and knees, but Joseph's posture as patron of the Oratorians has clear precedent in Marian patronage paintings, such as those commissioned for Mexico City's Convento del Carmen, and the Archdiocese of Mexico's Seminario Conciliar [Figures 7.2 & 7.3].[589] The iconography of Marian patronage dates at least to the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, from a visionary experience recorded by the Cistercian monk Cesarius of Heisterbach:

> A monk of our order who professed a particular devotion to Our lady was...spiritually enraptured and allowed to contemplate heavenly glory...He looked out in all directions without seeing a single person in the kingdom of heaven. He then turned, grief-stricken, to the blessed Mother of God...and the Queen of Heaven saw him so forlorn, and said 'Those of the Cister are so dear and familiar to me, that I give unto them [*cálido abrigo*] in my embrace.' And opening her cloak, of a prodigious breadth, she revealed a multitude of innumerable monks, converts and nuns, all Cistercians.[590]

Joseph's posture of patronage in the Oratorian canvas also shares traits with Josephine imagery produced in Mexico depicting his coronation, a common strategy for representing loyalty to the

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[588] Charlene Villaseñor Black, *Creating the Cult of St. Joseph: Art and Gender in the Spanish Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006): 98-101, 106.

[589] See "Patrocinio de la Virgen del Carmen" in *Catálogo de pintura del Museo de el Carmen* (México: Casa de Bolsa PROBURSA, 1987): 48, and "Los seminaristas bajo el Patrocinio de la Inmaculada Concepción" in Pedro Sánchez, *Historia del Seminario Conciliar de México* (México: Escuela Tip. Salesiana "Cristobal Colón", 1931).

[590] Manuel Trens, *María, iconografía de la Virgen en el arte español*, 257. Cited in *Pintura Novohispana. Museo Nacional del Virreinato, Tepotzotlán* (México: INAH, 1994), II: 127. In addition to the note above, also see the Marian patronage canvasses on pp. 127-129 for comparison.

Spanish monarchy in the eighteenth century.[591] Portraying royalist loyalties held exceptional importance in the immediate wake of the Jesuit expulsion, less than three months prior to the painting's dedication.

In a lengthy script at the base of the canvas, the Oratorians commemorated the reason for their shifting devotional attention, and there provided important rationales and details for historical reconstruction of their motivations.[592] The Oratorians frame their need for Joseph's protection in relation to a high and regularly recurring mortality rate among their members over the course of twelve years, from 1748 to 1760. In response, the Congregation sought remedy in 1760 by both developing new devotional practices and shifting the dates of established ones to symbolically honor Saint Joseph. They selected the vespers of his feast day (March 19th) as their new date to hold triennial elections, and chose to celebrate his death (*tránsito*). In 1767, after the

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[591] Villaseñor Black, *Creating the Cult*, 147-148. The Oratorian painting does not include a crown, but still bears striking similarities to José de Ibarra's 1735 *Coronation of Saint Joseph*, now preserved at the Museo Nacional del Virreinato. See Villaseñor Black's Figure 81.

[592] The full text reads: Habiendo experimentado esta Congregación por espacio de doce años la funesta calamidad, de que ningun año passase sin llorar difunto á alguno de los pocos Sujetos, que la componían, acordó, que nuestros Venerables Fundadores reconocieron por Patrono al gloriosissimo Patriarcha Señor San Joseph, estableciendo la Vispera de el dia de su Patrocinio para la elección triennal, y solemnizando annualmente su dia 19 de Marzo, y esta dulce y justa memoria alentó su confianza á solicitar por este poderoso medio el Remedio de tan lastimoso infortunio (determinando que el dia 20. de Julio, en que se hace memoria del glorioso Transito de Señor San Joseph, se cantase alternativamente por alguno de los Padres Missa solemne, que se ha establecido en el dia 20. de todos los meses, celebrandose el mismo Transito en la Dominica immediata á su dia con la mayor solemnidad; y haviendo passado despacio de siete años sin que alguno de los Congregados haya muerto, ha podido persuadirse la piedad á que Dios por intercessión de el Santissimo Patriarcha nos ha concedido este beneficio confirmandonos la esperanza de lograr el que principalmente deseamos, y pedimos, de conseguir un dichoso transito á la vida eterna; y por tanto á honrra, y gloria de tan magnifico Patrono (nuevamente proclamado por los Padres de el decennio en la Congregación de elección el dia 9. de Mayo de el presente monumento perpétuo de nuestra gratitud y mayor estimulo de los fieles á su devoción se le dedicó este lienzo el dia 12. de Septiembre de 1767. Repitiendole el distico de la Santa Iglesia: Fac, nos innocuam JOSEPH, producere vitam. Sitque tuo semper tuta PATROCINIO.

Congregation sustained seven years without a single death within their community, their ruling council elected to name Joseph as their new patron during a meeting on May 9th among members who had been members of the Congregation for ten years or more (*los padres del decenio*). The denary priests then commissioned the dedicatory painting, which was ceremoniously unveiled on September 12th.

In addition to the evolving iconographies of Marian and Josephine devotion in New Spain, "Patrocinio de San José a los Bienhechores del Oratorio de México" also marks significant shifts in how the Oratorian community represented itself to the viewing public. First and foremost, the de-centering of Philip Neri from Oratorian devotion is remarkable, if understandable in the political climate of the late eighteenth century. The shifted collation of their community elections from Neri's feast day to Joseph's is iconographically manifest in the painting's composition. A copper plate engraving made by Joseph Antonio Amador and included in *Memorias históricas*, provides instructive comparison. [Figure 7.4] In the 1736 image, Neri stands in the central posture of patronage over eleven Oratorian priests. In the 1767 painting, while Joseph stands as the central figure of the image, Neri and the Oratorian's Marian patroness, Our Lady of the Snows, float above and assist Joseph in covering the thirty Oratorian priests below with his protective cloak. Although neither of the more venerable patrons take center stage, both remain in positions of prominent leadership, elevated above Joseph at a level between him and the image of the dove representing the Holy Spirit that marks the highest point on the

canvas. Neri additionally points to a script quoting the Book of Genesis, advising the Oratorians to "Go to Joseph."[593]

The portrayal of the Oratorian Congregation itself also provides significant material for interpretation. Their kneeling posture, facing the protector Joseph, configures the Congregation clearly within the conventional structure of donor portraits.[594] The representation of thirty Oratorians departs from precedents derived from the Venerable Union (first formed by thirty-three founders, and sustained by fourteen head councilmen, or Prefects), and the eleven members of the Congregation of the Oratory's patronage engraving in *Memorias históricas*. While many of the individuals portrayed remain a mystery, the clear likenesses of José Martínez de Adame, José Gómez de Escontría and José Antonio Pichardo suggest that the thirty congregants portrayed are in fact contemporary members of the Oratorian community circa 1767.[595] Still, representation of thirty Oratorians may have been intended to portray the Oratorians as ready to occupy the vacant and closed central church of the Jesuits in Mexico City, called *La Casa Profesa* (see below).[596]

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[593] Villaseñor Black, *Creating the Cult,* 153. Villaseñor Black's discussion of this painting appears to be based on a written description of it preserved in a rare nineteenth-century text chronicling Mexican devotion to Saint Joseph: *Devoto mes josefino* (México: M. Torner, 1873).

[594] See Elisa Vargas Lugo, "El retrato de donantes y el autorretrato en la pintura novohispana" *Anales del instituto de investigaciones estéticas* 13.51 (1983): 13-20.

[595] José Martínez de Adame and José Gómez de Escontria appears on the right-hand side, fifth and sixth from the center in the back row, respectively. For comparison, see Ávila Blancas, *Iconografía*, 84, Alcíbar's "Ministry of Saint Joseph", discussed further below, and Jaime Cuadriello's commentary in *Painting a New World: Mexican Art and Life, 1521-1821,* coord. Donna Pierce, Rogelio Ruiz Gomar and Clara Bargellini (Denver: Frederick and Jan Mayer Center for Pre-Columbian and Spanish Colonial Art, 2004): 261n2.

[596] Ávila Blancas, *La pinacoteca de la Casa Profesa*, 5, argues that the painting "represents the Prepósito, Fathers and Brothers that comprised the Oratorian community in 1767" but a 1771 document counts 100 Brothers in addition to the Fathers in the Congregation of the Oratory, suggesting that the number thirty is more symbolic than factual.

Villaseñor Black's discussion of "Patrocinio de San José a los Bienhechores del Oratorio de México" frames the painting as a product of the Oratorians' occupation of the Casa Profesa in 1767. However, other sources confirm later dates in 1768 and 1771 as the key moments of the Oratorians' migration to the new church.[597] Oratorians had a long history of fomenting devotion to Saint Joseph in their own right, including *El cordial devoto de San Joseph* composed by Venerable Union founder Francisco de Zarate Molina and an altar dedicated to him in their first church in 1740.[598] In this context, other details emerge that suggest that the Oratorian painting was intended to act as a precursor, setting the stage for a future move. The image of Our Lady of the Snows, for example, likely held multiple layers of meaning in the context of late eighteenth century Mexico City. The Oratorians had long ago selected Her as their patroness in the mid-seventeenth century. However, another strikingly similar likeness of her already hung in the Casa Profesa, one which the famous Mexican painter Juan de Correa had recently re-fashioned to depict Saint Luke as its painter [Figure 7.5].[599] Indeed, Our Lady of the Snows was a "founding emblem" of the Company of Jesus in Mexico, and thus an ideal image to balance the elements of continuity and change to Oratorian identity in this transitional moment.[600] The Real Junta de Temporalidades also authorized the Oratorian occupation of the Casa Profesa in Mexico City

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[597] See, for example, Marroquí, *La ciudad de México*, I: 624, and Ávila Blancas, *La pinacoteca de La Casa Profesa*, 5.

[598] Francisco Zarate Molina, *El cordial de voto de San Joseph* (México: Francisco Rodríguez Lupercio, 1674.

[599] For a reproduction and recent analysis, see Jaime Cuadriello, "Saint Luke Painting Our lady of the Snows, ca. 1680-90" in *Sacred Spain: Art and Belief in the Spanish World*, ed. Ronda Kasl (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009): 216-217.

[600] Ibid.

because they were "for the most part identical to those who persuaded the Crown to move the Congregation...in Madrid to the local Casa Profesa," and stipulated in their contract that the number of resident Oratorians in the Casa Profesa could not exceed thirty.[601]

The Earthquake of 1768

Whatever their intentions in September of 1767, the urgency of the Congregation of the Oratory's needs for use of the Casa Profesa increased dramatically in 1768 in the wake of an earthquake. An Italian capuchin friar, Ilarione da Bergamo, was visiting New Spain at the time, and recorded the seismic event in his account of the larger voyage:

> The second kind of calamity to which the kingdom of Mexico is often exposed is earthquakes. Indeed, in five years of my stay in this realm, I experienced tremors just one time, these occurring on April 4, 1768, the second day of Easter, when I was in Real del Monte, two days[' journey] from the city of Mexico. It happened early in the morning when I was in church attending mass, but no damage took place there. It merely frightened the people when they felt the shock and saw lamps swaying, but no one budged from his spot. That is not how it was in Mexico City. Even though it [the quake] lasted just six minutes, various houses collapsed. Many people perished in the ruins. The churches, palaces, and every other structure of any considerable bulk were quite badly damaged, with the walls cracking open from top to bottom. In various places, such as the monastery of the Bethlemites and the Sagrario of the cathedral (both large structures), and in other places, I myself inserted my hand inside the fissures of the walls caused by the shock from the earthquake. The monastery of the Philippine fathers suffered greater damage. Part of the monastery collapsed, along with the dome from the church's choir. Some repairs were made with props, but because the fathers' safety could not be assured, they were transported to the Jesuit house of La Casa Profesa since its former owners had been evicted. Moreover, because the districts of Mexico City have many underground conduits for water, not only for the public fountains but for the many private houses as well, all these aqueducts broke, and water could be seen escaping all over the streets. Repairing that damage would have required a truly vast sum of money.[602]

As his account suggests, people in New Spain felt the effects of the earthquake far beyond Mexico City. Other contemporary accounts include records of tremors along the length and breadth of the Sierra Madre Occidental in Iguala, Guadalajara, Oaxaca, Puebla and Michoacán.

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[601] AGN-M, Real Junta, Vol. Único, 18r, 89r.

[602] Ilarione da Bergamo, *Daily Life in Colonial Mexico: The Journey of Friar Ilarione da Bergamo, 1761-1768*, trans. William J. Orr, ed. Robert Ryal Miller and William J. Orr (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000): 134.

Mexico City, however, bore a particularly heavy burden of structural damage. Like da Bergamo, Mexico City's resident scientist José António de Alzate conducted hands-on investigations of the earthquake's damage in the days following, concluding that the tremors must have spread along multiple fault lines judging from the broken clocks he discovered across the city. The damage was so extensive, he lamented, "there is no edifice great or small that does not bear signs of April fourth."[603] The following day, a temporary committee (*junta de policía*) assembled to plan an organized civic response to the damages caused by the natural disaster, and delegated survey teams to assess and prioritize repairs needed. In each of the city's four quarters, a team of local magistrates, a notary and an architect made collective decisions to repair or demolish structures affected by the earthquake.[604]

da Bergamo frames the damage to the Oratorians' monastery and choir as among the gravest of any single edifice. The framing of the effects of the damage on the Oratorian community, however, remains an issue of academic debate. In 1751, the acting Prepósito of the Congregation, Pedro Alfonso Mayoral, proposed the construction of a new church that became a continuous financial burden on their institution over the next twenty years.[605] As had been the case with their first church, the Oratorians first had to undertake the arduous process of finding a suitable site and subsequently purchase enough adjacent properties to make space for a church large enough to supersede the dimensions and scope of their previous temple. Already in 1752,

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[603] José António Alzate, *Gaceta Literaria* (Puebla: Oficina del Hospital de S. Pedro á cargo del ciudadano M. Buen Abad, 1831): IV: 30-31.

[604] Virginia García Acosta, *Los sismos en la historia de México* (México: UNAM, 1996): I: 137.

[605] Efraín Castro Morales, "Algunos datos acerca de la construcción del Templo de San Felipe Neri 'El Nuevo' de la ciudad de México (1751-1771)" *Noticias y documentos históricos* 1.2 (1980): 8.

Oratorians lamented the soaring costs costs of the project, and dedicated increasing amounts of time and human resources from both the Congregation and the ranks of the Hermanos Legos to procure alms and other donations aimed to defray the total cost.[606] The Congregation went through a series of leaders and advisers for the project as one after another turned to focus on other pressing duties. At moments, complaints from the neighboring Marquesa del Vilar del Aguila threatened progress, as did the complicated imbrication of some adjacent houses with *capellanías* controlled by the city's convent of Discalced Carmelites.[607] Still, through all the difficulties the Congregation managed to press onward with their ideal new temple in mind. The Oratorians were apparently able to appease the Marquesa's lawyers, and drew upon the community's long-standing connections with the Carmelites to ultimately dissolve the *capellanías* at the center of their problem and acquire some of the proceeds as a donation in good faith toward the work's completion.[608]

When the earthquake struck the city, the Oratorians' new temple already had a complete set of exterior walls, a mostly completed façade (*portada*) to greet entering visitors, a choir, and a sacristy. Despite Alzate's claims of citywide structural damage, the new temple did not suffer notably from the earthquake, and the Oratorians continued to invest time, effort and financial

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[606] Ibid, 12.

[607] Ibid, 15-16, 19.

[608] The Oratorians apparently negotiated with Juan José Toscano y Aguirre, the Carmelites' mayordomo and administrator. One of the capellanías was created in honor of María de Vergara, a relative of José de Torres y Vergara who Toscano y Aguirre held in high regard. See his autograph and complimentary notes in the Lilly Library copy of Torres y Vergara, *Defensa juridica* [BX1427 .T693 .R4], and Jesús Mendoza Muñoz, "El presbítero Doctor José de Torres y Vergara", 215. Toscano y Aguirre also worked as an administrator for the Recogimiento de San Miguel de Belem ca. 1756-1771. See AGN-M, Templos y Conventos, Cont. 209, Vol. 317, ff. 1-39.

resources in its construction through at least May 7th, 1771.[609] However, beginning in 1768 the Congregation of the Oratory also began to dedicate considerable effort toward acquiring the ex-Jesuit Casa Profesa through petitions and negotiations with the Crown's committee for adjudicating the goods remaining from the Jesuit expulsion in 1767, the *Real Junta de Temporalidades*. The Oratorians' empowered representative (*procurador*) José Pereda y Chaves quickly negotiated authorization to temporarily use of the Jesuit temple to conduct their regular services while repairing the damages.[610] Still, the multiple daily transits between the two churches took its toll. In an early nineteenth century sermon, José Antonio Pichardo recorded the story of José Joaquín Olazarán's death July 11, 1769, noting that the next day the "Prefecto de los Agonizantes" offered to have Olazarán's body buried in their church, "finding us presently without any more of a church than the small chapel in the old entryway [*portería*]."[611] During a meeting on November 20, 1770, the Junta de Temporalidades voted in majority that because the effects of the earthquake had been so devastating to the Oratorian church, and the city public had been so long deprived of efficient access to the Oratorians' services, they would grant the Congregation ownership of the Casa Profesa providing they agreed to a series of contractual conditions. In a telling preface to the contract terms, the Junta clarified that their decision was based in part on the fact that "the recommendable situation being for the most part identical to those that moved the Royal Spirit (*Ánimo*) to resolve to transfer the Congregation of Oratorians in Madrid to its Casa Profesa," suggesting that the particular situation in Mexico City reflected a

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[609] Castro Morales, "Algunos datos", 20.

[610] Marroquí, *La ciudad de México*, I: 624.

[611] "*por hallarnos nosotros en la actualidad sin mas Iglesia que la corta capilla de la portería*." Pichardo, *Elogio a San Felipe Neri*, 14, note G.

broader trend of positioning Oratorian communities to assume the roles of Jesuit communities in urban centers after their expulsion from the Spanish Empire.[612]

The Royal Congregation of the Oratory

The contract acquired provisional authority in 1771, and became definitive law in 1774.[613] It stipulated that the ex-Jesuit church would become Oratorian property exclusive of all interior material furnishings and in exchange for the damaged old Oratorian church and a payment of 70,000 pesos. The Oratorians would from then on shed their historic name of Congregation of the Oratory and assume the new name of Royal Congregation of Felipenses, just as the church would henceforth be officially known as San José el Real to commemorate collation of the Oratorians' particular devotion of Saint Joseph in line with the existing Jesuit dedications of church and dormitory. The Royal Congregation could not legally exceed thirty members. However, the Oratorians were to build additional residence space for forty individuals in order to accommodate visiting non-members who required a private dormitory to conduct the spiritual exercises held in the Casa Profesa, as well as "Reclusive" clerics, perhaps meaning individuals ordered to live in seclusion for a time by their superiors. The Royal contract charged the Oratorians to continue teaching Ecclesiastical History and explaining the catechism to ordained priests in Mexico City, in the absence of so many Jesuit-run educational programs. Moreover, they acquired stewardship of the Hospital de Locas from the extinguished Jesuit

[612] AGN-M, Real Junta, Vol. Único, ff. 19r-21v; Marroquí, *La ciudad de México*, I: 624. An 1809 manuscript book of the rules for a new confraternity founded in the church of San Pedro and Pablo in Lima also names the church "of the Oratory of the Fathers of San Felipe Neri", suggesting that similar post-expulsion patterns of property transfer occurred there as well. See Andean Collection, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University, Box 19, Folder 183.

[613] Ávila Blancas, *Bio-bibliografía de la Congregación*, 331.

Congregación del Salvador, which involved coordinating with the Hospital's Mayordomo to administer the rental revenues used to maintain the institution's facilities and operating expenses. Finally, the Oratorians were required to surrender all of the church's interior furnishings, as well as the properties of individual Jesuits left behind in the Casa Profesa and Hospital de Locas, to the Royal Junta.[614]

Another part of the contract required perpetuating the Jesuit Spiritual Exercises that had fallen into decline since 1767. The Oratorians used the Casa de Exercicios, annexed to the Casa Profesa, and soon began construction to amplify the building when the residents of Mexico City began to turn out in large numbers.[615] In keeping with their new, hybrid identity, the Oratorians significantly adapted the Jesuit exercises to their own taste, and produced distinct instructional pamphlets describing the Spiritual Exercises of Loyola "as they are customarily practiced" (*que se acostumbran*) in the Casa de Exercicios. The Oratorians shortened the month-long schedule of exercises to a rapid eight-day program designed to accommodate the devotional life of the working public in Mexico City. Moreover, in contrast to the austerity of the Jesuit program, the Oratorian gatherings often included food and drink.[616] The devotional meetings of the Santas Escuelas de Cristo may also have helped the Oratorians manage the task of maintaining sufficient devotional culture to serve Mexico City in the wake of the Jesuit expulsion, as the first

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[614] AGN-M, Real Junta, Vol Único, ff. 20v-21r

[615] Joaquín de Aldana and the Marquesa del Apartado together invested 15,000 pesos in the Oratorians' agricultural properties (*fincas*), stipulating that the revenues it generated help finance the devotional culture of the Casa de Ejercicios. AGN-M, Templos y Conventos, Vol. 327, Exp. 4, f. 119r. The Marquesa's donation specified the "tanda de ejercicios" she sponsored was to be for the poor.

[616] Ávila Blancas, *Bio-bibliografía de la Congregación del Oratorio*, 329-344.

Oratorian-led meetings of Mexico City's Holy Schools in 1769 were under the guidance of Joaquín de Olazarán.[617]

The Royal Congregation's new arrangements with the Spanish Crown inspired two additional patronage paintings, once again commissioned from José de Alcíbar. [Figure 7.6] In "Patrocinio de San Jose sobre los que intervinieron para que la Casa Profesa fuera entregada a los P. P. de la Congregación del Oratorio de México", Joseph stands barefoot on a grey stone, with arms and robes extended (with the help of two cherubs) to shelter six figures kneeling and facing the viewer with varying degrees of directness to their gazes. The kneeling figures under Joseph's patronage are the members of the Junta de Temporalidades who particularly attended to the Oratorian case for claiming the Casa Profesa. At the center, Viceroy Don Antonio María Bucareli y Ursúa (left) and Archbishop Don Alonso Núñez de Haro y Peralta (right) kneel and gaze squarely out toward the viewer. While the Viceroy holds his hands in prayer, the Archbishop alternately crosses his arms over a hefty metal crucifix. The Deacon of the Royal Audiencia, Don Domingo Valcarcel, and the Prosecutor (*Fiscal*) for the Criminal Court, Don Antonio de Areche, kneel immediately behind the Viceroy and Archbishop, followed by the Notary of the Junta, Juan José de Montalbán, and the Oratorians' advocate, José Pereda y Chaves.

"Patrocinio de San Jose sobre los que intervinieron para que la Casa Profesa fuera entregada a los P. P. de la Congregación del Oratorio de México" mimics its predecessor as both a patronage image modeled on Marian iconography, and a donor portrait that includes the

[617] Bazarte Martínez and Cruz Rangel, "Las Santas Escuelas de Cristo en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII. Ciudad de México" in *Corporaciones religiosas y evangelización en Iberoamérica, siglos XVI-XVIII*, coord. Diego Lévano Medina and Kelly Montoya Estrada (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 2010), 97-100.

painting's sponsor depicted as a pious person whose actions fuse the mundane lives of mortals with the divine presence of a saintly apparition. Still, in the aftermath of the 1768 earthquake, the patronage of Saint Joseph may well have held additional layers of symbolic meaning. Following a series of tremors in 1729, Mexico City's governing council (*Cabildo*) named Joseph the city's patron and champion against earthquakes, which catalyzed a broader movement toward adoption of his patronage across the viceroyalty. Following the 1768 earthquake, the church of San Hipólito hosted a city-wide novena seeking Joseph's protection.[618] In light of the seismic events since the Oratorians' profession of devotion to Saint Joseph, his newly depicted patronage might have represented a form of gratitude for the community's deliverance from the devastation of their old church, and potentially the financial and logistical burdens of continuing the work on their new church as well. It more certainly endorsed the operations and decisions of the Junta de Temporalidades as a local body of delegated royal authority empowered to make important decisions of urban planning that transcended the discrete roles of authority typically represented by the Viceroy, Archbishop, Audiencia Criminal Court, Crown Notary, and Royal Congregation. The representation of their collaboration signified an instance of cooperation in an era increasingly characterized by signs of local civil unrest under distant imperial rule.

Around the same time, the Oratorians commissioned a third, large canvas from Alcíbar entitled "El ministerio de San José".[619] [Figure 7.7] St. Joseph's Ministry draws upon a Jesuit

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[618] María Concepción Amerlinck, *Relación histórica de movimientos sísmicos en la ciudad de México (1300-1900)* (México: Desarrollo Social Socicultur, 1986), 22, 26.

[619] The dating of the latter two canvasses is uncertain. Both have been dated circa 1771 by Luis Ávila Blancas, which corresponds with the execution of the Junta de Temporalidades' vote to concede the Casa Profesa to the Oratorians late in 1770. On the other hand, in another essay Ávila Blancas dated "Patrocinio de San Jose sobre los que intervinieron para que la Casa Profesa

iconographic tradition drawn from emblems first published in the mid-eighteenth century. Here, Joseph's protection reaches a broad public of petitioners -- a family, a student, a widow and child -- with the helpful hand of a small winged angel. On the right-hand side of the canvas, a stone obelisk stretches to the heights of the image, topped with a bunch of palm leaves and crown, and decorated with carved Egyptian hieroglyphs and an Old Testament scene depicting the sons of Jacob bearing witness to Joseph as minister to the Egyptian pharaoh. On the left, God the Eternal Father echoes Pharaoh, bidding the subjects and viewers of the painting to "Go to Joseph". At the base, three Oratorians gaze out beyond the scene: Juan José González and a young unidentified Oratorian stare off at indirectly, while José Gómez de Escontria squarely meets the viewer's gaze.[620] While the image of Joseph's patronage over the Junta de Temporalidades works primarily to commemorate the connections between the Oratorians and Royal authority, "El ministerio de San José" compounds a similar dedication with many more layers of symbolism that typologically root the authority of Bourbon Spanish America in the terms of Biblical, Classical, Mythological, and Austrian Imperial precedents. The Oratorians thus employed the "elliptical language of the baroque" to concurrently praise and thank their hierarchical superiors while reactivating public memory of their responsibilities to faithful subjects.[621]

Continuities in Institutional Relationships

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fuera entregada a los P. P. de la Congregación del Oratorio de México" to 1774. See "El Templo de la Profesa" *Noticias y documentos históricos* 2.7 (1981), 11.

[620] My description of the images and symbolism of "El ministerio de San José" is based on Jaime Cuadriello, "Ministry of Saint Joseph" in *Painting a New World*, 54-58.

[621] Ibid, 58.

The royal contract and dedicatory canvases mobilize considerable resources to present the Oratorians' transition into a royal corporation as a purely desirable and advantageous consequence. However, other sources suggest that the Oratorian experience as a Royal Congregation may have been more ambivalent and complicated. In 1771, the Royal Congregation of the Oratory submitted a list of its members at the request of an Inquisition in search of more local appointees. [FIGURE 7.8] The list shows only fifteen members, in addition to a single entry for one hundred lay brothers and a debt manager (*cobrador*). However small their ranks, Oratorians continued to work with the Inquisition as censors and theological experts in the late colonial period. Many of the Inquisition cases pursued by Oratorians, as well as those that called upon their expertise in religious matters, continued the enduring tensions between doctrinal and popular religion. Oratorians reviewed printed books for problematic content, but now faced the prospect of reviewing a larger number of books imported from other empires, such as Robertson's *Voyage aux terres australes* (1767) and the Benedictine Agustín Calmet's *Disertaciones* on the subjects of vampires, zombies and revenants.[622] Others dealt with controversial public speech through cases of heresy against local priests, a professional entertainer, Don Ignacio Trejo, for reciting verses called the *Mandamientos ilustrados* during a performance, and other propositions about the life and power of Jesus.[623]

Since the activities of the Jesuit Casa de Ejercicios were primarily oriented toward male devotional culture, the Royal Congregation also amplified the complex of buildings at the

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[622] AGN-M, Inquisición, Vol. 1126, Exp. 44, fs. 320r-320v; and Vol. 816, Exp. 21, fs. 91r-102v, respectively. For the broader cultural context, see Richard Greenleaf, "The Mexican Inquisition and the Enlightenment, 1763-1805" *New Mexico Historical Review* 41.3 (July, 1966), 181-196.

[623] AGN-M, Inquisición, Vol. 1117, Exp. 4, fs. 88r-95r, 170r-175v; Vol. 1312, Exp. 6, fs. 67r-68r; Vol. 1099, Exp. 9, fs. 214r-215r.

Colegio de San Miguel de Belem. With the financial support of Joaquín de Aldana, the new women's Casa de Ejercicios opened in 1808 and remained under the guidance of the Royal Congregation's Prepositos for the remainder of the colonial period.[624] Indeed, the Colegio itself underwent a renewal of Oratorian leadership in the late colonial period. After considerable turnover of administrators, the Archbishop returned authority from his own office to the Oratorian Matías Monteagudo, who reorganized its finances and attracted a number of new investments to finance its continuous operating expenses.[625] [Figures 7.9 & 7.10] Portraits commemorating the lives and work of Aldana and Monteagudo commemorate both men's efforts to build and rule the women's Casa de Ejercicios specifically, both through text inscriptions and iconographic representations of architectural drawings at hand.

Despite a reduced number of community members, investments in the new Oratorian church until 1771 and development of the Casa Profesa thereafter were considerable burdens on the Oratorians' finances. Remaining sources from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries provide detailed accounts of the particular rituals and objects of Oratorian spirituality were financed, but also show very few resources left for the Royal Congregation to dispose at its discretion. The *libros de becerro* maintained by the Archdiocese of Mexico's Judges of Chaplaincies and Pious Works in New Spain, record financial investments in Oratorian spirituality that survived across generations passing between the control of individual institutions and the primary Oratorian community of the day. One chaplaincy founded by Gertrudis Ramírez, the widow of Captain Juan de la Pedroza and mother of the Oratorian priest Juan de la Pedroza,

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[624] Ávila Blancas, *Bio-bibliografía de la Congregación del Oratorio*, 68, 333-334.

[625] Muriel, *La sociedad novohispana y sus colegios de niñas*, II: 116, presents five new *censos* totaling 96,380 pesos that generated 2,523 pesos of annual revenue for operating expenses.

generated 150 pesos of revenue per month from the profits of an agricultural enterprise (*"hacienda, rancho, y tierras"*) in the Province of Chalco in 1699. A subsequent manuscript entry adds that in accord with an order from March 11, 1768, Don Mariano Rafael Cruz would serve as proprietary chaplain by the appointment and authority of the chaplaincy's Patrons, the Prepósito and Deputies of the Oratory of Saint Philip Neri. Moreover, should Cruz ever be unable to perform the duties required by Ramírez's instructions, the Oratorian José Joaquín Olazarán would perform the requisite masses as interim chaplain.[626] Other similar records show Oratorian inheritance of chaplaincies in the eighteenth century with annotations from 1776, 1787, 1790 and 1812.[627]

In 1799, the Royal Congregation of the Oratory composed a general accounting report that provides some insight into their late colonial finances.[628] The *Cuenta general* details deposits of capital ranging from 100 to 22,800 pesos in 130 separate entries, including active *cargos* against revenues (*réditos*) generated from rental properties and agricultural enterprises.[629] It distinguishes between active revenues and those suspended by active litigation or otherwise, and between revenues specifically donated "in the Congregation's favor" and those inherited from Jesuits along with the Casa Profesa and Casa de Ejercicios. The Account also lists nine

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[626] AGN-M, Capellanías, Vol. 273, Exp. 56, ff. 94r-95r.

[627] AGN-M, Capellanías, Vol. 276, ff. 61r-63r; Vol. 273, Exp. 198, ff. 419v-421r; Vol. 274, ff. 61r-63v; and Vol. 279, ff. 126v-127v, respectively.

[628] AGN-M, Templos y Conventos, Vol. 327, Exp. 4.

[629] The investments in the *Cuenta general* produce a standard revenue of five percent interest from their principal.

revenue payments the Royal Congregation made in compliance with contracts for capital investments in its own properties. [Figure 7.11]

Elaborating on the numerical figures, narrative entries associated with each deposit and payment collectively provide a rich ethnography of the intersections of capital investment and ritual practice at the turn of the nineteenth century. The 1799 Account often refers to Oratorians and their benefactors in shorthand, familiar naming practices like "Father González" that make positive identifications difficult. Still, other entries confirm that the Royal Congregation received investments from the Crown through the Royal Tribunal of Mining and Tobacco Monopoly, as well as noble donors like the Marquis of Aguayo the Marquises of El Apartado and Buenavista.[630] One exceptionally detailed entry provides insight into the variety of conditions imposed upon donations in many other instances:

> The Lord Dean Malpartida left to the Congregation two large houses on Donceles Street, with the following obligations: four hundred pesos for alms for two hundred masses, alms of two pesos, twenty-five pesos for the Festival of the Purification, fifty pesos for the Day of the Octave of Our Holy Father, fifty pesos for his *novena*, fifty pesos for the expenses of Holy Week, twenty-five pesos for the Day of Dedication of Our Church, fifty pesos for the Hospital of Saint John of God on the [feast] day of Saint Douglas, thirty pesos for the seven masses for the Engagement of Lord Saint Joseph, twenty-five pesos for food for prisoners, and all remaining proceeds from will be for the Fathers of the Oratory. These proceeds amount to seven hundred fifty pesos as revenue from 14,100 pesos, and all is fulfilled.[631]

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[630] AGN-M, Templos y Conventos, Vol. 327, Exp. 4, fs. 103r, 110r, 119r.

[631] AGN-M, Templos y Conventos, Vol. 327, Exp. 4, ff. 114r-115r. *"El Señor Dean Malpartida dejó a la Congregación dos casas grandes en la calle de los Donceles con las obligaciones siguientes: cuatrocientos pesos para limosna de doscientas misas con limsna de dos pesos, veinticinco pesos para la Fiesta de la Purificación, cincuenta pesos para el Dia de la Octava de Nuestro Santo Padre, cincuenta pesos para su novena, cincuenta pesos para gastos de semana santa, veinticinco pesos para la Fiesta del dia de la dedicación de Nuestra Iglesia, cincuenta pesos para el Hospital de San Juan de Dios, el dia de San Diego, treinta pesos para las siete misas a los Desposorios de Señor San Jose, veinticinco pesos comidas de cárceles y lo que quede libre de sus productos sea para los padres del Oratorio. Las disposiciones importan setecientos cinco pesos que corresponden réditos de catorze mil cien pesos. Con todo se cumple."*

In addition to these investments, other donations to the Oratorians stipulated the creation of dowries for nuns, maintenance of the sacristy, wax for candles, and charity for the "poor and shameful". Many donations came in small increments with specific, humble bequests: the Oratorian Cayetano Álvarez made two separate investments of 100 pesos each, which paid out five pesos each in annual revenue to finance a single mass for the soul of the Venerable Mother Marina de Guevara, and one to commemorate the death of Saint Joseph.[632] A few other records show that donations made to the Oratorians were designed to create revenue to finance the services of the Archconfraternity of Christian Doctrine and the Santas Escuelas de Cristo, and another investment in the "estates of the *Oratorito* [the Oratorio Pequeño]" illustrates ongoing relationships between the finances of the Royal Congregation and its related sub-corporations.[633]

The 1799 account figures revenues in terms of annual yields, but an 1815 accounting report focused specifically on rental revenues generated from urban properties on a monthly basis and elaborates on the distinct apartments, rooms, offices and in one case, a bath, the Oratorians used to generate regular income.[634] [Figure 7.12] Line items for each of the rental arrangements made amount to 157 sets of relationships between renters and landlords. They also provide some sense of the dimensions of the properties listed. On Calle Reloj, for example, the Oratorians rented out five separate apartments, four clusters of rooms, ranging from two to seven

[632] Ibid, f. 116r.

[633] Ibid, fs. 103r-v, 109v, 115r.

[634] AGN-M, Indiferente Virreinal - Congregaciones, Caja 1557, Exp. 48.

in each, and four offices. On Calle Quemado, they rented four offices, one bath, and the use of the corner.[635]

Political Conflicts and Life After Independence

Despite a large amount of capital invested in Oratorian properties and ritual culture, very little of the revenues generated through property management and donations amounted to discretionary income, making the Royal Congregation intimately dependent upon Crown resources for survival and thus especially loyal to Royalist political initiatives surrounding the wars for Independence. Responsibilities of allegiance with royal politics increasingly drove a wedge between the Oratorians and a broad array of subjects who came to resist Spanish rule in the early nineteenth century. As the Crown began to demand loyalty and strict obedience from its imperial colonies during and after the Napoleonic invasion of Spain, Oratorians worked to frame religious discourse and rhetoric in increasingly unpopular ways. As insurgent forces rallied under the banner of the Virgin of Guadalupe, for example, the Oratorian preacher Juan Bautista Díaz Calvillo in contrast endorsed royal advocacy of the Virgin de los Remedios and accused the people of New Spain of angering God with their lax and scandalous customs.[636] This stance contrasted with earlier devotional services for the Virgin of Guadalupe recorded in the Oratorian

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[635] Ibid, 2v.

[636] Charles Witschorik, *Preaching Power: Gender, Politics and Official Catholic Church Discourses in Mexico City, 1720-1875* (Eugene: Pickwick Publications, 2013), 145. Hugh Hamill frames Díaz Calvillo's writings as part of a larger front of "psychological warfare". See "Early Psychological Warfare in the Hidalgo Revolt" *Hispanic American Historical Review* 42, no. 2 (May, 1961), 206-235.

church as recently as 1799.[637] Manuel Bolea organized "missions of fidelity" that toured the streets of Mexico City in efforts to fortify loyalty to the Crown.[638] In 1821, Monteagudo and fellow Oratorian José de Tirado y Priego used the Casa de Ejercicios in San Miguel de Belem to host meetings to compose Agustín Iturbide's "Plan de Iguala".[639]

Conclusions

Dramatic events in the late eighteenth century caused the Oratorian community to quickly adapt to new circumstances and to compromise between increasing tensions of local and imperial authority. The expulsion of the Jesuits from New Spain in 1767 radically altered the landscape of Catholic devotional culture and education in the viceroyalty. Despite limited manpower, the Congregation of the Oratory mobilized considerable resources to expand their own operations through the institutions they acquired from the Jesuits, to continue popular forms of Jesuit spirituality, and to adapt them to local needs in an increasingly volatile time.

Negotiating the new post-Jesuit spiritual climate brought the Oratorians into more direct and sustained contact with the Crown, and reorganized their institutional identity accordingly. As a Royal Congregation, the Oratorians fused their community identity to the devotional culture surrounding Saint Joseph in efforts to simultaneously appeal to local audiences and brandish an important emblem of loyalty to the Crown and empire through a newly complex spiritual identity. Moreover, local Oratorian identity corresponded with transitions of Oratorian

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[637] AGN-M, Templos y Conventos, Vol. 327, Exp. 4, ff. 104r, 117v-118r.

[638] AGN-M, Misiones, Contenedor 5, Vol. 11, Exp. 42.

[639] Ávila Blancas, *Bio-bibliografía de la Congregación del Oratorio,* 334.

spiritualities in Madrid and Lima, creating at least three examples of spiritual sameness in important imperial centers. While a strong bond of loyalty to the Crown provided the Royal Congregation with the structures and funds needed to help their devotional cultures survive and thrive, they also required an increasingly oppositional stance toward insurrectionists seeking to install independence in Mexico from Spanish rule. Still, the Congregation of the Oratory's survival of the independence movement and disavowal of its royalist epithet in the nineteenth century suggests that its local appeal remained strong enough to sustain the community through insurgent conflict.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

This dissertation has primarily examined Oratorian history in Mexico City by tracing important continuities and changes in the institutional structures of Oratorian corporations, through evolving discourses surrounding the definition and practice of oratory, and through collective analysis of a diverse array of representations of Oratorian identity performed as manifestations of the spirit and character of Saint Philip Neri. In the mid-seventeenth century the first Oratorians of Mexico City assembled as a confraternity called the Venerable Union. They worked collaboratively with other, external institutions to consolidate a place for devotion to Neri to survive and thrive in local society, often working in tandem with the Archdiocese, the Inquisition, the Royal University and the Tribunal of the Holy Crusade in their respective efforts to operate more independently and autonomously. The Venerable Union also sought stability by establishing and fostering sub-corporate institutions whose relational Oratorian identities furthered the Venerable Union's efforts as primary local representatives of Oratorian identity.

By the turn of the eighteenth century, the leaders of the Venerable Union successfully adjusted the community's institutional and cultural practices enough to receive Papal and Royal authorization to transition into an authentic Congregation of the Oratory. Living the transition required shedding some old practices and adopting other new ones. Oratorian leadership worked continuously during the eighteenth century to both celebrate the spirit of Oratorian identity shared between the Venerable Union and Congregation of the Oratory, and simultaneously frame community transition as providential and inevitable. The Congregation of the Oratory invested time and effort in controlling public memory of Oratorian history and identity by creating new

historical texts about its past and developing new corporate traditions to consolidate its representative authority through processes of reiteration over time. Their relationships with many of the sub-corporations formed by the Venerable Union in the seventeenth century continued to grow and develop, while the Congregation of the Oratory also helped form and foster new sub-corporations that diffused access to Oratorian spirituality through a variety of institutional means, and helped alleviate some of the tensions generated by corporate transition by accommodating variations in Oratorian spirituality outside the heavily regulated form of the Congregation of the Oratory.

In the late eighteenth century, the influential forces of the expulsion of the Jesuits, a powerful earthquake, and the war for independence in Mexico created a dynamic environment where further corporate transitions were required to maintain the performance of Oratorian identity and the availability of Oratorian devotional traditions. In order to supplant the sudden absence of Jesuit spiritual cultures, and in order to accommodate the crisis of earthquake damage to the Oratorians' church, the Congregation of the Oratory entered into a contractual relationship with the Spanish Crown to acquire and use the ex-Jesuit Casa Profesa as a suitable community church. In exchange, they also adopted the new identity of the Royal Congregation, and new responsibilities for Jesuit spiritual practices native to their new home. The leadership of the Royal Congregation worked diligently to celebrate their new corporate status and make the best of another dramatic transition. Their increasingly intimate relationship with the Spanish Crown, however, required loyalty to Royal political perspectives and imperial reforms that increasingly stood in opposition to insurgent forces leading the local struggle for independence.

From their inception as the Venerable Union in the seventeenth century, the Oratorian community developed a flexible and innovative form of religious identity in Mexico City

through its expertise in oratory. Oratorians in the Venerable Union used their developing institutional culture, ties to other external colonial institutions, and relationships with sub-corporate institutions to produce traditions of local Oratorian rituals and devotions. They simultaneously used the tools of licensure and censure provided by the legal cultures of the Spanish Empire to exert authority as experts, and repress competitors who likewise used oral performances to exert power in society. The eighteenth century transition to the Congregation of the Oratory renewed interest in representing Oratorian history and memory selectively. The Congregation of the Oratory authored life stories of Oratorians from the Venerable Union in efforts to control public memory of the past, and favorably represent the Oratorian leadership's ability to continue in its governing role. To these ends, the Congregation of the Oratory's leaders also employed licensure and censure practices to control and adjust the public image of Oratorian identity provided by outsiders. The late eighteenth century events incorporated Jesuit and Royalist discourses into the repertoire of Oratorian culture.

By providing a broad overview of the stages of corporate development and identity of the Oratorian community in colonial Mexico City, this dissertation has illustrated and analyzed both "internal" or "direct" self-representations of Oratorians *as* Oratorians, and considered "external" and "indirect" representations made by Oratorians working and performing duties as affiliates of other corporations in colonial Mexican society. Doing so shows the intimate ties between defining Oratorian identity and involvement in a broader field of social issues in early modern Catholicism. To conclude, I would like to consider the concepts tying these disparate individuals, institutions, and changing bodies together over time, and the consequences of rendering those concepts coherent in terms of re-imagining the context of colonial Latin American culture. Research in colonial Latin American subjectivity can benefit from increased attention to identity

formations predicated on states of being characterized by temporality and simultaneity. These terms will help to more effectively disavow static or situated forms of subjectivity – the "before" and "after" moments of social mobility seen through the lenses of race, class and gender analysis – and turn focus toward the *processes* of transition that illustrate a broader array of human experiences in the past. Particularly, the language of self-reflection that emerges from experiences of being in-between can tell us a great deal about the emotions of daily life expressed through the quotidian bureaucratic roles and practice that drive the reason for being colonial corporations. The emotional expressions in the archives of Oratorian history for Mexico City particularly display common anxieties of colonial subjects, and perhaps how anxiety relates to the creation of inequality and difference.

The anxiety common to the processes of temporality and simultaneity dwells in concerns about sameness, an issue ironically overlooked in studies focused social difference and inequality. For the purpose of considering categories of analysis common to a diverse array of colonial corporate archives, I propose that we analyze the synthetic categories of cultural material in colonial Latin American society that relate individual and collective bodies and identities together: "Soul" and "Spirit." Such terms have widely different meanings and connotations across disciplines, cultures, spaces and times, so it is worth defining in some clarity. Soul and Spirit are essential forms of identification for subjects operating in the context of the Spanish Empire. The former is an essential, basic criterion of belonging for imperial subjects that has been extensively discussed as an object of intellectual and theological history, but curiously less so as a role within Catholic social life and legal culture that required constant reiteration and performance to be maintained. The archives of mid-colonial Mexico City I have consulted for my work on the Oratorians collectively provide valuable insight into the pervasive power of the

universalizing forms of Catholic social life that could also be used, ironically enough, to theorize and justify inequality and social difference.

The concept of singularity provides a useful example. In his paratext for *Memorias históricas,* Fray Antonio de Ayala names Gutiérrez Dávila singular and also points to its paradoxical meaning by pairing it with "muchos": "although the Author is in himself and public estimation *Singular*, for the same reasons he is *many* through equivalency."[640] *Singular* concisely expresses and includes both a sense of being unique, special and alone among others, as well as it expresses uniformity and commonality when situated among a larger field of similarly characterized individuals. Writers who employ this term belie anxiety when they, like Ayala, must explicitly qualify its use in context.

The terms that highlight transitional process over situated, stable or static subjectivity divide into roles and practices. The roles comprise a variety of performance situations wherein one individual represents another as though they were one and the same. For example, *albaceas* appear throughout the colonial archives as individuals legally empowered to represent the soul of another, following stipulations made in a will or testament. Their ability to act in another's stead and represent her or his will suggests a common spirit among the two, rendered official by a legal process. *Interinos*, found in the corporate accounts of nearly any colonial institution, represent and official position in a temporary manner, and are simultaneously adequate for performances but inadequate for assuming a given corporate identity in a proprietary manner.[641]

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[640] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas,* np7. *"aunque el Author sea en sì, y en la estimacion Singular, por esto mesmo es muchos en la equivalencia."* See also I: 31.

[641] See, for example, Leticia Pérez Puente's discussion of interim parish priests in *Tiempos de crisis*, 138.

The use of interim appointments was widely necessary to facilitate continued corporate operations in contingent moments when plenary or proprietary appointees were unable to fulfill their responsibilities due to sickness, absence, or for other reasons. Finally, *visitadores* appointed either by the leadership of a particular corporation or by an institution's hierarchical superiors received power to temporarily act as an authority figure within a corporate community and to supersede its hierarchy by critiquing or challenging identified discrepancies between governing theory and practice. Visitations were a common form of performance review of civil, ecclesiastical, and Inquisition administration.[642]

Cultural concepts referring to practices that navigated between individual and collective alignment between souls and spirits primarily manifest as actions. One practice, the act of *colación canónica*, provided ritual means for activating an entity *as* an empowered part of the larger body of the Catholic Church, be it an eligible priest as an institutional figurehead, or a chaplaincy as an ecclesiastical affair. Pérez Puente discusses the context of placement of priests in parishes.[643] Von Wobeser alternately addresses the operations of priests as chaplains: "Lay chaplaincies could be converted into ecclesiastical arrangements, and the Church pressed for such transitions to occur by requiring canonical collations for ordination. Once converted, the

[642] Garriga, "La expansión de la visita eclesiástica a Indias"; Bravo Rubio & Pérez Iturbe, "La visita pastoral de Francisco de Aguiar y Seijas"; Greenleaf, "The Great Visitas"; Sánchez Bella, "Visitas a la Audiencia de México". As Pérez Puente, *Tiempos de crisis*, 131, notes, ecclesiastical visitations conducted in the Americas were just as much an extension of Royal Patronage, and specifically mandated by "cédulas de doctrina".

[643] Pérez Puente, *Tiempos de crisis*, 126-142.

capitals [principals] became Church patrimony or, in the language of the time, they were 'spiritualized'."[644]

Within the conceptual bounds of the Church, other vocabulary signaled smaller-scale modifications that maneuvered souls and spirits in and out of alignment and union. During his pastoral visits to the Archdiocese of Mexico, Archbishop Aguiar y Seijas' regularly instructed local priests to adjust themselves (*ajustarse)* so that the fees they assessed for services were aligned either with the spirit of the official schedule of fees (the *arancel*) or with local custom, as appropriate. Juan José de Eguiara y Eguren used the same term to describe the proposal that Oratorians from the Venerable Union would adjust themselves to the old Oratorian constitutions while new members would adjust themselves to the new rules of the Congregation of the Oratory.[645] The verb *cotejar* and its cognate noun *cotejo*, too, frequently indicate the collection and close comparison of souls. Bundles of wills and testaments gathered by the Tribunal of Testaments, Pious Works and Chaplaincies during the colonial period and now preserved in the Mexican national archives as "cotejos" of testaments, suggesting a common denominator of souls among the indicated parties. In *Memorias históricas*, Gutiérrez Dávila calls the Oratorian José Márquez de los Ríos the Philip Neri of Mexico, in both spiritual and physiognomic senses.[646] Eguiara y Eguren likewise employs the same term, again referring to the alignment of

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[644] Von Wobeser, *Vida eterna y preocupaciones terrenales,* 20. *"Las capellanías laicas se podían convertir en eclesiásticas y, de hecho, la Iglesia presionaba para que esto sucediera, al poner como requisito para la ordenación, la colación y canónica institución de los capellanes. Una vez convertidas en eclesiásticas, los capitales pasaban a formar parte del patrimonio de la Iglesia o, como se decía en el lenguaje de la época, 'se espiritualizaban'. Este proceso no se podía dar a la inversa..."*

[645] Eguiara y Eguren, *Vida y virtudes de Pedro Arellano y Sosa*, 63.

[646] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas*, I: 90.

the constitutions of the Venerable Union and the Congregation of the Oratory.[647] The membership rolls maintained by the Venerable Union and the constitutions of many other congregations and confraternities in colonial Mexico use the concept of aggregation (*agregar*) to describe the process of including new individual members to the community's collective body.[648] The Congregation of the Oratory, the Hermanos Legos and many other institutions from the Spanish Empire created laws and statutes to limit and control the impact of new individual bodies on the collective's composition, most notably through controls on age, *limpieza de sangre*, and through racial distinctions, all of which impacted the quality of an individual's soul and therefore the quality of the social body. Finally, a *rescripto* referred to a measure of ecclesiastical law to literally re-write the canon of law, and modernize Papal doctrine without altering its claim to eternal and unwaivering authority.[649]

The roles and practices that were sites where imperial subjects used the religious language of the soul and spirit to express anxieties about the implications of government (*buen* or *mal gobierno*) through bureaucratic institutions and their consequences for the state of salvation in early modern Global Catholicism, show how salvation was accessed through relationships between individuals and institutions *as* spiritual experience. Sustained analysis of these key vocabulary terms stand to provide important complements to recent scholarly compilations of early modern keywords and lexicons.[650] Throughout the dissertation, I have

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[647] Eguiara, y Eguren, *Vida y virtudes de Pedro Arellano y Sosa,* 55.

[648] See, for example, Merlo, *Espejo de indulgencias,* 11r, 14v, 15v, 16v.

[649] See, for example, Eguiara y Eguren, *Vida y virtudes de Pedro Arellano y Sossa,* 63.

[650] *Lexikon of the Hispanic Baroque: Transatlantic Exchange and Transformation*, ed. Evonne Levy and Kenneth Mills, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2013); *Rennaissance Keywords*, ed.

emphasized a sense of anxiety emanating from the records relating to sanctity in the Americas. Anxiety about authenticating sanctity in the Americas was an important countermeasure to theories, first advanced in the sixteenth century by such prominent writers as José de Acosta, questioning whether or not the circumstances of place in the Americas caused a degenerative effect on human bodies and souls. If an American life could be authenticated by Roman standards as saintly, then hopes for betterment according to Catholic standards would be undeniable.

In the seventeenth century, early Oratorians worked toward this goal by promoting local cases for sanctity of individuals and miraculous objects through the legal channels available to them in the Spanish Empire. In the eighteenth century, once the community had received papal and royal authentication as a Congregation of the Oratory by Roman standards, some Oratorians continued to advance the causes begun in the earlier colonial period while others poured new, considerable energy into preparing materials for local veneration of members of their own community. These instances included both members of the Venerable Union and the Congregation of the Oratory, and importantly did not include formal attempts to advance those individuals along the hierarchy of sanctity as either *beati moderni* or legal *santos*. Instead, they carefully deployed *protestas de fé* to protect their devotees and memorial texts from censure and remained content to exalt local heroes as features of the American clerical landscape. Here as a conclusive, retrospective view, I would also like to suggest an unintended consequence of this shared anxiety that endured over centuries. As Simon Ditchfield and Karen Melvin have recently argued, more attention needs to be paid to the diocesan history of Catholicism in the Americas,

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Ita Mac Carthy (London: Modern Humanities Research Association and Maney Publications, 2013).

and to how its formation reflects important developments of Early Modern Catholicism that are less directly invested in relating to Protestantism as they are in European contexts.

I want to add to their arguments in two ways. First, through my study of the Oratorians in Mexico City and in the light especially of Ditchfield's work on the impact of Saint Charles Borromeo's applications of Tridentine legal mandates in the Diocese of Milan, it seems significant to point out that the American dioceses and their documentary history as Catholic spaces are almost entirely formed in the wake of the new reforms of the sixteenth century. The ancient traditions of European Christianity are so often featured as a clearly positive virtue in early modern European Catholic texts. In the Americas, however, lay a unique potential to characterize the spiritual geography of the church as entirely modern in the sense espoused by the papacy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Secondly, we must not stop at simply affirming this unique position of American Catholicism within the larger early modern world. To do so leaves the dimension of Early Modern Catholicism as a World Religion as simply appropriately named because of its global scale, rather than critiqued for its claims to power through imperial means. The vocabulary discussed here importantly draws attention to the operations of performing imperialism through roles and practices with a broad goal of creating unity of the intentions and essence of local, individual souls and global, shared spirit. This, I argue, is a vibrant record and archive of Christian Animism in Early Modern Catholicism, and the means by which its categories of classification were put to work using leveling, universal terms of comparison to theorize and justify the application of hierarchies locally and make inequality a lived experience among imperial subjects in practice.

Christian Animism helps emphasize the extent to which Oratorians walked a fine line between licit devotions and illegal, supersitious practices in their production of popular religion

in colonial Mexico City. Unlike African-descended and Indigenous subjects, who faced public beatings, years and decades of imprisonment, forced labor and execution for their social transgressions, Oratorians typically faced private rebukes, requests for revisions, posthumous retractions of their prayers or at most relief from active duty as working priests and comfortable isolation with food, drink and clothing provided. Authority figures, Oratorian and otherwise, used the logic of salvation and notion of purgatory to frame punishments as redemptive justice and a communal return toward a Catholic vision of purity in sameness. Still, such exercise of power should not overwhelm other ways Oratorians and other imperial subjects used the network of connected souls and spirits envisioned within the logic of salvation and notion of purgatory to build connections of community in public and private scenarios. Indeed, framing the utility of Early Modern Catholicism's proclivity for viewing the world as populated by uncountable millions of souls in need of salvation, commonly connected by the bonds of shared spiritual qualities, provides one means for understanding how an expansive empire built on racial and religious inequality could maintain hegemonic authority without facing widespread rebellion. Oratorians were key subjects in developing and promulgating a culture of directed vision focused on sameness and common traits that allowed for experiences of community and solidarity within inequality and injustice.

Figure 1.1 - Map of Oratorian Foundations in Spain

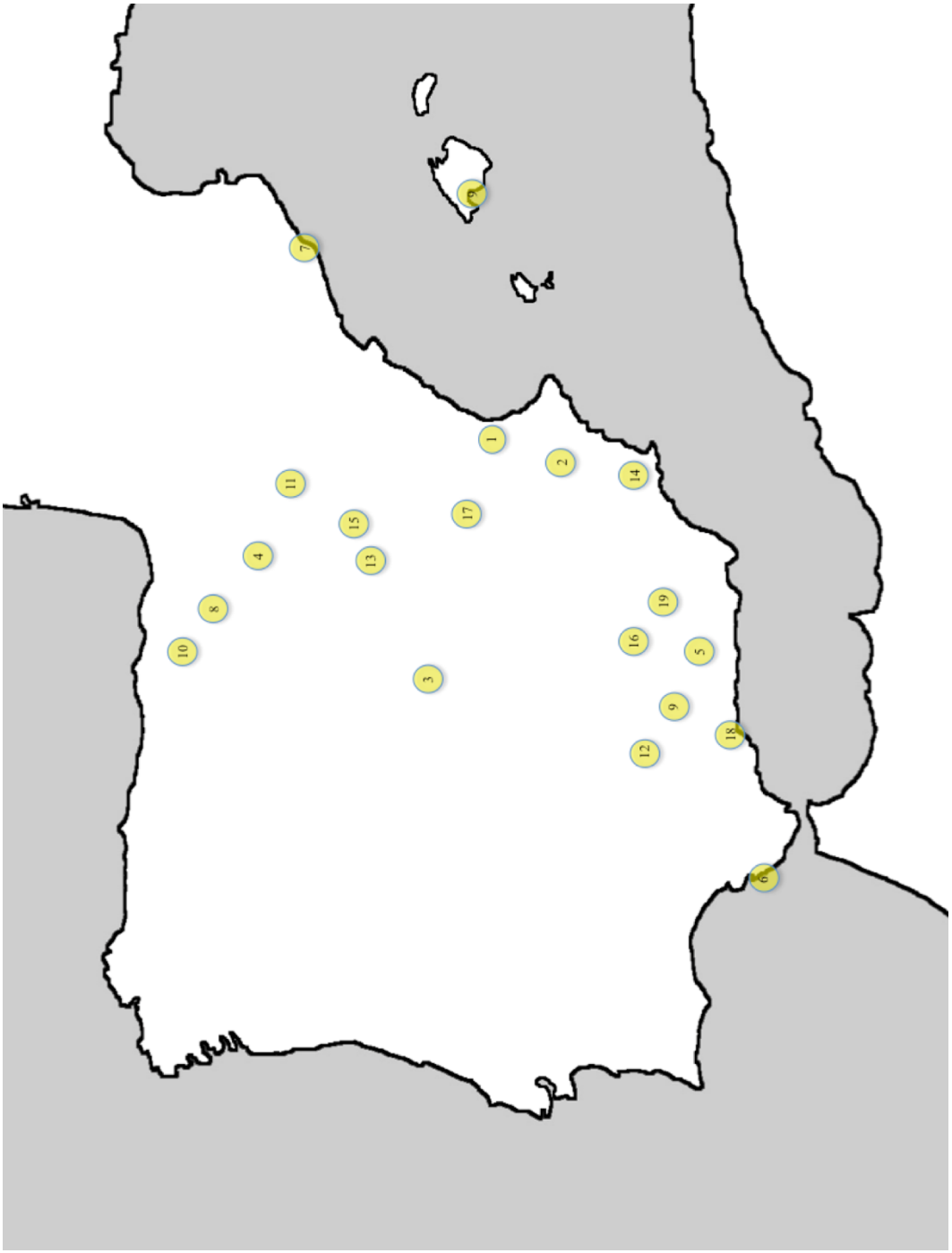


Figure 1.2 - Legend for Map of Oratorian Foundations in Spain

Map No.	City	Year
1	Valencia	1622
2	Villena	1662?
3	Madrid	1660
4	Soria	1670
5	Granada	1670
6	Cadiz	1671
7	Barcelona	1673
8	Ezcaray	1685
9	Carcabuey	1695
10	Medina de Pomar	1695
11	Zaragoza	1698
12	Córdoba	1699
13	Cifuentes	1700
14	Murcia	1700
15	Molina de Aragón	1700
16	Baeza	1702
17	Palma de Mallorca	1703
18	Cuenca	1738
19	Málaga	1742
20	Baza	1760

Sources: "Oratorianos (Congregación del Oratorio)" in *Diccionario histórico eclesiástico de España,* dir. Quintin Aldea Vaquero, Tomás Marín Martínez and José Vives Gatell (Madrid: CSIC, 1973), III: 1810-1811, and Ángel Alba, *San Felipe Neri en el arte español* (Alcalá de Henares: Gráficas Ballesteros, 1996), 15-26.

Figure 2.1 - Prefects of the Venerable Union

Year	Date	Name
1659	8th of May*	Miguel de Barcena Valmaceda
1662	26th of May	Tomás López de Erenchun
1664	5th of May**	Miguel de Barcena Valmaceda
1665	26th of May	Gonzalo Gil Zatico Guerrero
1668	26th of May	Matías de Santillán
1671	26th of May	Antonio Anfoso
1674	26th of May	Alonso Alberto y Velasco
1677	26th of May	José Márquez de los Rios
1680	26th of May	Santiago de Zurricaldai
1683	26th of May	Francisco Romero Quevedo
1686	26th of May	Luis Gómez de León
1689	26th of May	Diego Calderón Guillén de Benavides
1692	26th of May	Agustín Pérez de Villa-Real y Postigo
1695	26th of May	Juan de la Pedroza y Barreda
1698	26th of May	Pedro de Arellano y Sossa

* During their first election cycle, it seems the Venerable Union valued expediency over adherence to the regular, established rule of elections taking place on feast days.
** Miguel Barcena Valmaceda, as first consultant in the wake of his term as Prefect, reclaimed the position of Prefect until the next regularly scheduled election after Tomás López de Erenchun died during his own tenure of leadership.

Figure 3.1: Genaro García Manuscript G114

[1r] Nomina de los señores sacerdotes hermanos y congregantes, que han sido, y son de la V[enerabl]e Union de n[uest]ro P[adr]e San Phelipe Neri.

[1v - Blank]

[2r] CATALOGO, I NOMINA de los Señores Sacerdotes, hermanos, y congregantes de la Venerable Union de nuestro Padre San Phelipe Neri, cita en su Oratorio de esta Ciudad de Mexico, que la han illustrado, é illustran, desde el año de mill seiscientos y cinquenta y ocho, de su fundacion, asta el presente de mill seiscientos y noventa y seis, y lo de adelante.

Con advertencia que los que tienen al margen de la letra M. estan muertos, y los que la letra D. estan despedidos, por ascenso, y otro motivo.

M. Protector actual, declarado y admitido en la Junta de 26 de Noviembre de 1682 años, siendo Prefecto el S[eñ]or Liz[encia]do Santiago Surricaldai, el Ill[ustrisi]mo S[eñ]or Don Francisco de Aguiar y Zeixas, n[uest]ro dignissimo Prelado y Ar[zobis]po de esta Ciu[da]d.

<u>Padres Fundadores</u>
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Alonso Garcia de Ledesma.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Christobal Rojo de Soria.
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Diego del Castillo Gamboa.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Nicolas de Figueroa Sandobal.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Antonio Calderon Benavides.
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph de Esquibel Castañeda.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Nicolas Martin.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Gregorio Martin de Guijo.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Geronimo de Abrill.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Roque Hernandes.
M. D[oct]or Don Alonso Alberto de Velasco.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Alonso Coronado.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph de Medina.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Matheo Ruis del Portillo.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Thomas del Castillo.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan Baptista Banegas.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]nJuan Diosdado y Meneses.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Thomas Lopes de Erenchun
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Manuel de la Reguera.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Martin de la llana.

[2v]
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Bartholome de Quevedo.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan de la Vega.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph de Lombeida.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan Garcia de Xauregui.

M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan Yañes Davila.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]nJoseph Gonzales Ossorio.
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan Rojo de Costa.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Felipe de Contreras.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Luiz de Rojas.
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Agustin Carrion.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Diego del Castillo Marques.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Luiz de Zalas
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Pedro Velasques de Loaisa.
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Pedro Dias - no es fundador.

En 11 de Mayo de 1659. se inscribieron los Ss[eñor]es Sacerdotes Sig.[uien]tes

M. D[oct]or Don Jacinto de la Cerna.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Miguel de Barzena Balmazeda.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Alonso de la Peña.
M. Ill[ustrisi]mo S[eñ]or D[oct]or Don Matheo Zaga de Bugueiro. Protector de esta V[enerabl]e Vnion.

1a. Eleccion. 1659 a[ños]. En los tres años del govierno del primer Prefecto Liz[encia]do D[o]n Miguel de Barzena Balmazeda, electo el de mill seiscientos y cinquenta y nueve, se recivieron por hermanos y Congregantes de esta V[enerabl]e Union los Ss[eño]res Sacerdotes siguentes.
En 11 de Mayo de 1659 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Luis Bezerra Tanco.
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan Baptista Hernandes.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan Zapata.
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Francisco de Zarate.
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph de Cerbantes.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Ambrosio del Carpio.
En 25 de Mayo de 1659 a[ños].
M. D[oct]or Don Alonso Ortis de Erna.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan de Guevara.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Luis Gomes de Villanueva
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Francisco de Medina Ossorio.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Nicolas de Parraga.
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Nicolas Rubio.
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Gregorio Romano Altamirano.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan del Rossal y Rios.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Francisco de Mendoza.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph Ruis de Libran.
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph Espejo.
En 2 de Junio de 1659 a[ños].
M. D[oct]or Don Juan de la Camara.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Matheo de Figueroa.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph Lopes de Abiles.
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan de Miranda.

M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Hernando Deza.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Nicolas Ortis de Velasco.
En 7 de Jullio de 1659 a[ños].
D. D[oct]or Don Miguel de Ybarra.
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan Coronado.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Nicolas Ossorio y Naba.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Francisco Arias Gonzales.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Francisco de Herrera Robles.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Alonso Garcia Palomo.
En 4 de Agosto de 1659 a[ños].
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Pedro Fernandes Ossorio.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Francisco Niño de Rivera.
M. D[oct]or Don Ysidro de Sariñana.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph Godines de Torres.
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Nicolas de Mendoza.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan de Subillaga.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Hernando de Trejo.
[3r]
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Francisco Corchero Carreño.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Miguel de Perea Quintanilla.
En 1o. de Septiembre de 1659 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Antonio Gomes Negrete.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Ysidro de Ortuño Carriedo.
En 1o. de Diziembre de 1659 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Luis de Vrrea.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Felix Lopes Muñis.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Antonio de Mendoza.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Luis Garzes.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Alonso Zamus[r?]gado.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Antonio Regil.
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph de la Cruz y Zuniga.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Diego de Vineron.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Antonio Anfosso.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Santiago de Zurricaldai.
En 2 de Febrero de 1660 a[ños].
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Pedro Rincon de Ortega.
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Nicolas de Escobar.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Nicolas de Herrera.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan de Yta.
M. Ill[ustrisi]mo S[eñ]or D[oct]or Don Fr[ay?] Marcos Ramires de Prado.
M. D[oct]or y M[aest]ro D[o]n Mathias de Santillan.
D. L[icencia]do D[o]nChristobal de Partida Montenegro.
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Francisco Ruis Ormigo.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan de Riviera.
D. D[oct]or Don Rodrigo Ruis de Zepeda Martines.
D. L[icencia]do D[o]nLuis Fernandes Martinez.

M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Diego Xuares de Araujo.
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph de Palacios.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Bernardo de Zenar.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Andres Moreno de Contreras.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan de Fuentes.
En 23 de Marzo de 1660 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Francisco de Lora Baquio.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Nicolas de Villalobos.
D. D[oct]or Don Rodrigo del Portillo.
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph Benites de Tobar.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Francisco Bramon
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Luis Gomes de Leon
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Marcos Romero.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]nJoseph de Avila.
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Augustin Sanches Villanueva.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Ygnacio de S[an]ta Cruz Aldana.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan Nuñes de Azevedo.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph Ferrer.
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan Felix de Villabisencio.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Nicolas de Yzassi.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Lucas Maldonado.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Pedro Calderon.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan Gutierres de Quiros.
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Matheo Ortis Molano.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Andres de Figueroa.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Pedro de Rivera.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Cosme de Viñeta.
M. D[oct]or Don Simon Esteban Beltran de Alzate.
En 5 de Jullio de 1660 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Francisco de Zalcedo.
M. D[oct]or Don Francisco de Siles.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Diego de Cobas.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan de Vrrea.
M. D[oct]or Don Joseph del Castrillo Barrientos
En 1o. de Noviembre de 1660 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Santiago de Escobar y Mena.
En 26 de Abrill de 1661 a[ños].
M. D[oct]or Don Pedro Velarde.
En 6 de Jullio de 1661 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph de la Portilla.
En 7 de Noviembre de 1661 a[ños].
M. D[oct]or Don Bernardo de Quesada Sanauia
[3v]
En 22 de Mayo de 1662 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph Marques de los Rios.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Miguel Sanches.

M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Diego Calderon Benabides.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Antonio de Fuentes.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Antonio de Salvatierra.
M. D[oct]or Don Joseph de Salasar Maldonado.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]nAntonio de Benavente Saens.
D. D[oct]or y M[aest]ro D[o]n. Francisco Antonio Ortis.
M. D[oct]or Don Juan de la Peña Buitron.

2a. Eleccion 1662 a[ños]. En el tiempo que duro el govierno del segundo Prefecto L[icencia]do D[o]n Thomas Lopes de Erenchun, desde veinte y seis de Mayo de seiscientos y sessenta y dos que fue electo asta que murio se reciuieron los Ss[eño]res Sacerdotes sig[uient]es.
En 27 de Jullio de 1662 a[ños].
M. D[oct]or Don Diego de la Sierra.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan de Garate.
En 22 de septiembre de 1662 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Pedro Carro Suares.
En 22 de Diziembre de 1662 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph de Escalante.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]nPedro de Olma.
En 27 de Abrill de 1663 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan Maria Anfosso
En 6 de Mayo de 1663 a[ños].
M. Ill[ustrisi]mo S[eñ]or D[oct]or Don Diego de Escobar y llamas. Protector de esta V[enerabl]e Union.
En 29 de Mayo de 1663 a[ños].
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Antonio de Salas.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Geronimo de Valladolid.
En 4 de Diziembre de 1663 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Nicolas de Aguilar Coronado
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph Ramires de Arellano.
En 24 de Marzo de 1664 a[ños].
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan de Erenchun.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Gonzalo Gil Guerrero.

Succession. 1664 a[ños]. En el tiempo que duro el govierno del S[eñ]or Liz[encia]do D[o]n Miguel de Barzena Balmazeda que succedio en la Prefectura por muerte de d[ic]ho S[eñ]or Liz[encia]do D[o]n Thomas Lopes de Erenchun segun constitucion, y declaracion de Junta de cinco de Mayo de mill seiscientos y sessenta y quatro años se recivieron los Ss[eño]res Sacerdotes Sig[uien]tes.

En 2 de Junio de 1664 a[ños].
M. D[oct]or Don Ygnacio de Hoyos Santillana.
M. D[oct]or Don Diego de Bedoya.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Pedro Monesterio.
En 20 de septiembre de 1664 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan de Soto.

M. Ill[ustrisi]mo S[eñ]or D[oct]or Don Alonso de Cuebas Davalos, Protector de esta V[enerabl]e Union.
En 5 de Henero de 1665 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Bartholome Xuares.
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Diego de Perea.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Christobal Gonzales.
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan de la Barrera.
En 20 de Mayo de 1665 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Antonio Martin de Acosta.

3a. Eleccion 1665 a[ños]. En los tres años del govierno del S[eñ]or Liz[encia]do D[o]n Gonzalo Gil Guerrero, tercer Prefecto, electo el año de
[4r]
Mill seiscientos y sessenta y cinco se recivieron los Ss[eño]res Sacerdotes Sig[uien]tes.
En 1o. de Abril de 1666 a[ños].
D. D[oct]or Don Lorenzo de Salasar Muñetones.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Geronimo Ossorio de Guzman
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Antonio Xinocsio Capelo.
En 5 de Jullio de 1666 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Victoriano Velasques.
En 14 de Jullio de 1666 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Roque de Gomora.
En 3 de Henero de 1667 a[ños].
[10]M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan de Rojas.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan de Olibares Torralvo.
En 25 de Mayo de 1667 años.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Augustin de Escamilla.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Augustin de Loranca.
En 5 de Agosto de 1667 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph Antonio Baeza.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Diego de Batres.
En 2 de Henero de 1668 a[ños].
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Lorenzo de Mendoza.
En 21 de Mayo de 1668 a[ños].
M. D[oct]or Don Juan de Poblete.

4a. Eleccion 1668 años. En los tres años del govierno del quarto Prefecto, Doctor y maestro D[o]n Mathias de Santillan* [electo el año de mill seiss[ient]os, y sesenta y ocho.], se recivieron los Ss[eñor]es Sacerdotes siguientes.
En 30 de Jullio de 1668 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Francisco Ruis.
En 3 de Septiembre de 1668 a[ños].
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Francisco Boxorques.
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Augustin Basques de Medina
En 5 de Agosto de 1669 a[ños].
M. D[oct]or Don Antonio de Cardenas y Zalasar.

M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Luis Fonte de Messa.
En 2 de Septiembre de 1669 a[ños].
~~M~~. D[oct]or Don Joseph Vidal de Figueroa.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Simon de Herrera.
En 4 de Noviembre de 1669 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Phelipe Neri Martines.
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Garcia de Legaspi y Velasco.
En 3 de Febrero de 1670 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Miguel Gutierres.
En 23 de Febrero de 1670 años.
M. Ill[ustrisi]mo y Ex[celentisi]mo S[eñ]or M[aest]ro D[o]n Fr[ay] Payo Enrriques de Rivera, Protector, ~~y Hermano~~
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan Baptista Fernandes.
En 7 de Jullio de 1670 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Lorenzo de Loyola Sandategui.
En 2 de Febrero de 1671 a[ños].
M. D[oct]or Don Geronimo Gomes de Cerbantes.
En 21 de Mayo de 1671 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Francisco Romero Quevedo.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Miguel de Burgos Rendon.

5a. Eleccion 1671 años. En los tres años del govierno del S[eñ]or Liz[encia]do D[o]n Antonio Anfosso, quinto Prefecto, electo el año de mill seiscientos y setenta y uno, se recivieron los Ss[eño]res Sacerdotes Sig[uien]tes.
[4v]
En 6 de Jullio de 1671 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan Alphonso de Sossa.
En 23 de Febrero de 1672 a[ños].
M. D[oct]or Don Diego Ossorio Peralta.
En 10 de Marzo de 1672 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Manuel de la Reguera.
En 11 de Mayo de 1672 a[ños].
M. D[oct]or Don Diego de Malpartida Centeno
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Nicolas de Figueroa.
En 14 de Junio de 1672 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Francisco Dias de Navia
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Francisco de Esquibel
En 12 de Septiembre de 1672 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Antonio Fain.
En 20 de Diziembre de 1672 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Diego Gil Guerrero.
En 22 de Henero de 1673 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Domingo de Zuniga.
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Jaime de Zalcedo.
En 3 de Jullio de 1673 a[ños].
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan de Burgos.

D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Manuel de la Marcha.
M. D[oct]or Don Juan Dies de la Barrera.
En 9 de Mayo de 1674 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan de Miranda.
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph Pescador.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph Garcia de Leon.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Antonio Gomes.

6a. Eleccion 1674 a[ños]. En los tres años del govierno del s[eñ]or D[oct]or Don Alonso Alberto de Velasco, sexto Prefecto, electo año de mill seiscientos y setenta y quatro se recivieron los Ss[eño]res Sacerdotes siguientes.

En 6 de Junio de 1674 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Marcos de Chaves.
En 8 de Agosto de 1674 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph de la Barrera.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan Vallejo y Hermosillo.
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Francisco de la Cruz.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Francisco Ortuño. [Z]
M. D[oct]or Don Joseph de Herrera Regil.
[20]M. D[oct]or Don Juan Millan de Poblete.
En 1o. de Jullio de 1675 a[ños].
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph de Valdes.
En 5 de Agosto de 1675 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Luis de Artiaga.
En 28 de Septiembre de 1675 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Augustin Carrion.
En 9 de Diziembre de 1675 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Garcia de Legaspi Velasco.
En 11 de Agosto de 1676 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Diego Peres de Sierra.
En 5 de Octubre de 1676 a[ños].
M. D[oct]or Don Manuel de Escalante.
D. M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Phelipe Manrrique de Lara.
M. D[oct]or Don Joseph Vallejo de Hermosillo.
En 4 de Henero de 1677 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]nJuan de Ontiveros Barrera.
En 17 de Mayo de 1677 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Ygnacio de Chavarria.

7a. Eleccion 1677 a[ños]. En los tres años del govierno del S[eñ]or Liz[encia]do D[o]n Joseph Marques, de los Rios, septimo Prefecto, electo el año de mill seiscientos y setenta y siete, se recivieron los Ss[eño]res Sacerdotes siguientes.
[5r]
En 6 de Octubre de 1677 a[ños].
D. D[oct]or Don Joseph de Loyola.

M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan Phelipe.
En 3 de Henero de 1678 a[ños].
M. D[oct]or Don Juan Bernardo de Rivera.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan de Sifuentes.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan de Poblete.
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Geronimo Sanches.
En 2 de Mayo de 1678 a[ños].
M. D[oct]or Don Augustin Peres de Villareal.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Luis de la Torre.
En 27 de Jullio de 1678 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph de Acosta Rivera.
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Manuel de la Marcha.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Pedro Dias de Arevalo.
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Lucas Moreno.
En 29 de Octubre de 1678 a[ños].
M. D[oct]or Don Nicolas del Puerto.
En 2 de Henero de 1679 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Domingo del Corro.
M. D[oct]or Don Juan de la Pedrossa.
[30]M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph Garcia Hidalgo.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Pedro Millan Benites.
En 6 de Febrero de 1679 a[ños].
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Francisco de Montemayor.
En 4 de Septiembre de 1679 a[ños].
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Nicolas Guerrero.
En 6 de Noviembre de 1679 a[ños].
M. D[oct]or Don Bernabe Dies de Cordova.
En 8 de Henero de 1680 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan de Torres Calderon.
En 29 de Henero de 1680 a[ños].
D. M. D[oct]or Don Juan Cano Sandobal.

8a. Eleccion 1680 a[ños]. En los tres años del govierno del S[eñ]or Liz[encia]do D[o]n Santiago Zurricaldai, octavo Prefecto, electo el año de mill seiscientos y ochenta se recivieron los Ss[eño]res Sacerdotes Sig[uien]tes.

En 6 de Junio de 1680 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Lope Cornejo.
En 19 de Agosto de 1680 a[ños].
M. D[oct]or Don Manuel Muños de Aumada.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Pedro Buchan.
En 3 de Febrero de 1681 a[ños].
M. D[oct]or Don Joseph Adame y Arriaga.
[ ] D[oct]or Don Francisco de Deza y Vlloa.
D. M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Augustin Martines.
En 15 de Mayo de 1681 a[ños].

M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Alonso de las Cassas.
En 7 de Jullio de 1681 a[ños].
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Phelipe Deza.
En 26 de Agosto de 1681 a[ños].
M. D[oct]or Don Augustin de Cabañas.
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Salvador de Escudero.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Antonio de Anunzarri.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Domingo de Barcia.
En 16 de Febrero de 1682 a[ños].
M. Ill[ustrisi]mo S[eñ]or D[oct]or Don Francisco de Aguiar y Seixas, por Congregante.
En 16 de Marzo de 1682 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Gonzalo Suares de S[an]. Martin.
En 24 de Septiembre de 1682 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph de Rivera Basconzelos.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Christobal Mrs[Martines?] de Cepeda.
[40]M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph Saens.
[ ] L[icencia]do D[o]n Pedro de Arellano y Sossa.
[5v]
En 26 de Noviembre de 1682 a[ños].
M. Ill[ustrisi]mo S[eñ]or D[oct]or Don Francisco de Aguiar y Seixas, por Protector desta V[enerabl]e Vnion.
M. Ill[ustrisi]mo S[eñ]or M[aest]ro D[o]n Fr[ay] Payo Enrriques de Rivera, por Congregante.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Melchor de los Reyes.
En 12 de Febrero de 1683 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Francisco de Herrera.
En 26 de Abril de 1683 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph de Lizamis.
En 14 de Mayo de 1683 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Lazaro Fernandes.

9a. Eleccion 1683 a[ños]. En el tiempo que duro el govierno del S[eñ]or D[oct]or Don Francisco Romero Quevedo [M], noveno Prefecto, electo el año de mill seiscientos y ochenta y tres se recivieron los Ss[eño]res Sig[uien]tes.

En 5 de Noviembre de 1683 a[ños].
[ ] D[oct]or Don Rodrigo Garcia Flores.
En 1o. de Henero de 1684 a[ños].
M. D[oct]or Don Juan de Narbaes.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph de Segura.
En 17 de Abrill de 1684 a[ños].
D. D[oct]or Don Lucas de Berdiguel.
En 14 de Jullio de 1684 a[ños].
[ ] L[icencia]do D[o]n Francisco Benites Paniagua
En 7 de Agosto de 1684 a[ños]
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Antonio de Rivera Calderon.
M. D[oct]or Don Diego Franco Velasques.

En 25 de Septiembre de 1684 a[ños].
[ ] L[icencia]do D[o]n Alonso Gomes de Ruigomes Robles.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph de Leon.
En 19 de Henero de 1685 a[ños].
[50]M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Pedro Montes
En 26 de Marzo de 1685 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Bartholome de Escoto.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan de la Caxica.
En 16 de Jullio de 1685 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph de Montemayor.
En 23 de Jullio de 1685 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Martin de Olibas.

Succession 1685 a[ños]. En el tiempo que governo el d[ic]ho S[eñ]or L[icencia]do D[o]n Santiago Surricaldai, que succedio en la Prefectura, por ascenso, que obtuvo a Prebenda el d[ic]ho S[eñ]or D[oct]or Don Francisco Romero Quevedo, segun constitucion, y declaracion defunta de tres de septiembre de mill seiscientos y ochenta y cinco a[ños] se recivieron los Ss[eño]res Sacerdotes Sig[uien]tes.

En 5 de Noviembre de 1685 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Antonio de Aunzibai Anaya
En 23 de Noviembre de 1685 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Clemente Ceron.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Melchor Lopes de Haro.
[ ] L[icencia]do D[o]n Francisco Dias Ordas.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan de Villanueva.
En 14 de Marzo de 1686 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Domingo Pensado.
En 26 de Abrill de 1686 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Geronimo de Herrera.

10a. Eleccion 1686 a[ños]. En los tres años del govierno, del S[eñ]or L[icencia]do D[o]n Luis Gomes de Leon, dezimo Prefecto, electo el año de mill seiscientos y ochenta y seis, se recivieron los Ss[eño]res Sacerdotes Sig[uien]tes.
[6r]
En 4 de Septiembre de 1686 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan Florido.
En 11 de Septiembre de 1686 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Pedro de Cuellar.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph de Guadalupe.
En 23 de Noviembre de 1686 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Diego de Rivera.
En 5 de Marzo de 1687 a[ños].
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan Lopes de Erenchun.
En 17 de Jullio de 1687 a[ños].
M. D[oct]or Don Miguel Gonzales.

D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph de Coca.
En 29 de Marzo de 1688 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph Montaño.
[ ] L[icencia]do D[o]n Geronimo Chacon.
En 5 de Mayo de 1688 a[ños].
M. D[oct]or Don Juan Parcero.
En 3 de Agosto de 1688 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph Ramires de Arellano
En 23 de Noviembre de 1688 a[ños].
[60]D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan Felix Ramires.
En 7 de Marzo de 1689 a[ños].
[ ] L[icencia]do D[o]n Francisco Xavier de Velasco.
En 9 de Mayo de 1689 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph Gomes Bravo.

11a. Eleccion 1689 a[ños]. En los tres años del govierno del S[eñ]or Liz[encia]do D[o]n Diego Calderon Benavides, vndezimo Prefecto, electo el año de mill seiscientos y ochenta y nueve, se recivieron los Ss[eño]res Sig[uien]tes.

En 5 de Septiembre de 1689 a[ños].
[ ] L[icencia]do D[o]n Alonso Melendes
[ ] L[icencia]do D[o]n Francisco Joseph de la Vega.
En 9 de Septiembre de 1689 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Bernabe de Neira Galindo
En 7 de Noviembre de 1689 a[ños].
D. D[oct]or Don Ygnacio Dias de la Barrera.
En 2 de Henero de 1690 a[ños].
D. D[oct]or Don Juan Dias Bracamonte.
En 13 de Febrero de 1690 a[ños].
M. D[oct]or Don Pedro de Avalos y de la Cueba.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Francisco de Cerbantes.
En 20 de Febrero de 1690 a[ños].
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan de Ychanique Lascamburu.
En 12 de Mayo de 1690 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Sebastian Gonzales.
En 5 de Agosto de 1690 a[ños].
[ ] L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph Lopes de Villegas.
En 16 de Noviembre de 1690 a[ños].
D. D[oct]or Don Miguel de Estrada.
En 19 de Marzo de 1691 a[ños].
[70]M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Juachin de la Piñuela.
En 4 de Mayo de 1691 a[ños].
[ ] L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph de Rivera Calderon.
En 5 de Agosto de 1691 a[ños].
[ ] L[icencia]do D[o]n Manuel Andres Ximenes.
En 11 de Septiembre de 1691 a[ños].

D. D[oct]or Don Joseph de Villafuerte Zapata.
En 1o. de Octubre de 1691 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan de Castro Colon.
En 5 de Noviembre de 1691 a[ños].
[ ] L[icencia]do D[o]n Nicolas de Cifuentes.
En 16 de Noviembre de 1691 a[ños].
[ ] L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph de Fuentes.
[6v]
En 23 de Diziembre de 1691 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Francisco Basques.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Miguel Albares.
En 25 de Febrero de 1692 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Manuel Gonzales Liano.
En 7 de Mayo de 1692 a[ños].
M. D[oct]or Don Francisco de Aguilar.
[ ] D[oct]or Don Joseph de Torres y Vergara.
[80]M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Francisco de Ayerra S[an]ta Maria.
En 17 de Mayo de 1692 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Bernabe Partida.

12a. Eleccion 1692 a[ños]. En los tres años del govierno del S[eñ]or D[oct]or Don Augustin Peres de Villa-real, duodezimo Prefecto, electo el año de mill seiscientos y noventa y dos, se recivieron los Ss[eño]res Sacerdotes sig[uien]tes.
En 17 de Jullio de 1692 a[ños].
M. D[oct]ora Don Miguel Ortuño.
En 16 de mayo de 1693 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Nicolas Moreno de Ortega.
[ ] L[icencia]do D[o]n Luis de Sandobal Zapata.
En 7 de Diziembre de 1693 a[ños].
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan de Aguiar Pardo y Vlloa.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Matheo de Banegas.
En 1o. de Henero de 1695 a[ños].
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Francisco Parcero y Vlloa.
[ ] L[icencia]do D[o]n Pedro del Castillo y Vergara.
[ ] L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph de la Barrera.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Pedro de Cerbantes.
En 14 de Marzo de 1695 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Marcos Monson y Zalcedo.

13a. Eleccion 1695 a[ños]. En el tiempo del govierno del S[eñ]or D[oct]or Don Juan de la Pedrossa, dezimotercio Prefecto, electo el año de mill seiscientos y noventa y cicno, se recivieron los Ss[eño]res Sacerdotes Sig[uien]tes.
En 29 de Jullio de 1695 a[ños].
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Manuel Buitron y Moxica.
En 30 de Septiembre de 1695 a[ños].
M. [?] Salvador Rodriguez de la Fuente

En 23 de Henero de 1696 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Antonio Mexia.
[ ] L[icencia]do D[o]n Luis de Aguilar.
[90] L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph de Arellano.
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Bernardo de Yun y Barbia.
En 14 de Marzo de 1696 a[ños].
M. Ill[ustrisi]mo y Ex[celentisi]mo S[eñ]or D[oct]or Don Juan de Ortega Montañes, por Congregate. [supernumero?]
D. M. D[oct]or Don Miguel Zetina.
En 1o. de Mayo de 1696 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Domingo de Castro.
[ ] L[icencia]do D[o]n Miguel Mosqueira.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Christobal de Fuenlabrada.
En 15 de Junio de 1696 a[ños].
D. D[oct]or Don Antonio de los Reyes y Salinas.
En 30 de Jullio de 1696 a[ños].
M. D[oct]or Don Juan de Escobar.
En 31 de Agosto de 1696 a[ños].
[ ] L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph de Vrrutia Bedoya.
[ ] L[icencia]do D[o]n Francisco Xavier Bozo.
En 22 de Septiembre de 1696 a[ños].
D. M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Nicolas de Otero.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Thomas de Coca.
En 16 de Octubre de 1696 a[ños].
D. D[oct]or Don Joseph Lopes de Contreras.
[7r]
En 17 de Diziembre de 1696 a[ños].
[100]M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Lorenzo de Mendoza.
[ ] L[icencia]do D[o]n Francisdo de Aedo.
[ ] L[icencia]do D[o]n Antonio Puga.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph Lopes de la Sancha.
[ ] L[icencia]do D[o]n Luis de Astorga.
[ ] L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan Lopes.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Antonio Vidal.
En 23 de Henero de 1697 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan Caballero y Ozio.
[ ] D[oct]or D[o]n Lucas de Berdiguel.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Phelipe Manrrique de Lara.
En 13 de Marzo de 1697 a[ños].
D. M. D[oct]or Don Antonio Ximenes.
[ ] L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph Hurtado de Mendoza.
En 24 de Octubre de 1697 a[ños].
[ ] L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan Albares de Silva y Marchena.
[ ] L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph Antt[oni]o de Andrada Moctesuma.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Pedro Guerrero.
En 6 de Mayo de 1698 a[ños].

D. D[oct]or Don Juan de Cara Amo y Figueroa.
M. D[oct]or Don Joseph Adame Arriaga y Ruis.
D. D[oct]or Don Francisco Coto.
[ ] L[icencia]do D[o]n Pedro de Aguilar.
En 23 de Mayo de 1698 a[ños].
[ ] L[icencia]do D[o]n Joachin Rivera Salas [1a]

14a eleccion 1698 a[ños]. En el tiempo del nuevo govierno del S[eñ]or D[oct]or Don Juan de la Pedrossa dezimo quarto Prefecto reelecto el año de mill seiscientos y nobenta y ocho se recivieron los ss[eño]res sacerdotes siguientes.

En 3 de Jullio de 1698 a[ños].
[ ]D[oct]or Don Nicolas Carlos Gomes de Cervantes.
M. Ill[ustrisi]mo y Ex[celentisi]mo S[eñ]or D[oct]or Don Juan de Ortega Montañes, por Cong[regan]te en numero.
En 13 de Septiembre de 1698 a[ños].
M. Ill[ustrisi]mo y Ex[celentisi]mo S[eñ]or D[oct]or Don Manuel F[ernandez] de S[an]ta Cruz por Cong[regan]te en nu[mer]o.
[ ] L[icencia]do D[o]n Nicolas Gomes de Vargas. [1a.]
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan de Figueroa.
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Francissco de Montemayor y Prado [1a].
[ ] L[icencia]do D[o]n Miguel de Quero.
[ ] L[icencia]do D[o]n Andres Moreno Bala. [1a.]
En 16 de Jullio de 1699 a[ños].
[ ] D[oct]or Don Antonio de Villas[eñ]or y Monrroi.
[ ] L[icencia]do D[o]n Bernabe de Quero.
D. M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph de Sifuentes.
En 5 de Marzo de 1700 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Alonso Galindo Barcarsel.
[ ] D[oct]or Don Nicolas Sanches.
D. D[oct]or Don Pedro Ramires del Castillo.
En 14 de Mayo de 1700 a[ños].
[ ] L[icencia]do D[o]n Miguel Caballero.
[ ] L[icencia]do D[o]n Miguel Telles de Acuña.
[ ] L[icencia]do D[o]n Antonio de la Cuebas.
~~En 26 de Noviembre de 1700 a[ños].~~
~~[ ] L[icencia]do D[o]n Domingo Antt[oni]o Bayon Bandaiso[?]~~
~~[ ] D[oct]or Don Juan Ygnacio Castorena y Vrsua.~~
[7v]
En 27 de Agosto de 1700 a[ños].
[ ] L[icencia]do D[o]n Mathias de Hijar.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan Muños Duran. [1a]
En 26 de Noviembre de 1700.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Domingo Antt[oni]o Bayon Banduso [1a]
[ ] D[oct]or Don Juan Ygnacio Castorena y Vrsua.
En 3 de Febrero de 1701 a[ños].

M. D[oct]or Don Miguel de Estrada.
[ ] D[oct]or Don Juan Antonio de Aldave.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Antonio Guillen de Castro.
En 27 de Abrill de 1701 a[ños].
D. L[icencia]do D[o]n Antonio de Piñateli Dominguez.
En 7 de Mayo de 1701 a[ños].
[ ] L[icencia]do D[o]n Francisco Parrero y Vlloa. [1a]
En 14 de Mayo de 1701 a[ños].
[ ] L[icencia]do D[o]n Augustin de Eguia.
En 9 de Jullio de 1701 a[ños].
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Nicolas de Poblete.
En 26 de Sep[tiembr]e de [1]701 a[ños].
[ ] D[oct]or Don Juan Joseph de la Mota.
M. L[icencia]do D[o]n Bartholome de Saabedra [1a.]

[Back Cover] Nomina de todos los Ss[eño]res Sacerdotes Congregantes 1697 a[ños]
Para que sea
Para que sea

Figure 3.2 - Genaro García MS 66, fs. 95r-97v

[95r] CATALOGO, Í NOMINA de los Señores Sacerdotes difuntos, hermanos y congregantes que fueron de la Venerable Union de nuestro Padre San Phelipe Neri, cita en su Oratorio de esta Ciudad de Mexico, desde el año de mill seiscientos y cinquenta y ocho de su fundacion, asta el presente de mill seiscientos y noventa y seis, y lo de adelante.

1a. Eleccion. 1659 a[ños]. En los tres años que duro el govierno del primer Prefecto L[icencia]do D[o]n Miguel de Barzena Balmazeda, electo el de mill seiscientos y cinquenta y nueve, murieron los señores sacerdotes de esta V[enerabl]e Union sig[uien]tes.

+ L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan de Subillaga.
[?]9 de May. 60 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Antonio de Mendoza.
27 Mar 60 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan de Yta.
27 Jun 60 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Bernardo de Zenar.
[?]8 de Ag 61 + D[oct]or Don Jacinto de la Cerna
10 Oct 61 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Alonso Garcia Palomo
14 Jun 59 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph de Medina. f[undad]or.
15 Oct 60 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Thomas del Castillo. Fundador.

2a. Eleccion. 1662 a[ños]. En el tiempo que duro el govierno del segundo Prefecto L[icencia]do D[o]n Thomas Lopes de Erenchun, desde veinte y seis de Mayo de mill seiscientos y sessenta y dos que fue electo, asta que murio, murieron los ss[eño]res sacerdotes siguientes.

27 Ab 63 + D[oct]or Don Matheo Ruis del Portillo. f[undad]or.
26 May 63 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Diego de Vineron.
12 Ag 63 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph de Avila.
2 Nov 63 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Francisco de Herrera Robles.
13 feb 64 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan de Zapata
26 fe 64 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Antonio de Benavente Saens.
29 Ago[Ab?] 64 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Thomas Lopes de Erenchun. f[undad]or.
2 Mayo 64 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Francisco Bramon. [95v]

Succession. 1664 a[ños]. En el tiempo que duro el govierno del S[eñ]or Liz[encia]do D[o]n Miguel de Barzena Balmazeda que succedio en la Prefectura por muerte de d[ic]ho S[eñ]or Liz[encia]do D[o]n Thomas Lopes de Erenchun, segun constitucion y declaracion de Junta de cinco de Mayo de mill seiscientos y sessenta y quatro a[ños] murieron los Ss[eño]res Sacerdotes Sig[uien]tes.

14 Ag 64 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Nicolas de Parraga.
14 Nov 64 + L[icencia]do D[o]n ANdres Moreno de Contreras.
4 Diz 64 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph Ruis Libran.
30 Diz 64 + L[icencia]do D[o]n luis de Salas. fundador.

3a Eleccion. 1665 a[ños]. En los tres años del govierno del S[eñ]or Liz[encia]do D[o]n Gonzalo Gil Guerrero, tercer Prefecto electo el año de mill seiscientos y sessenta y cinco murieron los Ss[eño]res Sacerdotes siguientes.

* [Ill[ustrisi]mo S[eñ]or D[oct]or Don Alonso de Cuebas davalos Protector de esta V[enerabl]e Union, 2 Sep 65]
28 Mar 66 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Hernando de Trejo.
15 Jun 66 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Nicolas de Herrera.
16 Sep 66 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan Baptista Banegas. f[undador].
7 Mayo 667 + D[oct]or Don Diego de Bedoya.
Ill[ustrisi]mo S[eñ]or D[o]n Fr[ay] Marcos Ramires de Prado.
2 Ag 67 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Nicolas de Villalobos.
16 May 67 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Nicolas Martin.
22 Diz 67 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Ambrosio del Carpio.
16 feb 68 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Francisco Corchero Carreño
20 Sep 62 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan del Rosal y Rios.

4a. Eleccion. 1668 a[ños]. En la Prefectura y tres años de su govierno del quarto Prefecto, D[oct]or y M[aest]ro D[o]n Mathias de Santillan, murieron los Ss[eño]res Sacerdotes siguientes.

12 Jul 68 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Antonio Calderon Benavides. f[undador].
27 Ag 68 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan Maria Anfosso. Vide Di
[?] Jul 68 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Felix Lopes Muñis.
[?] 69 L[icencia]do D[o]n Gonzalo Gil Guerrero.
[?] 9 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Geronimo de Abrill. f[undad]or.
3 Nov 69 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Francisco de Lora Baquio
27 hen 70 + D[oct]or Don Francisco de Siles.
16 May 70 + D[oct]or Don Simon Esteban Veltran y Alzate
28 Jun 70 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan de Vega. fundador.
28 hen 71 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Pedro del Olmo.
15 May 71 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Alonso de la Peña.
16 May 71 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Augustin de Loranca.

Protectores. Ill[ustrisi]mos Ss[eño]res Protectores cuya muerte no consta en que tiempo acaecio.

Ill[ustrisi]mo S[eñ]or D[oct]or Don Matheo Zaga de Bugueiro. Protector. desta V[enerabl]e Union.
Ill[ustrisi]mo S[eñ]or D[oct]or Don Diego de Escobar y llamas. Protector de esta V[enerabl]e Union.

5a. Eleccion 1671 a[ños]. En los tres años y govierno del S[eñ]or L[icencia]do D[o]n Antonio Anfosso, quinto Prefecto, electo el año de mill seiscientos y setenta y vno, murieron los sig[uien]tes.

2 Jul 71 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Alonso Garcia de Ledesma. f[undador].
4 feb 72 + D[oct]or Don Bernardo de Quesada Sanauia.

20 hen 72 + D[oct]or Don Geronimo Cervantes.
11 May 72 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph de Zalasar Madonado
3 May 72 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Pedro Monesterio.
2 Jun 72 + D[oct]or Don Alonso Ortis de Orá [corrected].
2 Jun 72 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Luis de Bezerra tanco. Vide Di
4 sep. 72 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Diego de la Coba.
24 Nov 72 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Andres de Figueroa.
25 hen 73 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Lucas Maldonado
28 hen 73 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Pedro Carro Suares.
28 jun 673 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Francisco Arias.
28 hen 74 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Diego Xuares de Araujo.
23 Mar 74 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Miguel Sanches. Vide Di.

6a Eleccion. 1674 a[ños]. En los tres años y govierno del sexto Prefecto electo el año de mill seiscientos y setenta y quatro, D[oct]or Don Alonso ALberto de Velasco, murieron los Sig[uien]tes. [96r]

9 Ag 676 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Gregorio Martin del Guijo. f[undad]or.
3 Jun 674 + D[oct]or Don Antonio de Cardenas y Zalasar.
28 Jul 74 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Luis Fonte de Messa.
26 Jun 75 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan de Urrea.
28 Ag 75 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan Nuñes de Azevedo.
8 Diz 75 + D[oct]or Don Juan Yañes Davila. f[undad]or.
29 Sep 76 + D[oct]or Don Joseph del Castrillo Barrientos.
7 May 77 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Antonio Ginoesio.

7a. Eleccion. 1677 a[ños]. En los tres años y govierno del septimo Prefecto Liz[encia]do D[o]n Joseph Marques de los Rios, electo el año de mill seiscientos y setenta y siete murieron los Ss[eño]res Sacerdotes siguientes.

21 Sep 77 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Diego de Batres.
2 Nov 77 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Bartholome de Quevedo. f[undad]or.
8 Diz 77 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Ygn[azi]o de S[an]ta Cruz Aldana.
29 Sep 77 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph de Escalante.
21 Mar 78 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Geronimo Guzman.
21 Ag 78 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan Baptista Hernandes.
7 Jun 78 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Roque Hernandes. f[undad]or.
27 Jun 78 + D[oct]or Don Juan Dies de la Barrera.
17 de Oct de 78 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Miguel de Barzena Balmazeda.
1 de Marz 77 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Pedro Calderon.
[?]3 de Nov[iembr]e 78 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Luis de la Torre.
4 Diz 78 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Santiago de Escobar y Mena.
28 Diz 78 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Cosme de Urrieta.
3 hen 79 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph Ferrer.
5 Jul 79 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Nicolas Coronado.
10 Sep 79 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph de la Portilla.

2 hen 80 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Roque de Gomora.
24 hen 80 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Ygnacio de la Chavarria.

8a. Eleccion 1680 a[ños]. En los tres años y govierno del octavo Prefecto, Liz[encia]do D[o]n Santiago Zuricaldai, electo el año de mill seiscientos y ochenta, murieron los sig[uien]tes.

9 Jun 81 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Luis de Rojas. fundador.
4 Jun 80 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Miguel Gutierres.
8 Jul 80 + D[oct]or Don Juan de Poblete
14 Diz 80 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Francisco de Mendoza.
25 hen 81 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Lorenzo de Loyola.
26 hen 81 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Antonio de Salvatierra.
24 Mar 81 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph Godines.
26 Jun 81 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Francisco de Zalcedo.
16 Ag 81 + D[oct]or Don Diego Flores de Sierra.
17 Ag 81 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Antonio de Fuentes.
13 Ag 81 + Ill[ustrisi]mo S[eñ]or D[oct]or Don Nicolas del Puerto.
12 Mar 82 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Christobal Gonzales.
3 May 82 + D[oct]or Don Juan de la Camara.
2 Sep 82 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Antonio Negrete
3 Sep 82 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Francisco Dias de Navia
22 Sep 82 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Manuel de la Reguera.
[ ] + L[icencia]do D[o]n Miguel Burgos Rendon.
24 Mar 83 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Antonio Gomes.

9a. Eleccion 1683 a[ños]. En el tiempo que governo el noveno Prefecto D[oct]or Don Francisco de Romero Quevedo, electo el año de mill seiscientos y ochenta y tres, murieron los sig[uien]tes.

28 Diz 83 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Marcos Antonio de Chaves.
12 Ab 84 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan de Soto.
8 Ab 84 + Ill[ustrisi]mo y Ex[celentisi]mo S[eñ]or D[octor] M[aest]ro Don fr[ay] Payo Enriques de Rivera, Protector y Herm[an]o.
29 Jul 84 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Pedro de Loaiza. f[undad]or.
26 Jul 84 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph de Rivera Basconzelos.
13 Sep 84 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Antonio Regil.
18 Sep 84 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Christobal Rojo de Soria. f[undad]or.
11 Diz 84 + D[oct]or Don Juan de la Peña Buitron.
19 Mar 85 + L[icencia]do D[o]n juan de Diosdado y Meneses
13 Jul 85 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Nicolas Ossorio.
16 Jul 85 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Alonso Coronado. f[undad]or.

Succession 1685 a[ños]. En el tiempo que governo el d[ic]ho S[eñ]or L[icencia]do D[o]n Santiago Surricaldai por succession en la Prefectura, por ascenso que obtuvo a Prebenda d[ic]ho S[eñ]or D[oct]or Don Francisco Romero Quevedo. [96v] Declarado y electo, segun constitucion en Junta de tres de septiembre de mill seiscientos y ochenta y cinco, murieron los Ss[eño]res Sacerdotes siguientes.

30 sep[tiembr]e 85 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Antonio Fain.
16 Nov 85 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Gonzalo Suares de San Martin.
25 feb 86 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Miguel de Perea Quintanilla.
13 Ab[ri]l 86 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan de Torres Calderon.

10a. Eleccion. 1686 a[ños]. En los tres años y govierno del dezimo Prefecto, Liz[encia]do D[o]n Luis Gomes de Leon, electo el año de mill seiscientos y ochenta y seis, murieron los sig[uien]tes.

[Margin: + Salvador de Escudero 24 Sep 86.]
2 Sep 86 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Hernando Deza.
25 Nov 86 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Bartholome Xuares.
2 Mar 87 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Alonso de las Cassas. Vide Di^{o}.
25 May 87 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Nicolas de Figueroa. f[undad]or.
17 Mar 88 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph de Acosta.
1 Ab[ri]l 88 + D[oct]or Don Pedro Velarde.
29 Jul 88 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Santiago Zurricaldai.
10 Oct 88 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan Gutierres de QUiros.
17 feb. 89 + L[icencia]do D[o]nJoseph de la Barrera.
21 Mar 89 + D[oct]or y M[aest]ro D[o]n Mathias de Santillan.

11a. Eleccion. 1689 a[ños]. En los tres años y govierno del vndezimo Prefecto Liz[encia]do D[o]n Diego Calderon Benavides, electo el año de mill seiscientos y ochenta y nueve, murieron los sig[uien]tes.

27 Jul 89 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Antonio de Baeza/
4 Sep 89 + D[oct]or y M[aest]ro D[o]n Antonio de Rivera Calderon
6 Sep 89 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Pedro de Rivera.
17 Diz 89 + L[icencia]do D[o]n Phelipe neri Martines. [from here on, the vertical part of the cross "|" is absent]
16 hen 90 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Simon de Herrera.
12 feb 90 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan Garcia Xauregui. f[undad]or.
16 feb 90 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan de Rivera Pareja.
[?] May 90 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Victoriano Velasques.
18 Jul 90 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Augustin de Escamilla.
12 Nov 90 - D[oct]or Don Diego Ossorio Peralta.
17 Mar 91 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan Alphonso de Sossa.
29 Ab 91 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Nicolas de Velasco.
4 Jul 91 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Phelipe de Contreras f[undad]or.
8 Sep 91 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Pedro Dias de Cuellar.
20 Sep 91 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Luis Garzes.
13 Nov 91 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Lazaro Fernandes.
29 Nov 91 - D[oct]or y M[aest]ro D[o]n Ygnacio de Hoyos Santillana.
3 Diz 91 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Diego Gil Guerrero.
3 feb 92 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Diego de la Sierra.
28 Mar 92 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Francisco de Herrera.

11 Ab 92 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan de Guevara
11 Ab 92 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan de Fuentes.
15 May 92 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Antonio de Anunzarri.

12a. Eleccion 1692 a[ños].En los tres años y govierno del duodezimo Prefecto D[oct]or Don Augustin Peres de Villa-real, electo el año de mill seiscientos y noventa y dos murieron los ss[eño]res Sacerdotes Congregantes Sig[uien]tes.

29 Jun 92 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Domingo Pensado.
7 Sep 92 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Diego de Rivera.
23 Ab 93 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph Marques de los Rios.
28 Nov 93 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Francisco de Esquibel.
4 Sep 94 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Bernabe de Neira Galindo.
18 Oct 94 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Antonio Anfosso.
26 Diz 94 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Bartholome de Escoto.
10 Mar 95 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Martin de la Llana. f[undad]or.

13a. Eleccion. 1695 a[ños]. En el tiempo que governo el dezimotercio Prefecto D[oct]or Don Juan de la Pedrosa, electo el año de mill seiscientos y noventa y cinco, murieron los sig[uien]tes.

17 Jul 95 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph de Lombeida. f[undad]or.
7 Sep 95 - D[oct]or Don Augustin Peres de Villa-real.
5 hen 96 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Luis Gomes de Leon. [97r]
2 hen 96 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan Phelipe Hernandes.
7 hen 96 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Pedro de Cervantes.
24 feb 96 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Augustin de Carrion.
1º. Ab 96 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph de Montemayor.
20 Ab 96 - D[oct]or Don Juan Parcero y Ulloa.
22 Ab 96 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Luis de Vrrea.
3 Jun 96 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Diego Calderon Benavides.
10 Jul 96 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph de Leon
4 Ag[os]to 96 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Geronimo de Herrera.
14 Sep 96 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Domingo del Corro.
15 Sep 96 - D[oct]or Don Manuel Muños de Aumada.
29 Oct 96 - D[oct]or Don Bernabe Dias de Cordoba y Murillo.
10 Nov 96 - Ill[ustrisi]mo S[eñ]or D[oct]or Don Isidro de Sariñana y Cuenca.
17 Nov 96 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan de Ontiveros Barrera.
4 Diz 96 - D[oct]or Don Juan de Escobar Soltero.
10 Diz 96 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Christobal de Fuenlabrada.
10 Diz 96 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan de Olibares Torralbo.
10 Diz 96 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Bernabe Partida.
30 hen 97 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Martin de Olivas.
7 Mar 97 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Marcos Monson y Zalcedo.
4 Ab[ri]l 97 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Alexandro Cossio.
14 Ab 97 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan de la Caxica.
16 May 97 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan Guerrero de Villanueva.

26 Diz 97 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph Garcia de Leon
6 Mar 98 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Ysidro de Caniedo Ortuño.
19 May 98 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan de Castro Colon.
24 May 98 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan Florido.

14a. Eleccion y reeleccion año de 1698. En el tiempo del nuebo govierno del dezimoquarto Prefecto D[oct]or Don Juan de la Pedrosa reelecto el año de mill seiscientos y nobenta y ocho murieron los ss[eño]res sacerdotes sig[uien]tes.

29 May 98 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan de Garate.
22 Jul 98 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan Benites Millan.
14 Ag 98 - Ill[ustrisi]mo S[eñ]or D[oct]or Don Fran[cisc]o de Aguiar y Seixas y Vlloa n[uest]ro dignissimo Prelado Padre y Protector.
16 Ag 98 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Lope Cornejo.
8 Sep 98 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph Ram[ire]z de Arellano.
30 Sep 98 - M[aest]ro D[o]n Sebastian Gonzales.
20 Oct 98 - D[oct]or Don Joseph Adame y Arriaga.
15 Diz 98 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph Gonzales Ossorio. f[undad]or.
17 Diz 98 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph Lopes de Aviles.
1o. feb 99 - Ill[ustrisi]mo y Ex[celentisi]mo S[eñ]or D[oct]or Don Manuel Fernandes de S[an]ta Cruz.
21 Nov 99 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Antonio Martin de Acosta.
20 Ab 700 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Juan Joseph de Miranda.
[ ] - L[icencia]do D[o]n Francisco Ruis, aunq[ue] no se asistió a su entierro ni se le dijeron las M[issa]s.
6 May 700 - D[oct]or y M[aest]ro D[o]n Juan B[ernardo] de Rivera Cerrillo.
20 Jun 700 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Matheo de Figueroa.
2 Ag 700 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Domingo de Zuñiga.
20 Ag 700 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Francisco de Aguilar.
2 Oct 700 - D[oct]or Don Francisco Romero Quebedo.
19 Diz 700 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph Saens.
17 Ab 701 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Luis de Artiaga.
5 May 701 - D[oct]or Don Juan de la Pedrosa.

15a. Eleccion Año de 1701. En los tres años del govierno del dezimo quinto Prefecto el S[eñ]or L[icencia]do D[o]n Pedro de Arellano y Sossa electo el año de mill setecientos y uno murieron los ss[eño]res sacerdotes siguientes.

11 Jul 701 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph Lopez de la Sancha.
11 Ag 701 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Pedro Benites Millan.
6 Nov 701 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Pedro Buchan.
17 Jun 702 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Pedro Diaz de Arevalo.
7 Ag[os]to de 703 - D[oct]or Don Joseph Vidal de Figueroa.
13 Diz[iembr]e de 703 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Alonso Zamusgado.
23 feb[rer]o de 704 - D[oct]or Don Miguel de Estrada. [97v]
~~22 Ab[ri]l 704 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Domingo de Castro.~~

~~5 Mayo 704 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Francisco Gomes de Cervantes.~~

16a. Eleccion 1704 a[ños]. En el tiempo del govierno del dezimosexto Prefecto, y primer preposito de n[uest]ra Congreg[aci]on reelecto y confirmado en dies i nuebe de Abril de mill setecientos y quatro años murieron los PP[adres] y SS[eñores] Sacerdotes Cong[regan]tes siguientes.

22 Abril 704 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Domingo de Castro.
5 Mayo 704 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Fran[cisc]o Gomes de Servantes.
10 de Junio 704 - L[icencia]do D[o]n Joseph Garcia Hidalgo.
6 de Diz[iem]b[r]e 704 - D[oct]or Don Alonso Alberto de Velasco.
22 de febr[er]o 705 - Liz[encia]do D[on] Salbador Rodrigues de la Fuente
26 de Marzo - Liz[enciado] D[on] Nicolas de Ysasi.
en 15 de Mayo Liz[enciado] D[on] Lorenso de Mendoza.
en 3 de junio, Liz[enciado] D[on] Pedro Guerrero.
en 4 de Agosto - Liz[enciado] D[on] Joseph de Segura.
en 10 de Marzo de 1706 - Il[ustrisi]mo Señor D. Garcia de Legaspi
en 14 de d[ic]ho D[octo]r D[on] Pedro de Avalos de la Cueva.
en 14 de Ag[os]to Liz[enciado] D[on] Geronimo de Valladolid.
en 17 de Abril de 1707 años D[oct]or Don Diego franco Velasquez.
en 17 de Junio del 1702 Liz[enciado] D[on] Pedro Dias.
en 7 de Agosto del 703 D[oct]or D[on] Joseph Vidal de figueroa M[aest]re Escuela
en 17 de nob[iembr]e de 1706 D[oct]or Don Juan de Narvaes.
en 7 de Abril de 1707 Lic[encia]do Don Juan Cavallero y Osio.
en 11 de Mayo del d[ic]ho Liz[encia]do D[on] Diego Gonsales Aransamendi.

Difuntos del segundo trienio de Preposito del P[adre] D[on] Pedro de Arellano y Sossa que empezo en 30 de Abril del año de 1707. 17a. eleccion.

a 22 de henero de 708 Liz[encia]do D[on] Thomas de Coca [año de 1708]
a 15[?] de henero de 1708 Liz[encia]do D[on] Fran[cisc]o Ayerra

Figure 3.3 - Rates of Membership Change in the Venerable Union, 1659-1700

Date	Number of New Members	Annual Total	Total Deaths
7 May, 1659	2		
8 May, 1659	32		
11 May, 1659	10		
25 May, 1659	11		
2 June, 1659	6		
7 July, 1659	3		
4 August, 1659	9		
10 September, 1659	2		
10 December, 1659	12	87	1
2 February, 1660	16		
23 March, 1660	22		
5 July, 1660	5		
10 November, 1660	1	44	4
26 April, 1661	1		
6 July, 1661	1		
7 November, 1661	1	3	2
22 May, 1662	9		
27 July, 1662	2		
22 September, 1662	1		
22 December, 1662	2	14	1
27 April, 1663	1		
6 May, 1663	1		
29 May, 1663	2		
4 December, 1663	2	6	4
24 March, 1664	2		
2 June, 1664	3		
20 September, 1664	2	7	8
5 January, 1665	4		
20 May, 1665	1	5	0
1 April, 1666	3		
5 July, 1666	1		
14 July, 1666	1	5	3
3 January, 1667	2		
25 May, 1667	2		
5 August, 1667	2	6	4
2 January, 1668	1		
21 May, 1668	1		
30 July, 1668	1		
3 September, 1668	3	6	4
5 August, 1669	2		
2 September, 1669	2		
4 November, 1669	2	6	3
3 February, 1670	1		
23 February, 1670	2		
7 July, 1670	1	4	3
2 February, 1671	1		
21 May, 1671	2		
6 July, 1671	1	4	4
23 February, 1672	1		
10 March, 1672	1		

11 May, 1672	2		
14 June, 1672	2		
12 September, 1672	1		
20 December, 1672	1	8	8
22 January, 1673	2		
3 July, 1673	3	5	3
9 May, 1674	4		
6 June, 1674	1		
8 August, 1674	6	11	4
1 July, 1675	1		
5 August, 1675	1		
28 September, 1675	1		
9 December, 1675	1	4	3
11 August, 1676	1		
5 October, 1676	3	4	2
4 January, 1677	1		
17 May, 1677	1		
6 October, 1677	2	4	6
3 January, 1678	4		
2 May, 1678	2		
27 July, 1678	4		
29 October, 1678	1	11	8
2 January, 1679	4		
6 February, 1679	1		
4 September, 1679	1		
6 November, 1679	1	7	3
8 January, 1680	1		
29 January, 1680	1		
6 June, 1680	1		
19 August, 1680	2	5	5
3 February, 1681	3		
15 May, 1681	1		
7 July, 1681	1		
26 August, 1681	4	9	7
16 February, 1682	1		
16 March, 1682	1		
24 September, 1682	4		
26 November, 1682	3	9	5 [6?]
12 February, 1683	1		
26 April, 1683	1		
14 May, 1683	1		
5 November, 1683	1	4	2
1 January, 1684	2		
17 April, 1684	1		
14 July, 1684	1		
7 August, 1684	2		
25 September, 1684	2	8	7
19 January, 1685	1		
26 March, 1685	2		
16 July, 1685	1		
23 July, 1685	1		
5 November, 1685	1		
23 November, 1685	4	10	5

14 March, 1686	1		
26 April, 1686	1		
4 September, 1686	1		
11 September, 1686	2		
23 November, 1686	1	6	5
5 March, 1687	1		
17 July, 1687	2	3	2
29 March, 1688	2		
5 May, 1688	1		
3 August, 1688	1		
23 November, 1688	1	5	4
7 March, 1689	1		
9 May, 1689	1		
5 September, 1689	2		
9 September, 1689	1		
7 November, 1689	1	6	8
2 January, 1690	1		
13 February, 1690	2		
20 February, 1690	1		
12 May, 1690	1		
5 August, 1690	1		
16 November, 1690	1	7	6
19 March, 1691	1		
4 May, 1691	1		
5 August, 1691	1		
11 September, 1691	1		
1 October, 1691	1		
5 November, 1691	1		
16 November, 1691	1		
23 December, 1691	1	8	8
25 February, 1692	1		
7 May, 1692	3		
17 May, 1692	1		
17 July, 1692	1	6	7
16 May, 1693	2		
7 December, 1693	2	4	2 [3 in 1694]
1 January, 1695	4		
14 March, 1695	1		
29 July, 1695	1		
30 September, 1695	1	7	3
23 January, 1696	4		
14 March, 1696	2		
1 May, 1696	3		
15 June, 1696	1		
30 July, 1696	1		
31 August, 1696	2		
22 September, 1696	2		
16 October, 1696	1		
17 December, 1696	7	23	19
23 January, 1697	3		
13 March, 1697	2		
24 October, 1697	3	8	6
6 May, 1698	4		

3 July, 1698	2		
13 September, 1698	6	12	12
16 July, 1699	3	3	2
5 March, 1700	3		
14 May, 1700	3		
27 August, 1700	2		
26 November, 1700	2	10	7
3 February, 1701	3		
27 April, 1701	1		
7 May, 1701	1		
14 May, 1701	1		
9 July, 1701	1		
26 September, 1701	2	9	5

Sources: Genaro García Manuscripts 114 and 66.

Figure 3.4 - Venerable Union Affiliates Marked “Despedido,” by Year

Year(s)	Number Marked as “Despedido”
1659	19
1660-1661	12
1662	1
1663	2
1664	1
1665	2
1666-1667	1
1668	3
1669-1672	1
1673	3
1674	2
1675	1
1676	1
1677	1
1678	3
1679	2
1680	1
1681-1683	3
1684-1686	1
1687	2
1688	1
1689	1
1690	3
1691-1692	1
1693-1694	1
1695	2
1696	5
1697	1
1698-1699	4
1700	1
1701	1
TOTAL	83

Figure 3.5 - Oratorian Vicars General in the Archbishopric of Mexico, 1658-1714

Year	Name	Aggregation Date
1658-1662	**Alonso Ortíz de Oráa**	1659
1663-1667	**Nicolás del Puerto**	1678
1667	**António de Cárdenas y Salazar**	1669
1668	**Juan Díez de la Barrera**	1673
1669-1672	António de Cárdenas y Salazar	
1673	**Miguel de Perea Quintanilla**	1659
1674-1675	Nicolás del Puerto	
1676-1678	Juan Díez de la Barrera	
1677	António de Cárdenas y Salazar	
1678	Alonso Ortíz de Oráa	
1679-1682	**Juan Cano Sandoval**	1680
1680	Juan Díez de la Barrera	
1681-1691	**Diego de la Sierra**	1662
1684	**Francisco de Aguiar y Seijas**	1682
1692-1698	**António de Aunzibay y Anaya**	1685
1697	Francisco de Aguiar y Seijas	
1699	**Manuel de Escalante y Mendoza**	1676
1700-1704	António de Aunzibay y Anaya	
1705	?	?
1706-1709	António de Aunzibay y Anaya	
1710-1714	**António de Villaseñor y Monroy**	1699

Each Oratorian's name is printed bold the first time it appears. Sources (in chronological order for each individual), **Alonso Ortíz de Oráa**: AGN, Indiferente Virreinal (IV) – Arzobispos y Obispos (AO), Caja 2306, Exps. 4 & 21; AGN, IV – Bienes Nacionales (BN), Caja 4680, Exp. 16; **Nicolás del Puerto**: AGN, IV – AO, Caja 2306, Exp. 22; Caja 4795, Exp. 31; Caja 6307, Exp. 7; Isidro de Sariñana, *Llanto del occidente*; AGN, IV –BN, Caja 5626, Exp. 91; AGN, IV – BN, Caja 6664, Exp. 47; AGN, IV – BN, Caja 5407, Exp. 36; **Antonio de Cárdenas y Salazar**: AGN, IV – BN, Caja 5074, Exp. 75; AGN, IV – BN, Caja 2186, Exp. 16; Francisco de Burgoa, *Palestra historial*; AGN, IV – BN, Caja 2419, Exp. 28; AGN, IV – BN, Caja 5388, Exp. 7; AGN, IV – BN, Caja 5217, Exp. 11; **Juan Diez de la Barrera**: AGN, IV – BN, Caja 6128, Exp. 45; Ignacio de Santa Cruz Aldana, *Quintillas castellanas*; AGN, IV – BN, Caja 2186, Exp. 18; AGN, IV – AO, Caja 2086, Exp. 11; AGN, IV – BN, Caja 2186, Exp. 1; **Miguel de Perea** Quintanilla: AGN, IV – AO, Caja 4795, Exp. 32; **Juan Cano Sandoval**: Juan de Mendoza Ayala, *Sermon en la dedicación*; AGN, IV – BN, Caja 5328, Exp. 34; Antonio de Ezcaray, *Hvmilde desempeño*; AGN, IV – BN, Caja 4872, Exp. 2; AGN, IV – BN, Caja 2273, Exp. 15; **Diego de la Sierra**: AGN, IV – AO, Caja 2289, Exp. 20; AGN, IV – BN, Caja 2186, Exp. 9; AGN, IV – BN, Caja 5217, Exp. 74; Gaspar de los Reyes, *Sermon que predicó*; Francisco de Florencia, *La milagrosa invencion*; AGN, IV – BN, Caja 2344, Exp. 7; Manuel de Anduaga, *Evangelicas conclusiones*; AGN, IV – BN, Caja 2432, Exps. 8 & 13; AGN, IV – BN, Caja 4015, Exp. 17; AGN, IV – BN, Caja 2528, Exp. 44; **Francisco de Aguiar y Seijas**: Diego de Leiba, *Vida del Venerable Padre Fr. Diego Romero*; Juan de Avila, *Mariano pentilitero*; Agustín de Vetancurt, *Oración fúnebre de...Doña Mariana de Austria*; **Antonio de Aunzibay Anaya**: AGN, IV – BN, Caja2273, Exp. 2; Juan Millán de Poblete, *Patrocinio de Maria santissima*; AGN, IV – BN, Caja 5273, Exp. 1; AGN, IV – AO, Caja 5677, Exp. 19; AGN, IV – AO, Caja 2349, Exp. 51; AGN, IV – BN, Caja 2344, Exp. 1; AGN, IV – BN, Caja 5146, Exp. 95; AGN, IV – BN,

Caja 5692, Exp. 13; Pedro Ramírez del Castillo, *Sermon de la esclarecida virgen*; AGN, IV – AO, Caja 3688, Exp. 6; Francisco Navarro, *Voces del cielo*...; AGN, IV – BN, Caja 5205, Exp. 37; AGN, IV – BN, Caja 5388, Exp. 55; Luis Antonio de Aguilar, *Ley de gracia*; AGN, IV – BN, Caja 5205, Exp. 69; **Manuel de Escalante y Mendoza**: AGN, IV – BN, Caja 4505, Exp. 51; Juan de Narvaez, *Sermon que en la opposicion*; Narvaez, *Sermon en la solemnidad*; **Antonio de Villaseñor y Monroy**: José Saenz de Escobar, *Manifiesto apologetico*; Bernardo Yunibarbia, *Intereses predicados*; AGN, IV – BN, Caja 5106, Exp. 7; AGN, IV – BN, Caja 6128, Exp. 31; Juan de Espinossa Moreno, *Sermon, que en la annual*...

Figure 3.6 - Oratorian Placements as Priests and Mayordomos, 1659-1700

Site	**Oratorian**	**Role**
San Bernardo (Convent)	Pedro Díaz de Arévalo	Sacristan
Nuestra Señora de Balvanera (Convent)	Venerable Union	
Nuestra Señora de la Concepción (Convent)	Alonso García de Ledesma	Chaplain
Nuestra Señora de la Concepción (Convent)	Mateo Ruíz del Portillo	Chaplain
Nuestra Señora de la Concepción (Convent)	Francisco Corchero Carreño	Mayordomo
Nuestra Señora de Belen (Convent)	José de Segura	Chaplain
San Gerónimo (Convent)	Manuel de al Reguera	Chaplain
San Gerónimo (Convent)	Juan de Garate	Chaplain
San Gerónimo (Convent)	Agustín de Loranca	Chaplain
Santa Teresa de Jesús (Convent)	Alonso Alberto y Velasco	Chaplain
Santa Teresa de Jesús (Convent)	Juan de Olivares Torralvo	Mayordomo
San Lorenzo (Convent)	Ignacio de Santa Cruz Aldana	Chaplain
San Lorenzo (Convent)	Juan de Miranda	Chaplain
Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación (Convent)	José Márquez de los Ríos	Chaplain
Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación (Convent)	Jerónimo Abril y Vera	Mayordomo
Real de Jesús María (Convent)	Santiago de Zurricaldai	Chaplain
Real de Jesús María (Convent)	Francisco Ayerra de Santa María	Chaplain
Real de Jesús María (Convent)	Francisco de Zarate Molina	Chaplain
Real de Jesús María (Convent)	Miguel de Barcena Valmaceda	Mayordomo
Capuchinas (Convent)	Francisco Romero Quevedo	Chaplain
San José (Convent)	José de Torres y Vergara	Chaplain
Regina Caeli (Convent)	Marcos Monzón	Sacristan
Regina Caeli (Convent)	Francisco Romero Quevedo	Pláticas y Doctrinas
Hospital del Espíritu Santo	Martín de la Llana	Chaplain
Hospital de Nuestra Señora de la Concepción	Antonio Calderón Benavides	Chaplain
Hospital de Jesús Nazareno	Juan de Garate	Pláticas y Doctrinas
Hospital de Convalecientes de San Francisco Xavier	José de Segura	Chaplain
Hospital del Amor de Dios	Francisco de Siles	Mayordomo
Monserrate de Benedictinos (Monastery)	Domingo Pérez de Barcia	Pláticas y Doctrinas
Recogimiento de San Miguel de Belen	Domingo Pérez de Barcia	Chaplain

Recogimiento de San Miguel de Belen	Lázaro Fernández	Chaplain
Recogimiento de San Miguel de Belen	Pedro Arellano y Sossa	Chaplain
Recogimiento de San Miguel de Belen	Miguel Álvarez	Chaplain
Recogimiento de San Miguel de Belen	Juan de la Pedrosa	Chaplain
Recogimiento de Santa María Magdalena	Pedro Arellano y Sossa	Chaplain
Santuario de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios	Diego de RIbera	Chaplain
Santuario de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios	Luis de Urrea	Vicar
Santuario de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe	Isidro Sariñana	Mayordomo
Santa Veracruz (Parish)	Juan Yañez Dávila	Curate
Santa Veracruz (Parish)	Isidro Sariñana	Curate
Santa Veracruz (Parish)	Francisco Romero Quevedo	Curate
Santa Veracruz (Parish)	Matías de Santillán	Curate
Santa Veracruz (Parish)	Luis Fonte de Mesa	Curate
Santa Veracruz (Parish)	Juan Vallejo Hermosillo	Curate
Santa Veracruz (Parish)	Francisco Antonio Ortiz	Curate
Santa Catarina Martír (Parish)	Francisco Romero Quevedo	Curate
Santa Catarina Martír (Parish)	Manuel Muñoz Ahumada	Curate
Santa Catarina Martír (Parish)	Pedro de Avalos y de la Cueva	Curate
Santa Catarina Martír (Parish)	Alonso Alberto y Velasco	Curate
Santa Catarina Martír (Parish)	Manuel Buitrón y Mújica	Curate
Santa Catarina Martír (Parish)	Juan Bernardez de Rivera	Curate
Santa Catarina Martír (Parish)	Juan Millán de Poblete	Curate
Santa Catarina Martír (Parish)	Rodrigo García Flores de Valdés	Curate
Santa Catarina Martír (Parish)	Francisco Antonio Ortiz	Curate
Santa Catarina Martír (Parish)	Juan de Poblete	Curate
Sagrario (Parish)	Alonso Alberto y Velasco	Curate
Sagrario (Parish)	José Márquez de los Ríos	Chaplain
Sagrario (Parish)	Francisco Romero Quevedo	Curate
Sagrario (Parish)	Bernardo de Quesada Sanabria	Curate
Sagrario (Parish)	Manuel Muñoz Ahumada	Curate
Sagrario (Parish)	Diego de Bedoya	Curate
Sagrario (Parish)	Jacinto de la Serna	Curate
Sagrario (Parish)	Luis Fonte de Mesa	Curate
Sagrario (Parish)	Diego de la Sierra	Curate
Sagrario (Parish)	José de Lezamis	Curate
Sagrario (Parish)	Juan Vallejo Hermosillo	Curate
Sagrario (Parish)	Juan Millán de Poblete	Curate
Sagrario (Parish)	José de Torres y Vergara	Curate

San Miguel Arcangel (Parish)	Juan Parcero y Ulloa	Curate
San Miguel Arcangel (Parish)	Lucas Verdiguer	Curate
Pilcaya (Pueblo)	Diego de Bedoya	Curate
Simapán (Pueblo)	Lucas Moreno	Curate
San Juan del Río (Pueblo)	Pedro de Avalos y de la Cueva	Curate
Tejupilco (Pueblo)	José Vidal Figueroa	Curate
Real de Minas de Tezicapan (Pueblo)	Ignacio de Santa Cruz Aldana	Curate
Sola (Pueblo)	Francisco Cuevas Quiñones	Curate
Tampamolón de la Huasteca (Pueblo)	Francisco Lorra Baquio	Curate
Atlacomulco (Pueblo)	Francisco Lorra Baquio	Curate
Tenango del Valle (Pueblo)	Andres Moreno Bala	Curate
Tlachichilco (Pueblo)	Lorenzo de Salazar Muñatones	Curate
Tamasunchale (Pueblo)	Lorenzo de Salazar Muñatones	Curate
Jalatlaco (Pueblo)	Jacinto de la Serna	Curate
Xocotitlán (Pueblo)	José Vidal Figueroa	Curate
Pachuca (Pueblo)	Lucas Verdiguer	Curate

Figure 3.7 - Genaro García MS 66, fs. 125r-128r

[**125r**] Memoria e Ynventario de los Bienes q[u]e pertenesen a la sacristia de la Union y Oratorio de S[a]n Phelipe Neri, de esta Ciudad, q[u]e son a cargo Del Br. Diego del Castillo Marques, sachristan, del d[ic]ho oratorio q[u]e se mando a ser, en la primera Junta, q[u]e tubieron los señores Prefecto, y Consultores, de d[ic]ha Union a 8 de Junio de este año de 1673 y se contienen en el assi los Bienes que Recibio d[ic]ho Br. Diego del Castillo quando fue electo en d[ic]ho oficio y los que sean aumentado, en el tiempo q[u]e lo à expendido desde el año de 1768, hasta el Pres[en]te de Setenta y uno.

Primeram[en]te un Retablo del Altar, principal, q[u]e se dedico por Febrero 9 del año de [16?]70, (costeado a espensas, y limosnas de Personas, asi de n[uest]ra Union, como de otros devotos)consta de dos cuerpos, con su Remate, y guarda polvos, conque llena todo el claro, de la pared; Distribullese en 3 calles divididas con dies columnas, estriadas los 2 collaterales llenan quatro tableros, de Pinsel de quatro, festividades de n[uest]ra señora y en los bancos en que estriban seis santos de medio cuerpo, de Pinsel, la calle de en medio ocupa el primer cuerpo, el sagrario, q[u]e se conpone de dos fundados en la Casa del deposito culla Puerta es una lamina de n[uest]ra S[ant]a S[eñ]or S[a]n Jose, y S[an]ta Catarina adorando al Niño Jesus dormido con su bidriera de christal (la qual dio un sacerdote de n[uest]ra Union) el Primer Cuerpo, del sagrario donde se pone parente, al Ss[antisim]o Sacram[en]to es transparente, formado de ocho Columnas, cuyo centro es un Respaldo de ocho Bidrieras christalinas las 3 de a tercia las demas menores, y otras pequeñas compartidas todas, y divididas con una cinta de oro, de Icsa[?] sembrada de Relumbrones, y perfles negros, cierrase este sagrario con tres puertasl una anterior en la qual estan embedidas dos laminas, la una de un S[an]to christo de talla, de una sesma de alto, con unas cintas de plata, y la mano isquierda de lo mismo, en un Respaldo de varias

Reliquias con su Marco de evano, y vidriera de christal (el qual dio el Br. Jose Marquez de los Rios Presbitero) sobre esta lamina esta otra Pequeña de N[uest]ra S[eñor]a con el niño Jesus en brasos con su bidriera, y marco negro (que dio el lic[encia]do Fran[cis]co Ruis,) a los lados de esta Puerta estan las otras dos en que estan embe[?]bidas varias Reliquias (las q[ua]les dio el lic[encia]do D[o]n Jose de Baeza)y seis seras de Agnus, grandes lasdos Blancas (que dio el lic[encia]do Bernardo de Aro) las otras q[ua]tro yluminadas, dos de las quales dio el lic[encia]do Geronimo de Balladolid, y las otras dos p[ar]a Catalina de Arteaga = en el 2o. cuerpo del Sagrario esta colocada la imagen de n[uest]ra S[eñor]a de las Nieves Patrona de n[uest]ra Union pequeña de talla (que dio el R. P. Fray Jose de Esquibel [**125v**] del horden de n[uest]ra s[eñor]a de la merced) a sus lasdos estan otras dos imagenes de San Joaquin y S[an]ta Anna del mismo tamaño estofadas, y doradas (que dio el B[achille]r Roque Hern[ande]z en el 2o. cuerpo de la calle de enmedio esta collocada la Ymagen de talla de dos v[ara]s de alto, de n[uest]ro s[an]to p[adr]e s[a]n Phelipe Neri; terminando con un tablero, en que esta el P[adr]e de Pinsel: y coronandose todo el Altar, con tres tarjas de n[uest]ra Union.

Ytem. en el cuerpo del oratorio a el lado del evangeliio esta un Altar de S[an]ta Rosa, q[u]e consta de siete liensos de Pinsel, en quienes esta la vida de la s[an]ta, la qual esta de cuerpo entero, en el medio con dos continuas con seis barillas, sugetera que es de tafetan encarnado listado a q[u]e le corresponde una cortina del mismo genero con puntas de Milan de plata y oro falsas; la otra cortina es de tafetan y blanco, llanita dedicose este Altar a dose de Abril del año de mil seiscientos y sesenta y uno a costa del lic[encia]do Marcos Romero Presbitero de n[uest]ra union

En el lado de la epistola corresponde otro Altar que se forma de un lienso de n[uest]ro P[adr]e S[a]n Phelipe Neri, con su Marco estofado, y dorado todo de dos varas y media de largo

(el qual dio el S[eño]r Lic[encia]do D[o]n Miguel de Barsena Valmaseda) Presbitero capellan mayor del coro del conv[en]to R[ea]l de Jesus Maria Racionero de esta santa Yglecia fundador, Prefecto e ynsigne bien echor de n[uest]ra union) con su cortina de Renque amarillo labrado de Asul con puntas de P[la]ta/que dio Sebastiana de Ortega). los lados de d[ic]ho lienso llenan otros dos de dos var, y media de largo, de cuerpo entero , uno de San Geronimo /que dio el lic[encia]do Geronimo de Abril Presbitero Mayordomo del Conv[en]to de n[uest]ra S[eñor]a de la encarnacion, fundador, Tesorero y bien echor de n[uest]ra union) el otro lienso de S[a]n Agustin y ambos con sus marcos dorados = sobre el lienso del medio esta otro de dos B[ara]s y media de largo y una de Ancho de n[uest]ra S[eñor]a de Guadalupe con su marco negro y cantoneras doradas (que dio el lic[encia]do Xptoval Rojo Presbitero de n[uest]ra union) a los lados del estan otros dos, uno de Xpto a la columna de una bara de largo/que dio el lic[encia]do D[o]n Fran[cis]co de Sarate Sandoval presbitero) el otro de n[uest]ra s[eñor]a de los Angeles debaxa y quarta, de larg ambos con marcos dorados.

Ytem. dos Rostros de Xpto. y la S[antissi]ma Virgen esta en lamina con marco de evano y el otro en lienco asentado en tabla con su marco negro (los quales dio el lic[encia]do Tomas lopez de erenchun Presbitero secretario del s[an]to Oficio fundador de n[uest]ra union su segundo Prefecto e Ynsigne bien echor) estan estos Rostros en las Pilastras debajo del capitel en que estriba el Arco del Presbiterio.

[**126r**] Ytem tres liensos de cuerpo entero que estan sobre la Puerta de la sachristia uno de S[an] Jose con el niño Jesus en los brasos, sin marco (que dio d[ic]ho S[eño]r tomas lopes de erenchun) es de dos varas de largo; otro de S[a]n Ant[oni]o de Padua de vara y media de largo, tambien sin Marco; en medio destos dos esta otro lienzo de n[uest]ro S[an]to Procto martir S[a]n Phelipe de Jesus, crucificado con su marco dorado que todo tiene de largo dos varas poco mas (diolo d[ic]ho

lic[encia]do tomas lopez de erenchun) Sobre este lienso esta un baldoquin de Damasquillo Blanco, y negro; pequeño i en el un xpto de talla que dió D[oñ]a M[ari]a de achiotiquesi.

Ytem a la Pilastra que hase medio a el oratorio ensta un Pulpito, y Capirote de cedro de la tierra con tableros de Nogal Friso de tapieseran (que dio el lic[encia]do Antonio Calderon Benavides Presbitero, Capp[ela]n del hospital de n[uest]ra s[eñor]a Primero fundador y principal motor de n[uest]ra union Rector de su Oratorio, su secret[ari]o e insigne bien echor dello- cullo principio y aumento procuro siempre con todas veras) en la lanternilla del capirote esta de talla el Archangel S[a]n Miguel de una quarta de Alto (lo dio el lic[encia]do Fran[cis]co Ruis Presbitero de n[uest]ra union.

Ytem en la Pilastra del Pulpito debajo de capirote esta un quadro pequeño con su marco negro de S[a]n Geronimo (que dio el D[octo]r y M[aestr]o Matias de Santillan Presbitero Cathedratico en propiedad de Prima de Philosofia en esta R[ea]l Universidad y n[uestr]o Prefecto)

Ytem en la Pilastra correspondiente esta, un lienso Pequeño de S[a]n Fran[cis]co Xavier que dio el lic[encia]do Geronimo de Abril, con otro de la efigio de n[uest]ro s[an]to P[adr]e Alexandro Septimo que esta en el Aposento del lic[encia]do Martin de la Llana de media vara de largo poco mas o menos.

Ytem debajo del Choro, del lado de la epistola, esta otro lienso de cinco varas de largo, y tres de alto, de la Confirmacion de la Congregacion del oratorio de Roma, que se hiso a costa del Yll[ustrisi]mo y R[everendisi]mo S[eñ]or D[o]n Fray Marcos Ramires de Prado siendo Obispo, de Mechoacan y despues murio electo, Arsobispo de Mex[i]co.

Ytem - en el lado frontero estan cinco liensos en el medio uno grande de vara y media de largo de un milagro de S[a]n Jose, y n[uest]ro Ss[antisi]mo P[adr]e S[a]n Felipe Neri que dio el

lic[encia]do Roque Hern[ande]z, Presbitero Fundador, consultor y bien echor, de n[uest]ra union, los lados de d[ic]ho lienso llenan los cuadro de tres baras de largo de Milagros de n[uest]ro s[an]to que dieron uno d[ic]ho lic[encia]do Ant[oni]o Calderon, otro el lic[encia]do Alonso Garcia de Ledesma, Presbitero fundador, y consultor de n[uest]ra union otro el lic[encia]do D[o]n Juan del Rosal, Presbitero de n[uest]ra union a quien deve el sitio que oy pose su casa, y oratorio; otro el lic[encia]do Juan de Guevara Presbitero de n[uest]ra Union.

Ytem detras de la puerta principal del oratorio estan dos liensos de Pinsel de [4 baras?] y media de largo de dos milagros de n[uest]ro P[adr]e S[a]n Phelipe - uno costearon d[ic]hos licensiados G[eroni]mo de Abril, Antonio Calderon, otro el cap[ita]n Nicolas de Escarraga.

[**126v**]

Ytem 3 mesas q[u]e asen altar, una en el Altar mayor aforrada en Balleta Blanca, con sintas moradas, otra en el Altar de S[an]ta Rosa, de media Bara de alto, y dos de largo estofado y dorado en cullo medio una Puerta de medio punto, con su llave[?] y en el claro della dos espejos christalinos y a los lados dos seras de Agnus pequeñas con sus bidrieras, lo dio d[ic]ho lic[encia]do Antonio calderon sbore este banco esta una Imagen de la soledad, de n[uest]tra s[eñor]a al pie de una ruz, en una peaña negra bestida de capicho la negra, con su manto de rrequemado, y su diadema de Plata la dejo una Difunta a los lados estan dos Angeles de talla con sus peañas estofadas, y dorados con sus arandelas de oja de lata en las manos demas de media vara de alto dio los el lic[encia]do Mahteo RUis del Portillo Presbitero de n[uest]ra union y capellan de n[uest]ra s[eñor]a de la consepcion.

Ytem en el choro estan tres liensos con marcos dorados medianos uno del Nacimiento de Xpto n[uest]ro señor otro de Xpto Difunto y otro de S[a]n Geronimo.

Ytem esta en d[ic]ho choro un organo con su banquillo de madera Blanca, q[u]e dio el lic[encia]do Antonio Benavides.

Ytem. en la claravolla del choro esta una vidriera en su Marco de Madera, y en las tres bentanas del cuerpo del oratorio q[u]e tienen sus bastidores con sus enterados de lienso: estan tres cortinas de Milan morado las q[ua]les dio el lic[encia]do Antonio de Acosta Presbitero de n[uest]ra Union y tres barillas de fierro q[u]e dio Gaspar hurtado secular, n[uest]ro bien echor.

Ytem dies Bancas las ocho de a cuatro baras de largo las dos de a bara, y media las nueve a costa de la union y estan dadas de color morado escuro la otra ya trayda, i en blanco q[u]e dio una Mug[e]r.

Ytem q[ua]tro Bancas cada uno de un cuarton a costa de la Union.

Ytem en los Pilares del oratorio dies tablas de diferentes tamaños en quienes esta la nomina de n[uest]ros hermanos barias Yndulgencias y otras de las obligaciones de la union.

Ytem en la Puerta de la Sachristia de partes de adentro esta una cortina de paño de Corte, que coje de alto a bajo y el ancho de la Puerta, lo dio el lic[encia]do Bernardo de n[uest]ro Presbitero y su bara de Fierro que dio el lic[encia]do Jose de lombeida Presbitero fundador de n[uest]ra Union su consultor, y capellan del choro desta S[an]ta Yglecia. [**127r**]

Ytem una Pelita otasa otaza con una cruz +, y uno y otro de tecali q[u]e esta a mano Ysquierda de la entrada de d[ic]ha sachristia enbebida en la Pared, que dio el D[oct]or D[o]n Jose del Castrillo Canonigo desta S[an]ta Yglesia Precursor de los naturales y de n[uest]ra union.

Ytem en el lado derecho un banquillo de madera blanca donde se cuelgan las tuallas e inmediatam[en]te una Caxa de Plomo con su lave q[u]e sirve para lavanse las manos, la dio el R[everen]do P[adr]e Fray Jose de Esquibel fundador de n[uest]ra Union que siendo Prefecto del

Culto divino se entro Religioso de n[uest]ra s[eñor]a de la Mersed, donde al Pres[en]te es Maestro de novicios y Difinidor.

Ytem un lienso q[u]e esta en este lado inmediatam[en]te de Xpto a la Columna de casi dos varas de largo con su marco dorado lo dio el lic[encia]do Geronimo de Abril; esta debajo de la tabla de los mementos.

Ytem en la Pared frontera de la Puerta de la sachristia est un Baldoquin ygotera de esterlin morado en su bastidor de dos Baras de largo q[u]e costearon el lic[encia]do Roque Hern[ande]z y lic[encia]do Geronimo de Abril = Debajo del baldoquin esta un s[an]to Xpto de bulto de mas de vara q[u]e dio Diego Gonsales M[aestr]o de Carpintero.

Ytem a los lados dos liensos de casi tres baras de largo, y dos de ancho con sus marcos antiguos Dorados el uno de la meditacion de S[a]n Juan Bap[tis]ta q[u]e dio una muger el otro del martirio de n[uest]ro P[adr]e S[a]n Pedro, a costa de algunos de n[uest]ra Union.
[Margin: Falta el lienzo de S[a]n Pedro q[u]e dio el lic[encia]do Alfonso sin consulta.]

Ytem unas Gradas de tres quartas de alto, y media vara de largo de madera Blanca.

Ytem, una Ymagen de pinsel de n[uestr]a s[eñor]a de la Piedad de una tersia de largo que esta al pie de la Crus del S[an]to Christo; y debajo una estampa de papel asentada en una tabla del Consilio contra Xpto n[uest]ro S[eño]r.

Ytem un cajon de dos baras de largo y de alto una bara poco mas con dos diviciones y tres cajoens con sus llaves, dado de color morado escuro y con una carpeta de sallal blanco y Pardo q[u]e dio el lic[encia]do Xptov[a]l Rojo Presbitero.

Ytem. una caja de madera Blanca de dos varas menos cuarto de largo una tercia de alto con su llave q[u]edio d[ic]ho Lic[encia]do Miguel de Barsena Balmaseda.

Ytem. una silla antigua de n[o]gal, con asiento y rrespaldo de tersio pelo viejo.

Ytem en la tras sacristia un lienso en su bastidor de bara y media [**127v**] de largo una poco mas de ancho de S[a]n Hermenegildo lo dio el D[octo]r Sebastian Muños Presbitero.

Ytem esta un cajon de Madera Blanca con tres gavetas con sus llaves y molduras de dos baras y cuanta de largo y dos menos cuarta de alto lo dio D[oñ]a M[ari]a Zapata viuda del Cap[ita]n Fran[cis]co de Ortega.

Ytem sobre d[ic]ho cajon esta una Imagen de talla estofada y dorada de vara y media de largo del Arcangel S[a]n Miguel q[u]e dio el lic[encia]do Xptoval Rojo.

Ytem inmediatam[en]te esta otra del mismo tamaño con la caveza y manos en caronadas[?] de n[uest]ro S[an]to P[adr]e y lo demas del cuerpo en disposision de Revestir la dio el lic[encia]do D[o]n Juan del Rosal n[uest]ro bien echor. Tiene sotana y mangas de preste que dio el lic[encia]do Roque Hern[ande]z.

Ytem un cajon armado sobre un tapanco de media vara de alto en q[u]e se guardan los forntales de tres varas y mas de largo, y dos tersias de ancho.

Ytem un Respaldo, y cielo estofado y dorado en ondas de tres baras de largo y bara y media de ancho, con sus gradas de tres cuartas de lato doradas se conpro a costa de n[uest]ra Union.

Ytem un almarito de Madera blanca con su llave, que es el archivo de los papeles de n[uest]ra union, q[u]e dio el lic[encia]do Geronimo de Balladolid, Presbitero y n[uest]ro secretario.

Ytem un lienso de n[uest]ro P[adr]e S[a]n Pedro de Pontifical vestido con su marco negro de dos varas de largo y vara y media de ancho, q[u]e dio el lic[encia]do Nicolas de Herrera Presbitero n[uest]ro hermano.

Ytem en el transito q[u]e divide los dos aposentos y se sierra con la Puerta de varandillas esta un baldoquin de lienso morado y en el un Xpto Crucificado de bulto de tres cuartas de alto, que dio D[oña] Ysavel de vera, madre del lic[encia]do Geronimo de Abril.

Ytem en las Paredes estan dos liensos uno de la Aparicion de n[uest]ra s[eñor]a a S[a]n Phelipe enfermo; y otro de un defunto q[u]e rresucito S[a]n Ph[elip]e. tienen dos baras de largo y vara y media de ancho uno dio el lic[encia]do Alonso de la Peña Presbitero de n[uest]ra union y el otro un devoto.

Yten tres bancas de de madera Blanca de a dos baras de largo q[u]e estan en d[ic]ho transito y dio el lic[encia]do Geronimo de Abril.

Ytem en la entrada de la Puerta Principal a mano derecha esta un lienso con su Marco dado de color de dos baras de largo, y baxa y media de ancho de un Paso de la vida de S[a]n Ph[elip]e lo dio el lic[encia]do Ant[oni]o Calderon.

Ytem frontero de este estan dos liensos pequeñitos uno del Ss[antisi]mo Sacram[en]to y otro de n[uest]ra señora de la consepcion en el techo en el medio esta Pendiente un farol con su Plomada. [**128r**]

Ytem en el Prsbiterio del oratorio del lado de la epistola en la pared estan tres liensos el uno del S[eñor] R[ey] D[on] Fern[an]do de cuerpo entero y los dos de la Pricion y martirio de S[an]ta Catalina, q[u]e dio a la union con una escriptura el lic[encia]do Mig[ue]l de Barsena Balmaseda para q[u]e el sacristan diga las tres misas de d[ic]ha S[an]ta con rrenta de dose pe[so]s y medio cada año,

Ytem en las tres bentanas del oratorio estan unas bidrieras de cristal, de castilla q[u]e constaron ciento y cinq[uen]ta pesos los veinte e sinco dio el S[eño]r Pedro de Lope Cornejo de Contreras Prevendado de esta S[an]ta Yglecia y los ciento y veinte e sinco el S[eño]r lic[encia]do

D[o]n Antonio Anfoso n[uest]ro actual Prefecto, y Rector del Colegio R[ea]l de Christo n[uest]ro S[eñ]or.

Figure 4.1 - Licensing Reviews by Order, 1659-1700

Religious Affiliation	**Number of Paratexts**
Augustinian	55
Carmelite	14
Franciscan	144
Dieguino	32
Dominican	80
Jesuit	179
Mercedarian	52
Secular	277
Unknown	53
Total	896

Source: J.T. Medina, *La imprenta en México*, v. II & III

Figure 4.2 - Oratorian Censors, 1659-1700

Censor	Total Reviews
Ignacio de Hoyos Santillana [Santillán]	35
Isidro Sariñana [Isidro Sariñana y Cuenca]	28
Matías de Santillán	24
Juan de Narváez [Saavedra]	19
Diego Malpartida Zenteno	10
Francisco de Siles	9
Bernabé Diez de Córdoba [Murillo]	9
José Vidal de Figueroa	8
Manuel Muñoz de Ahumada	8
Juan Millán de Poblete	8
Agustín Cabañas [Cavañas]	7
Francisco Romero Quevedo	7
Juan de la Peña Butrón	6
Manuel de Escalante y Mendoza	5
Alonso Alberto y Velasco	5
Nicolás del Puerto [Salgado]	4
Miguel González de Valdeosera	4
Pedro Rodriguez Velarde	3
Francisco de Ayerra Santa María	3
Simon Beltrán de Alzate	3
Bernardo Quesada Saravia [Sanabria]	2
Diego de la Sierra	2
Marcos Antonio Chávez [y Goitía]	2
Francisco de Aguilar	2
Juan de Gárate	2
Juan de la Pedrosa	2
Lúcas de Verdiguer [Berdiguer / Verdiguel Isassi]	2
Pedro de Avalos y de la Cueva	2
Miguel de Ibarra	1
Juan de Poblete	1
Jacinto de la Serna	1
Miguel de Perea Quintanilla	1
Alonso Coronado	1
Antonio de Anuncibay y Anaya	1
José de Adame y Arriaga	1
Diego Franco Velásquez	1

Juan Ignacio de Castorena y Ursúa [Urzúa]	1
Manuel Butrón y Múgica [Moxica]	1
Nicolás Carlos Gómez de Cervantes	1

Source: J.T. Medina, *La imprenta en México*, v. II & III

Figure 5.1 - Full-Length Portraits (*de tamaño natural*)

Oratorian	Artist	Date(s)
Francisco de Aguiar y Seijas	Nicolás Rodríguez Juárez	1697
Manuel de Miranda	Antonio de Torres	ca. 1719-1731
José de Cabañas	Miguel de Herrera	ca. 1729-1770
Joaquín de la Piñuela	Baltasar Sánchez	1731
Antonio Calderón Benavides	Mateo Montes de Oca	ca. 1731-
Pedro Arellano y Sosa	Mateo Montes de Oca	ca. 1731-
Bernardo de Guzmán	Mateo Montes de Oca	ca. 1731-
Santiago de la Sierra	Mateo Montes de Oca	ca. 1731-
Juan de la Pedrosa	Mateo Montes de Oca	ca. 1731-
José López Montaño	Mateo Montes de Oca	ca. 1731-
Diego Malpartida Centeno	Carlos Clemente López	ca. 1727-1754
Juan José de Eguiara y Eguren	José de Alcíbar	ca. 1766-1803
Francisco Cipriano Morales	Anonymous	N/A
Salvador Rodríguez de la Fuente	Anonymous	N/A
Antonio Guillén de Castro	Anonymous	N/A
Fray Payo Enríquez de Rivera	Anonymous	N/A
Pedro Anfosso Mayoral	Anonymous	N/A

Sources: Guillermo Tovar de Teresa, *Repertorio de artistas en México. Artes plásticas y decorativas* (México: Fundación Cultural Bancomer, 1995), I: 70, II: 168, 270, III: 196, 340; María Esther Ciancas and Barbara Meyer, *La pintura del retrato colonial (siglos XVI-XVIII)* (México: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1994), 186-188, 193; Manuel Toussaint, *Pintura colonial en México* (México: Imprenta Universitaria, 1965), 154.

Figure 5.2 - Pedro Arellano y Sosa, Full-Length Portrait

Source: Pinacoteca de la Profesa. Photo by Author, 2015

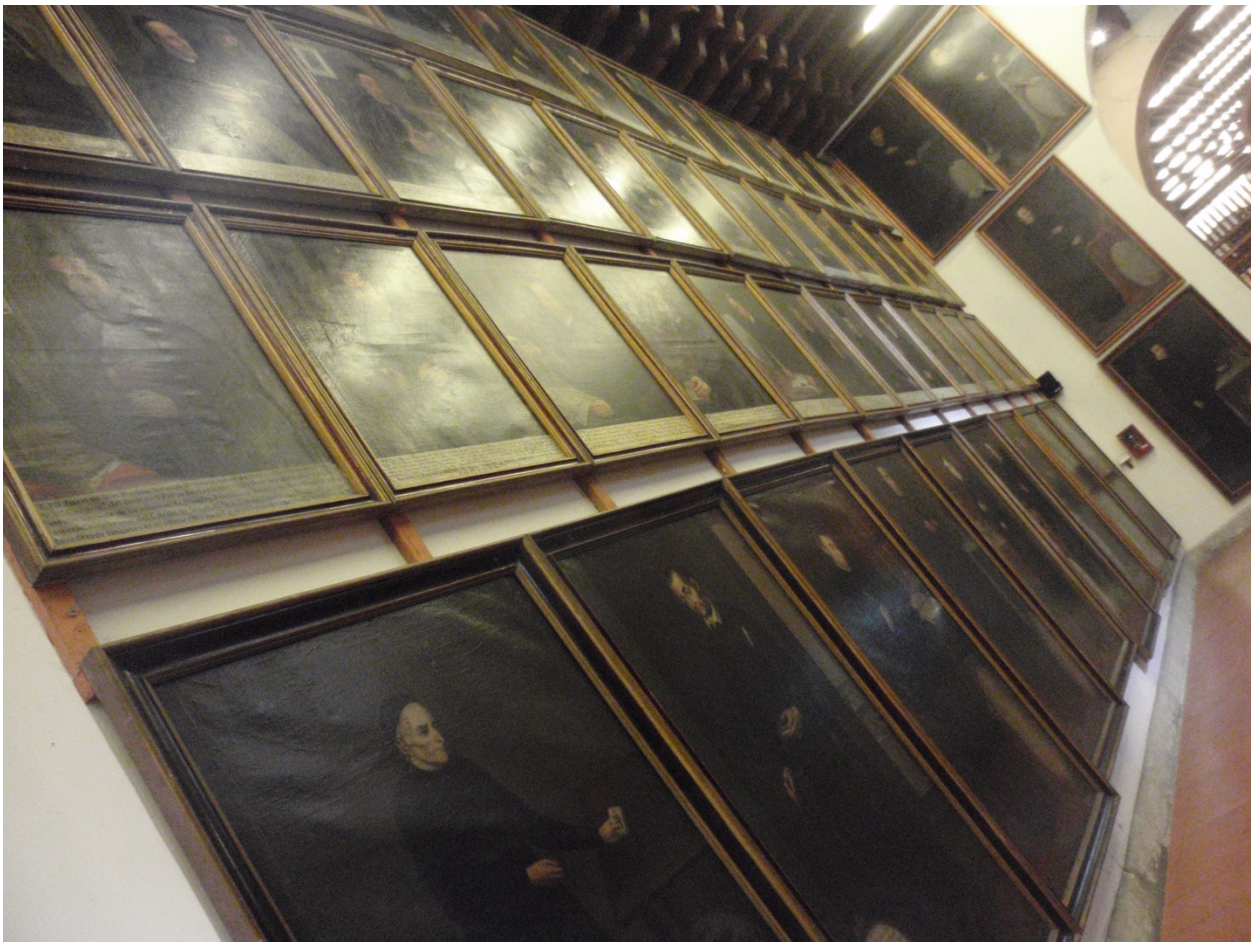
Figure 5.3 - Antonio Guillén de Castro, Full-Length Portrait

Source: Pinacoteca de la Profesa. Photo by Author, 2015

Figure 5.4 - Manuel Bolea, Portrait by José de Alcíbar, Pinacoteca Virreinal de San Diego, 1784

Source: *Tesoros de la Pinacoteca Virreinal*, coord. Virginia Armella de Aspe and Mercedes Meade de Angulo. 2nd Edition. México: Fomento Cultural BANAMEX, 1993, 207.

Figure 5.5 - Portraits of the Prepósitos of the Congregation of the Oratory of Saint Philip Neri of Mexico City, 1702-1986



Source: Photo by Author, 2015.

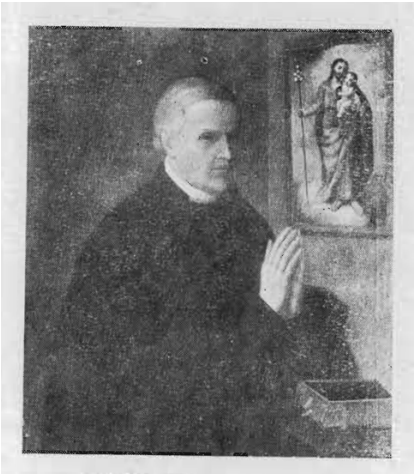
Figure 5.6 - np3 from Baltasar de Alcozer y Sariñana, *Traslación de los huesos*

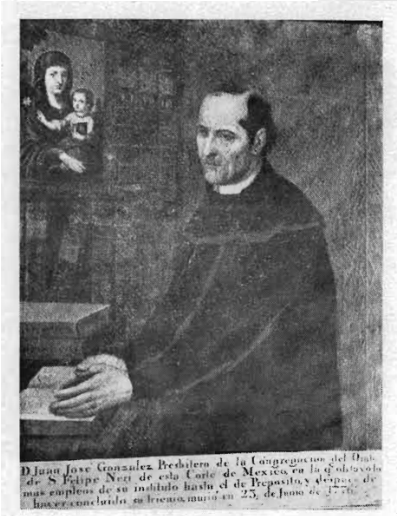
ILLMO, Y RMO SEÑOR DEAN,
Y CABILDO SEDEVACANTE DE LA
SANCTA YGLESIA DE OAXACA.

SOLO V. S. Illma puede con su mandato hazerme salir los colores á la cara, haziendo salir á publico este Sermon, que aunque le considero tan elevado por el objeto, le reconosco indigno de los moldes por lo impulido,

Source: Latin American Imprints Before 1800. University of Iowa Libraries Microfilm Reel 4489. Original in the Biblioteca Nacional de Chile, Biblioteca Americana "José Toribio Medina"

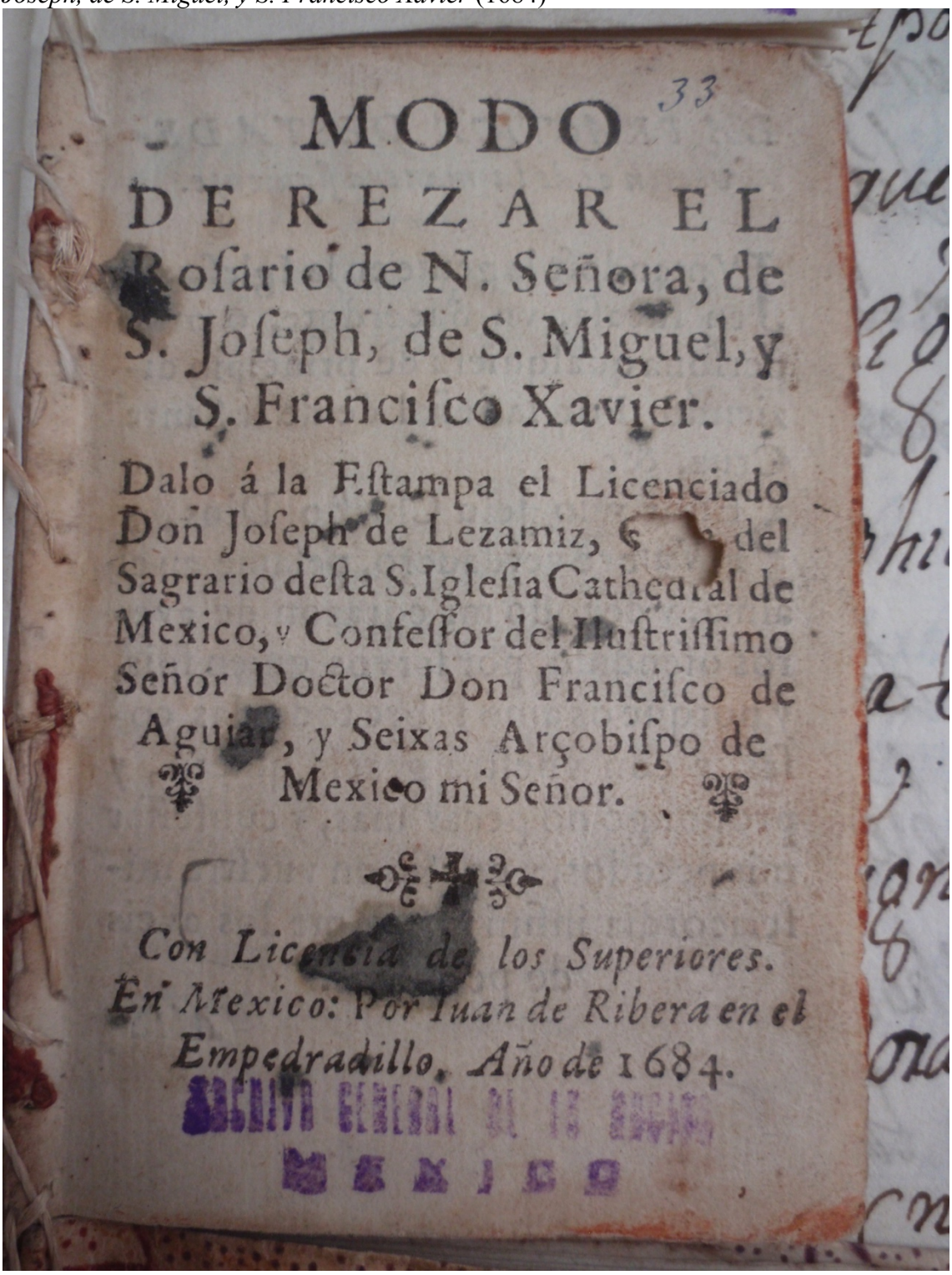
Figure 5.7 - Oratorian Prepósitos Santiago de la Sierra, Cayetano Álvarez, Juan José González, José Gómez de Escontria, Rubin de Celis, and Manuel Bolea





Source: Luis Ávila Blancas, *Iconografía*. Puebla: Ediciones López, 1955.

Figure 5.8 - Title page for José de Lezamis, *Modo de rezar el Rosario de N. Señora, de S. Joseph, de S. Miguel, y S. Francisco Xavier* (1684)



MODO

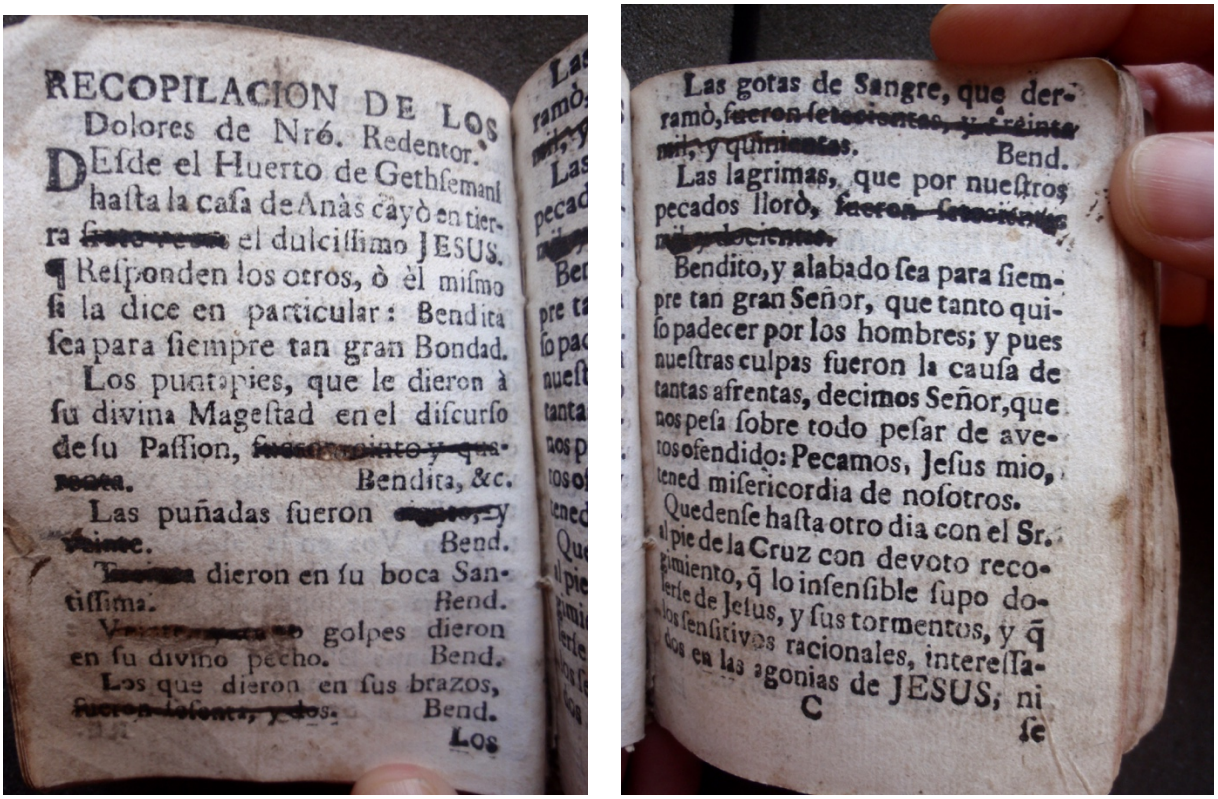
DE REZAR EL Rosario de N. Señora, de S. Joseph, de S. Miguel, y S. Francisco Xavier.

Dalo á la Estampa el Licenciado Don Joseph de Lezamiz, [illegible] del Sagrario desta S. Iglesia Cathedral de Mexico, y Confessor del Ilustrissimo Señor Doctor Don Francisco de Aguiar, y Seixas Arçobispo de Mexico mi Señor.

Con Licencia de los Superiores. En Mexico: Por Iuan de Ribera en el Empedradillo. Año de 1684.

Source: AGN-M, Inquisición, Vol. 975, Exp. 3. Photo by Author, 2015.

Figure 5.9 - Expurgations in María de la Antigua, *Cadena de oro*



RECOPILACION DE LOS Dolores de Nró. Redentor.

DEsde el Huerto de Gethsemani hasta la casa de Anàs cayò en tierra el dulcissimo JESUS.

¶ Responden los otros, ò èl mismo si la dice en particular: Bendita sea para siempre tan gran Bondad.

Los puntapies, que le dieron à su divina Magestad en el discurso de su Passion, Bendita, &c.

Las puñadas fueron Bend.

dieron en su boca Santissima. Bend.

golpes dieron en su divino pecho. Bend.

Los que dieron en sus brazos, Bend.

Los

Las gotas de Sangre, que derramò, Bend.

Las lagrimas, que por nuestros pecados llorò,

Bendito, y alabado sea para siempre tan gran Señor, que tanto quiso padecer por los hombres; y pues nuestras culpas fueron la causa de tantas afrentas, decimos Señor, que nos pesa sobre todo pesar de averos ofendido: Pecamos, Jesus mio, tened misericordia de nosotros.

Quedense hasta otro dia con el Sr. al pie de la Cruz con devoto recogimiento, q̃ lo insensible supo doler se de Jesus, y sus tormentos, y q̃ los sensitivos racionales, interessados en las agonias de JESUS, ni

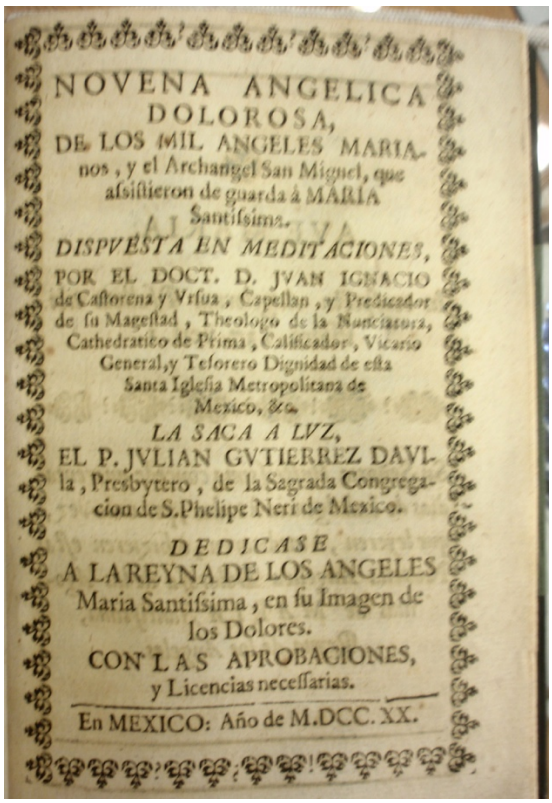
C se

Source: John Carter Brown Library, BA745 .A629c

Figure 6.1 - Select Oratorian Novenas from the Eighteenth Century

Year of Publication	Author	Advocation
1711	Antonio Vidal de Figueroa	San Felipe de Jesús
1711	Anonymous	San Felipe Neri
1716	Juan Antonio de Aldave	María Magdalena de Pazzi
1716	Juan Antonio de Aldave	Santos Cosme y Damián
1720	Juan Ignacio de Castorena y Ursúa	Virgen María/San Miguel Arcangel/Ángeles de Guarda
1726	Anonymous	San José
1729	Juan Martín de Contreras	Virgen María
1732	Juan Martín de Contreras	Santa Elena
1737	Anonymous	San José
1741	Julián Gutiérrez Dávila	San Jacinto
1757	José Hurtado de Mendoza	Santa Verónica
1758	Ignacio Fernando Matheos y Herrera	Santa Verónica
1773	Julián Gutiérrez Dávila	San Primitivo

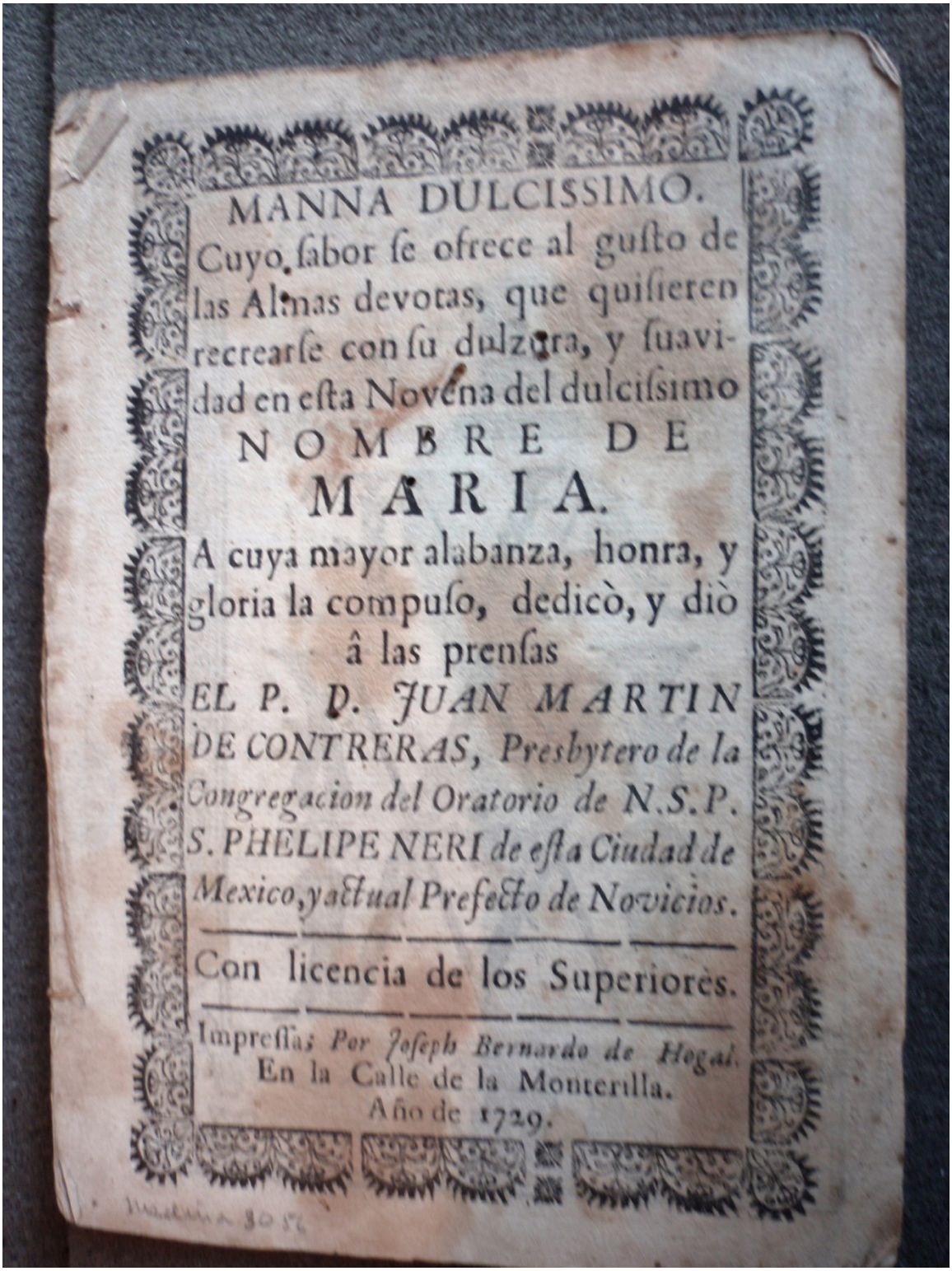
Figure 6.2 - Engraving and Title Page from Juan Ignacio de Castorena y Ursúa, *Novena angelica dolorosa* (1720)



NOVENA ANGELICA
DOLOROSA,
DE LOS MIL ANGELES MARIA-
nos, y el Archangel San Miguel, que
assistieron de guarda à MARIA
Santissima.
DISPVESTA EN MEDITACIONES,
POR EL DOCT. D. JVAN IGNACIO
de Castorena y Vrsua, Capellan, y Predicador
de su Magestad, Theologo de la Nunciatura,
Cathedratico de Prima, Calificador, Vicario
General, y Tesorero Dignidad de esta
Santa Iglesia Metropolitana de
Mexico, &c.
LA SACA A LVZ,
EL P. JVLIAN GVTIERREZ DAVI-
la, Presbytero, de la Sagrada Congrega-
cion de S. Phelipe Neri de Mexico.
DEDICASE
A LA REYNA DE LOS ANGELES
Maria Santissima, en su Imagen de
los Dolores.
CON LAS APROBACIONES,
y Licencias necessarias.
En MEXICO: Año de M.DCC.XX.

Source: Lilly Library, Indiana University - Bloomington, BX2165 .C354
Photo by Author, 2013

Figure 6.3 - Title page from Juan Martín de Contreras, *Mana dulcísimo* (1729)



MANNA DULCISSIMO.
Cuyo ſabor ſe ofrece al guſto de las Almas devotas, que quiſieren recrearſe con ſu dulzura, y ſuavidad en eſta Novena del dulciſsimo
NOMBRE DE
MARIA.
A cuya mayor alabanza, honra, y gloria la compuſo, dedicò, y diò â las prenſas
EL P. D. JUAN MARTIN DE CONTRERAS, *Presbytero de la Congregacion del Oratorio de N.S.P. S. PHELIPE NERI de eſta Ciudad de Mexico, y actual Prefecto de Novicios.*

Con licencia de los Superiores.

Impreſſa: *Por Joſeph Bernardo de Hogal.*
En la Calle de la Monterilla.
Año de 1729.

Source: John Carter Brown Library, BA729 .C764m
Photo by Author, 2013

Figure 6.4 - Manuel de Miranda, Full-Length Portrait

Source: Pinacoteca de la Profesa. Photo by Author, 2015

Figure 6.5 - Juan José de Eguiara y Eguren, Full-Length Portrait

Source: Pinacoteca de la Profesa. Photo by Author, 2015

Figure 7.1 - Patrocinio de San José a los Bienhechores del Oratorio de México, José de Alcíbar, 1767

Source: Pinacoteca de la Profesa. Photo by Author, 2015

Figure 7.2 - Patrocinio de la Virgen del Carmen, Anonymous, Seventeenth Century

Source: *Catálogo de pintura del Museo de el Carmen*. México: Probursa, 1987, 48.

Figure 7.3 - Los seminaristas bajo el Patronato de la Inmaculada Concepción, Anonymous, Eigtheenth Century

Source: Pedro Sánchez, *Historia del Seminario Conciliar de México*. México: Escuela Tip. Salesiana "Cristóbal Colon", 1931, facing p. 44.

Figure 7.4 - The Congregation of the Oratory, José Antonio Amador, Copper Plate Engraving, ca. 1736

Source: Julián Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas de la Congregación del Oratorio de la ciudad de México* (1736). Photo by the Lilly Library, Indiana University - Bloomington, BX3853.M6 G98

Figure 7.5 - Saint Luke Painting Our Lady of the Snows, Juan Correa, ca. 1680-1690

Source: Ronda Kasl, ed. *Art and Belief in the Spanish* World. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009, 216.

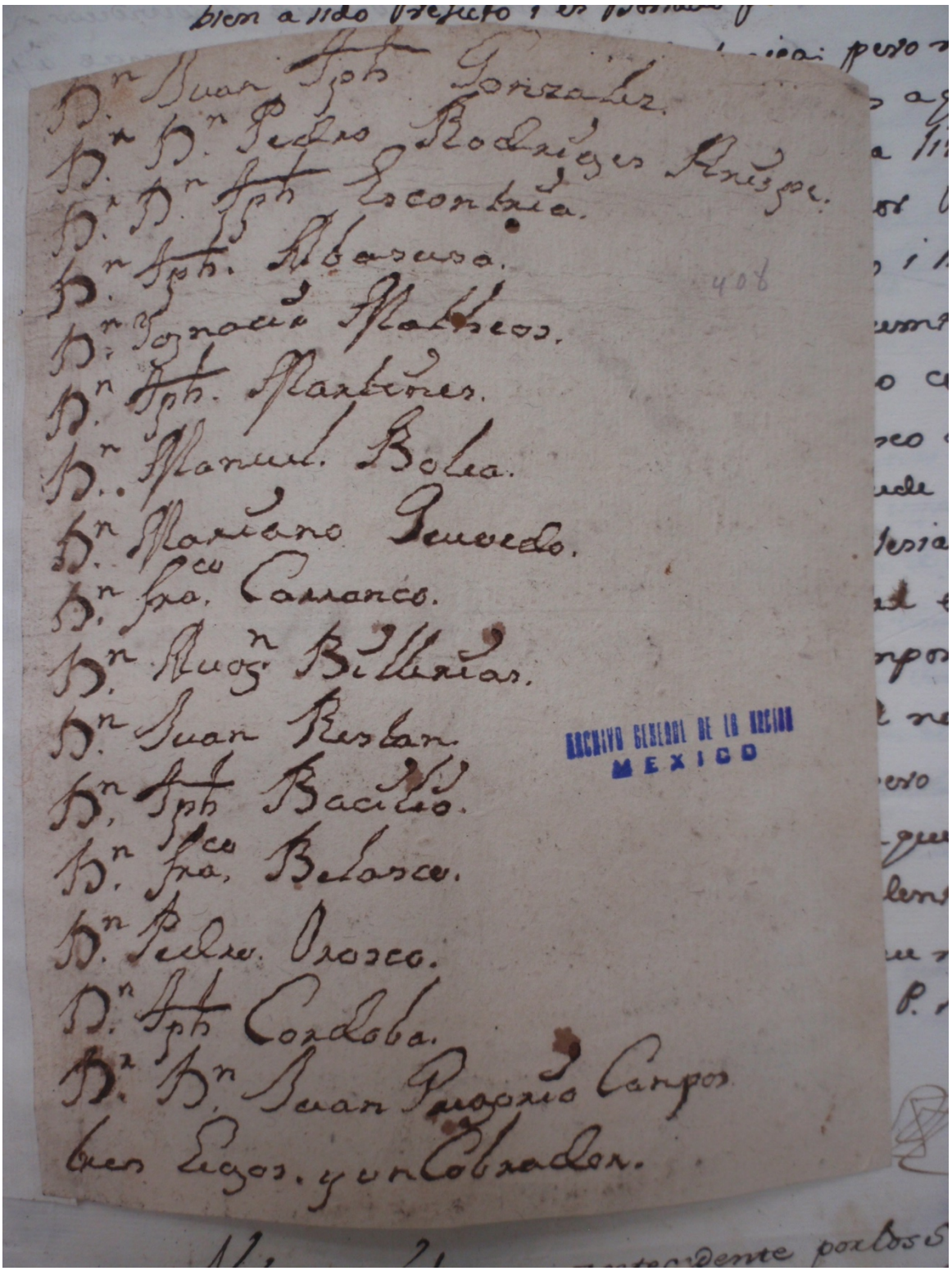
Figure 7.6 - Patrocinio de San Jose sobre los que intervinieron para que la Casa Profesa fuera entregada a los P. P. de la Congregación del Oratorio de México, José de Alcíbar, 1770s

Source: Pinacoteca de la Profesa. Photo by Author, 2015.

Figure 7.7 - El Ministerio de San José, José de Alcíbar, 1770s

Source: *Painting a New World: Mexican Art and Life, 1521-1821*, coord. Donna Pierce, Rogelio Ruiz Gomar, and Clara Bargellini. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004, 260.

Figure 7.8 - List of Oratorians for the Inquisition, 1771



Source: AGN-M, Inquisición, Vol. 1097, Exp. 22.

Figure 7.9 - Joaquín Aldana, Full-Length Portrait

Source: Pinacoteca de la Profesa. Photo by Author, 2015.

Figure 7.10 - Matías de Monteagudo, Full-Length Portrait

Source: Pinacoteca de la Profesa. Photo by Author, 2015.

Figure 7.11 - Reported Oratorian Revenues, 1799 Cuenta General

Type of Revenue	**Principal**	**Revenue**
Active *Cargos*	167,580	8,453
Suspended and Litigious *Cargos*	41,150	2,057
Jesuit Inheritances	53,323	2,876
Suspended and Litigious *Cargos* from the Jesuits	22,200	1,110
Pious Works against Congregation Property	178,085	8,904

Source: AGN-M, Templos y Conventos, Vol. 327, Exp. 4

Figure 7.12 - Reported Rental Revenues from Urban Properties, 1815

Property Location (by Street)	**Number of Rentals**	**Total Monthly Revenue**
Águila No. 20	8	50 pesos, 6 reales
Ydem No. 22	3	27 pesos, 4 reales
Segunda Calle Mesones	12	114 pesos, 2 reales
Regina	8	58 pesos, 0 reales
San Felipe de Jesús	6	36 pesos, 2 reales
Santa Clara	2	45 pesos, 0 reales
Reloj	10	93 pesos, 4 reales
Arcinas No. 10	3	26 pesos, 0 reales
Ydem No. 11	8	61 pesos, 6 reales
Quemada	5	58 pesos, 0 reales
Hospital Real	12	59 pesos, 2 reales
Quebrada	5	36 pesos, 0 reales
San Juan	2	19 pesos, 0 reales
Oratorio C. S. P. N.	13	115 pesos, 2 reales
Ydem No. 7	10	47 pesos, 6 reales
Ydem sin número	6	92 pesos, 0 reales
Primera Calle Mesones	14	116 pesos, 1 reales
Alfaro	16	126 pesos, 0 reales
Santiaguito	7	39 pesos, 0 reales
San Agustín No. 2	4	65 pesos, 1/2 reales
Ydem No. 12	1	56 pesos, 2 reales
Donceles No. 20	1	97 pesos, 0 reales
Ildefonso No. 22	1	52 pesos 1/2 reales
Sum per month		**1,401 pesos, 6 reales**
Annual Proceeds		**16, 821 pesos**

Source: AGN-M, Indiferente Virreinal - Congregaciones, Caja 2447, Exp. 4

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