



The Spiritual Conquest of Latin America

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Introduction

The notion of a “spiritual conquest,” as opposed to a military conquest by Spanish forces and indigenous allies, was developed in detail in Robert Ricard’s eponymous 1933 work. While the metaphor of a “spiritual conquest” is broadly understood and used, many recent historical works eventually turned their attention to a close analysis of distinct processes and tendencies in terms of the methods, practices, and dynamics of colonial evangelization in Spanish and Portuguese America. The topical sections below address important work in this area of inquiry published in the last twenty-five years, with occasional references to earlier foundational works.

Foundational Works

The term “spiritual conquest” was occasionally employed as a description and metaphor in colonial times (see Ruiz de Montoya 1993, cited under Selected Editions of Primary Sources). Nonetheless, Robert Ricard’s 1933 seminal treatise, which reached a variety of publics after being translated into English (Ricard 1966), was the first contemporary analysis to deploy the notion of spiritual warfare and domination as a general descriptor for the various projects and methods embraced by Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians in early colonial Mexico. Decades after the publication of Ricard’s work, other important monographs focused on Franciscan ideology and millennialist tendencies (Phelan 1970) and Franciscan education enterprises (Kobayashi 1974).

Kobayashi, José María. *La educación como conquista: Empresa franciscana en México*. Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 1974.

Kobayashi’s study was among the first to be devoted exclusively to the study of Franciscan missionary methods in New Spain. It addresses Franciscan approaches to catechesis and teaching, with particular attention to the emergence and development of the Colegio de Santa Cruz at Tlatelolco.

Phelan, John Leddy. *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970.

A celebrated work that made convincing connections between the millennialist thought of theologians such as Joachim da Fiore, and the beliefs and motivations of Franciscans in the Americas. Phelan notes how influential Franciscans in New Spain believed that the mass indoctrination of native peoples in the Americas and in Asia was proof that the Age of the Holy Spirit had arrived. This age had been preceded by the Age of the Father, and the Age of the Son, two stages divided by the arrival and teachings of Jesus.

Ricard, Robert. *The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico: An Essay on the Apostolate and the Evangelizing Methods of the Mendicant Orders in New Spain: 1523–1572*. Translated by Lesley Byrd Simpson. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966.

Ricard addresses the complexity of missionary endeavors in Central Mexico with a focus on Franciscans as demiurgic figures, but also reflects sagely on the limits and contradictory results the friars had achieved by the late 16th century. English translation of *La “conquête spirituelle” du Mexique: essai sur l’apostolat et les méthodes missionnaires des ordres mendiants en Nouvelle-Espagne, de 1523–24 à 1572* (Paris: Institut d’Ethnologie, 1933).

Evangelization and Education

A central topic of inquiry has been educational projects led by missionaries in the 16th century. The historiography is denser with regards to Franciscan efforts in central Mexico. In particular, the Franciscan school of Santa Cruz in Tlatelolco, founded in 1536, became a leading center for the instruction of native elites in the liberal arts and Latin, and its many enterprising alumni later worked together with leading Franciscans on grammatical descriptions, dictionaries, catechetical works, and cultural encyclopedias (Baudot 1990, Gómez Canedo 1982, Mathes 1982). Another lasting term has “Nahuatlization” (Dibble 1974), which addressed the many ways in which missionaries adapted Christian teachings to Nahuatl cultural understandings. More recently, precise intellectual and rhetorical links between classical and Renaissance works and learned texts produced in Nahuatl have been investigated in Tavárez 2013, Laird 2017, and Pollnitz 2017, while Galindo 2018 focused on late colonial Franciscan educational projects.

Baudot, Georges. *La pugna franciscana por México*. Mexico City: Alianza Editorial Mexicana, Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 1990.

In this accessible work, Baudot examines the efforts of the Franciscan order to assert and maintain their dominance in the indigenous parishes of Central Mexico. The book also addresses the various conflicts between the Franciscans and other mendicants and church and secular authorities.

Dibble, Charles E. “The Nahuatlization of Christianity.” In *Sixteenth-Century Mexico: The Work of Sahagún*. Edited by Munro S. Edmonson, 225–233. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1974.

This short article is recognized by many scholars in the field for proposing the term “Nahuatlization” to name and recognize the various linguistic, cultural, and conceptual accommodations of Christian beliefs and practices to Nahuatl language and culture, as understood by early missionaries.

Galindo, David R. *To Sin No More: Franciscans and Conversions in the Hispanic World, 1683–1830*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2018.

A novel analysis of the expansion of Franciscan evangelization throughout New Spain, South America, and Spain between the late 17th and early 19th centuries. It focuses on Franciscan colleges established during that period, and on how these institutions helped shape popular Christian devotions in the Spanish Atlantic.

Gómez Canedo, Lino. *La educación de los marginados durante la época colonial: escuelas y colegios para indios y mestizos en la Nueva España*. Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1982.

This book covers a broad spectrum of educational practices and institutions in colonial Mexico. However, for many years its coverage of indigenous education and catechesis has been a source of support and inspiration for scholars who have focused on native education and evangelization.

Laird, Andrew. “A Mirror for Mexican Princes: Reconsidering the Context and Latin Source for the Nahuatl Translation of Aesop’s Fables.” In *Brief Forms in Medieval and Renaissance Hispanic Literature*. Edited by Barry Taylor and Alejandro Coroleu, 132–167. Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars, 2017.

An exciting and erudite analysis of the context and significance of the Latin source that was the basis for a manuscript containing an adaptation into Nahuatl of Aesop’s Fables. It addresses previous work on this manuscript critically, and examines the characteristics of the moral examples contained in the Nahuatl-language Aesop.

Mathes, Miguel. *Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco: la primera biblioteca académica de las Américas*. Mexico City: Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, 1982.

This concise work is a necessary reference for scholars with an interest in libraries and Franciscan or indigenous intellectuals. It contains a valuable inventory of books that either passed through the library of the Franciscan Colegio de Santa Cruz or were held at the library of the order's house at Tlatelolco, and are now at the Suro Library and in other collections.

Morales, Francisco, ed. *Franciscanos en América. 500 años de presencia evangelizadora*. Mexico City: Conferencia Franciscana de México, Centroamérica y el Caribe, 1993.

This work, along with the author's essay "New World Colonial Franciscan Mystical Practice"—in *A New Companion to Hispanic Mysticism*, edited by Hilaire Kallendorf, 71–102. (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2010)—showcase the research of a Mexican Franciscan scholar who has devoted his career to the history of his order in New Spain. Morales's edited volume provides a compendium of chapters on Franciscan evangelization, and the chapter delves deeply into Franciscan contemplation and mysticism in the colonial Americas, which also informed their evangelization efforts.

Pollnitz, Aysha. "Old Words and the New World: Liberal Education and the Franciscans in New Spain, 1536–1601." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 27 (December 2017): 123–152.

Provides an engaging synthesis of secondary and primary sources regarding an education in the *trivium* and *quadrivium* for indigenous peoples in 16th-century New Spain. It places particular emphasis on the convergence between Erasmist thought and the "good words" promoted as part of Nahuatl rhetoric.

Tanck de Estrada, Dorothy. *Pueblos de indios y educación en el México colonial, 1750–1821*. Mexico City: Colegio de México, 1999.

A highly respected work that outlines the educational institutions and small establishments located in close to two-thirds of indigenous communities in late colonial Mexico. Its analysis also addresses educational politics and local elections on the eve of independence.

Tavárez, David. "Nahua Intellectuals, Franciscan Scholars, and the *Devotio Moderna* in Colonial Mexico." *The Americas* 70.2 (October 2013): 203–235.

A detailed analysis of several 16th-century collaborative projects regarding the adaptation of Thomas à Kempis's *On the Imitation of Christ into Nahuatl* and other works aligned with the *devotio moderna* and other contemplative practices. It outlines important dynamics in terms of Nahua-Franciscan scholarly collaborations at the Colegio de Santa Cruz.

Frontier Missions

In contrast with education and evangelization in urban settings and indigenous territories firmly under the political and military control of Spanish and Portuguese authorities, immense territories lay beyond colonial control, and a variety of frontier settlements marked the contours of often imprecise and flexible boundaries. Two of the most researched case studies have been Jesuit missions among the Guaraní in Paraguay—as shown in Wilde 2011, Boidin 2011, Sarreal 2014—and in northern New Spain, particularly among the Yaqui of Sonora—reflected in Hu-Dehart 1981, Torre Curiel 2013, Folsom 2014, and Velasco Murillo 2016. Other recent work has focused on missionary experiences in California and New Mexico—Knaut 1997, Haas 2014—while the Western Mesoamerican zones of contact present a different set of dynamics characterized by occasional resistance but rare acts of rebellion—as seen in Lara Cisneros 2002.

Boidin, Capucine. *Guerre et métissage au Paraguay, 2001–1767*. Rennes, France: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2011.

A poignant regressive history of Guaraní language and culture that focuses on the end of the Paraguay's war against the Triple Alliance (1864–1870) and on the expulsion of the Jesuit order in 1767 as important events through which the late colonial and national history of former Jesuit missions may be reconstructed.

Folsom, Raphael. *Yaquis and the Empire: Violence, Spanish Imperial Power, and Native Resilience in Colonial Mexico*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014.

A recent examination of the military confrontations between local leaders in the Yaqui missions and Spanish and mestizo colonists, with a focus on the strategies, communications, and diplomacy of Yaqui rebels.

Haas, Lisbeth. *Saints and Citizens: Indigenous Histories of Colonial Missions and Mexican California*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014.

A close examination of interethnic relations among native Californians, and between these communities and Spanish and mestizo colonists. Haas presents a multifaceted narrative that departs with settlement and colonization in the late 18th century, and which addresses the politics of Christian images and worship practices, along with a study of indigenous autonomy, the transition to citizenship rights and novel arrangements under the Mexican nation-state, and a pivotal event: the motivations and sequels of the Chumash revolt of 1824.

Hu-Dehart, Evelyn. *Missionaries, Miners, and Indians: History of Spanish Contact with the Yaqui Indians of Northwestern New Spain, 1533–1830*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1981.

A classic work that addresses the complex sociopolitical relations among Yaqui communities, missionaries, settlers, and the military. With precise brushstrokes, it outlines the development of Jesuit missions, evangelization policies, and a variety of Yaqui responses to colonial hegemony.

Knaut, Andrew L. *The Pueblo Revolt of 1680: Conquest and Resistance in Seventeenth-Century New Mexico*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997.

A concise account of the development of missions among Pueblo peoples in the 17th century, leading up to the 1680 revolt. It argues that the Pueblo, in the end, refused to take in the “bitter pill” of conversion, and took up arms against a multi-ethnic group of settlers and missionaries.

Lara Cisneros, Gerardo. *El cristianismo en el espejo indígena: Religiosidad en el occidente de la Sierra Gorda, siglo XVII*. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2002.

The Sierra Gorda and its indigenous population were somewhat peripheral in terms of evangelization efforts, and this carefully framed study addresses Dominican missions and the establishment of parishes in the Sierra Gorda. Its sharp focus on autonomous religious practices—in particular, an unauthorized and spontaneous indigenous devotion to a Christ figure at Xichú—provides a necessary counterpoint to the analysis of Central Mexican orthodox Christianity.

Sarreal, Julia J. S. *The Guaraní and Their Missions: A Socioeconomic History*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2014.

Provides an exacting and authoritative outline of the development of Jesuit missions among the Guaraní. Besides religious organization, this work aptly addresses these missions' social dynamics, economic policies, and warfare strategies.

Torre Curiel, José Refugio de la. *Twilight of the Mission Frontier: Shifting Interethnic Alliances and Social Organization in Sonora, 1768–1855*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2013.

An overview of social and political changes in mission settlements in northern New Spain after the Jesuit expulsion. Broad and ambitious, it also addresses the multiple factors that led to an indigenous population decline in Bourbon Mexico.

Velasco Murillo, Dana. *Urban Indians in a Silver City: Zacatecas, Mexico, 1546–1810*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2016.

Insightful work on the migration and incorporation of indigenous migrants into the social fabric of the mining town of Zacatecas in northern New Spain, with an analysis of missionary activities and the Christian practices of urban Indians.

Wilde, Guillermo, ed. *Saberes de la conversión: Jesuitas, indígenas, e imperios coloniales en las fronteras de la cristiandad*. Buenos Aires: Editorial SB, 2011.

An impressive collection of essays by specialists in the field that address missionary activities, education, and music in a variety of colonial frontier settings, and native populations, including Mapudungun (Mapuche), Tupí, and Guaraní settlements.

Conversion Dilemmas

Incorporation or a new start? New devotions, or an appeal to ancient beliefs? Tolerance or punishment? These were some of the important dilemmas that missionaries, bishops, and parish priests faced as they sought to persuade indigenous peoples, capture their imagination, and guide their devotion. Two earlier works—Klor de Alva 1982 and MacCormack 1991—address the variety of responses of native neophytes, and the perception of indigenous deities through models provided by Renaissance thought and references to classical antiquity. Poole 1995 and Brading 2001 examine the cult of Guadalupe as metaphor, case study, and highly debated historical development. Estenssoro-Fuchs 1998, Griffiths and Cervantes 1999, and Penyak and Petry 2009 address the continuum from incorporation of ancient beliefs to the emergence of new Christian devotions.

Brading, David A. *Mexican Phoenix: Our Lady of Guadalupe, Image and Tradition Across Five Centuries*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

A remarkable intellectual and social history of the emergence of the Guadalupan devotion in Mexico, and its influence in Latin America. It advances a more traditional view, close to current Church teachings, that presents Antonio Valeriano and other 16th-century Nahua authors and texts as the earliest sources for the recording of Guadalupan miracles and narratives.

Cervantes, Fernando. *The Devil in the New World: The Impact of Diabolism in New Spain*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994.

Examines theological discourses about the presence and influence of the Devil in indigenous and hybrid devotions and ritual practices in New Spain, with a careful analysis of the development of Franciscan thought.

Estenssoro-Fuchs, Juan Carlos. *Del paganismo a la santidad: la incorporación de los indios del Perú al catolicismo, 1532–1750*. Lima, Peru: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, 1998.

A critical reassessment of earlier historiography about the Christian conversion and evangelization of Andean peoples. Instead of focusing on modes of resistance or on parallels with Andean beliefs or cosmologies, this work traces the emergence of Andean Christian traditions across various fields, including literature, music, and the arts.

Griffiths, Nicholas, and Fernando Cervantes, eds. *Spiritual Encounters: Interactions between Christianity and Native Religions in Colonial America*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999.

A useful anthology whose chapters move from urban to rural spaces, from conversion to punishment, and from Mesoamerica to the Andes and New France. The common thread is the incorporation of indigenous practices and beliefs into colonial Christian practices in the Americas.

Klor de Alva, J. Jorge. “Spiritual Conflict and Accommodation in New Spain: Toward a Typology of Aztec Responses to Christianity.” In *The Inca and Aztec States, 1400–1800: Anthropology and History*. Edited by George A. Collier, Renato I. Rosaldo, and John D. Wirth, 345–366. New York: Academic Press, 1982.

A classic, early influential essay that lists a variety of vantage points and reactions to Christianity on the part of various segments of Nahua society in the 16th century.

MacCormack, Sabine. *Religion in the Andes: Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Peru*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991.

Masterful review of the interpretation of Andean cosmologies, deities, and Inca state cults by colonial chroniclers and observers, with an emphasis on how these understandings were mediated by knowledge about religion and social organization in classical antiquity.

Penyak, Lee M., and Walter J. Petry, eds. *Religion and Society in Latin America: Interpretative Essays from Conquest to Present*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2009.

Vibrant collection of essays by historians, with a focus on evangelization efforts among indigenous peoples, Africans, women, and other colonial and postcolonial populations. Its scope and breadth are wide, and the essays provide a selection of important examples and case studies.

Poole, Stafford. *Our Lady of Guadalupe: Origins and Sources of a Mexican National Symbol, 1531–1797*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1995.

A highly influential examination of the emergence of the Guadalupan narrative and legend in colonial times. It focuses on the documentary gaps in the historical record before the appearance of Guadalupan works in Spanish and Nahuatl in 1648 and 1649, and emphasizes the actions of Spanish and Creole authorities as the earliest and foremost promoters of Guadalupan devotions.

Prieto, Andres I. *Missionary Scientists: Jesuit Science in Spanish South America, 1570–1810*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2011.

An account of the development of scientific methods of inquiry by Jesuit missionaries in South America. It brings a fresh perspective into Jesuit learning and the Christianization of indigenous knowledge deemed as demonic.

Schwartz, Stuart B. *All Can Be Saved: Religious Tolerance and Salvation in the Iberian Atlantic World*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008.

An ambitious and broad inquiry into the many forms that tolerance for heterodox belief and Christian practices took in the Iberian Atlantic, based chiefly on a contrast drawn between commoner practices and those of elite populations.

The Word Translated

How should the Christian word be translated and adapted into indigenous languages? This fundamental question was addressed through a variety of methods and practices, followed the contour of changing policies, and reflected Renaissance, Counter-Reformation, and Bourbon

language ideologies, as shown by a longitudinal study in Tavárez 2000. For Nahua catechesis, the influential work in Burkhart 1989 demonstrated the incorporation and repurposing of preconquest cosmology, while Mannheim 1991, MacCormack 2006, Durston 2007, and Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz 2013 analyzed the adaptation of Christian teachings into Quechua, and Hanks 2010 showed the impact of Franciscan lexicography and translations on Yucatec Maya texts.

Burkhart, Louise. *The Slippery Earth: Nahua-Christian Moral Dialogue in Sixteenth-Century Mexico*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989.

An extremely influential study that eloquently outlines the transformation of Christian meanings as they passed through the multiple sieves of Nahua moral and cosmological discourses, as understood by missionary translators. It leaves readers with the paradox, and realities, of a deeply hybrid Nahua Christianity that was produced by missionaries who ultimately became “missionized.”

Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz, Sabine. *Entrelazando dos mundos: Experimentos y experiencias con el quechua de la cristianización en el Perú colonial*. Quito, Ecuador: Abya-yala, 2013.

An important study that outlines the diversity of methods and approaches in the generation of catechetical discourses in Quechua. This volume also argues that these ambiguous and diverse meanings were absorbed into the writings of Guaman Poma and in the Huarochirí Manuscript.

Durston, Alan. *Pastoral Quechua: The History of Christian Translation in Colonial Peru, 1550–1650*. Terre Haute, IL: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007.

An exacting survey of the emergence of catechetical texts and devotional writings and songs in Quechua. It moves authoritatively from the fluidity of translation approaches during the First Evangelization to the cultivation of “pastoral Quechua” through a variety of genres in the 17th century.

Garone Gravier, Marina. *Historia de la tipografía colonial para lenguas indígenas*. Mexico City: CIESAS and Universidad Veracruzana, 2014.

This innovative study contextualizes the development of typography and printed characters for indigenous languages in colonial Mexico within the history of book production. It is an invaluable guide to the design, use of visual images, and the interventions of typesetters and editors across a sample of more than 100 works printed in seventeen indigenous languages.

Hanks, William F. *Converting Words: Maya in the Age of the Cross*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010.

An exacting and closely documented analysis of the emergence of a written variant of colonial Yucatec Maya, *maya reducido*, based on the lexicography and linguistic analyses produced by Franciscan missionaries. In the end, this variant could not contain the surfeit of meanings that Yucatec authors and speakers continued to introduce into this colonial mode of communication, which is also characterized as an “interlanguage.”

Jansen, Maarten, and Gabina Aurora Pérez Jiménez. *La lengua señorial de Ñuu Dzauí. Cultura literaria de los antiguos reinos y transformación colonial*. Oaxaca, Mexico: Colegio Superior para la Educación Integral Intercultural de Oaxaca, 2009.

A synoptic exploration of Mixtec rhetoric through pictographic and alphabetic expression. Even if it encompasses many genres from Late Postclassic times to the 18th century, several sections in this work focus on the deployment of traditional Mixtec rhetoric by the Dominican friar Benito Hernández and others to indoctrinate and provide moral examples.

MacCormack, Sabine. “Grammar and Virtue: The Formulation of a Cultural and Missionary Program by the Jesuits in Early Colonial Peru.” In *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts*. Edited by John O’Malley, Gauvin Alexander Bailey, Steven J. Harris, and T. Frank Kennedy, 576–601. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006.

A chapter in a remarkable volume on the Jesuits that tracks closely the emergence and deployment of Jesuit ideals regarding lexicography and the translation of the Christian doctrine into Quechua in the colonial Andes.

Mannheim, Bruce. *The Language of the Inka since the European Invasion*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991.

A formidable and highly influential analysis of the manifold transformations in Quechua variants as a result of contact with Spanish, missionary lexicography, and colonial language ecology.

Smith-Stark, Thomas. “Lexicography in New Spain (1492–1611).” In *Missionary Linguistics IV*. Edited by Otto Zwartjes, Ramón Arzápalo, and Thomas Smith Stark, 3–82. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2009.

An erudite and exacting overview of the production of grammars, vocabularies, and dictionaries in the indigenous languages of colonial Mexico until the early 17th century. It outlines the role of missionaries as lexicographers, and provides illuminating comparisons of the word corpora they compiled and analyzed.

Tavárez, David. “Naming the Trinity: From Ideologies of Translation to Dialectics of Reception in Colonial Nahuatl Texts, 1547–1771.” *Colonial Latin American Review* 9.1 (June 2000): 21–47.

A longitudinal study of the translation of the notion of the Holy Trinity in Nahuatl, a survey of the conflicts that arose from some of these translations, and an account of the significance of these efforts from the vantage point of Saul Kripke’s work on names and reference.

The Word Transformed

As they were translated into languages of the Americas, Christian catechetical and devotional texts were reborn and transformed into works that were grounded in Indigenous cosmologies and epistemologies, as understood from the vantage point of Christian (or Christianized) observers. A chapter in Tavárez 2017 and Farriss 2018 investigate the emergence and transformation of Christian discourse in Zapotec, Sparks, et al. 2017 showcases the earliest Amerindian theological treatise, in K’iche’, Christensen 2013 addresses Christian literature in Nahuatl and Yucatec Maya, and Alcántara Rojas 2005 analyzes an important case study: a detailed description of creatures that populated the Christian hell, as modeled on Nahua cosmological principles. Furthermore, the creation and multiple meanings of pictorial catechisms are analyzed in Boone, et al. 2017 and Gaillemain 2017, while a comparative perspective is privileged in Tavárez 2017.

Alcántara Rojas, Berenice. “El dragón y la mazácoatl. Criaturas del infierno en un *exemplum* en náhuatl de fray Ioan Baptista.” *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl* 36 (December 2005): 383–422.

An inspiring analysis of a 1599 confessional manual by the Mexican Franciscan Juan Bautista Viseo, who in a moral example (*exemplum*) astutely referred to a Nahua portentous creature, the *mazacoatl* (deer snake) in order to communicate to Nahua believers early modern understandings of the Devil as a frightful snake or dragon.

Boone, Elizabeth H., Louise M. Burkhart, and David Tavárez. *Painted Words: Nahua Catholicism, Politics, and Memory in the Atzacualco Pictorial Catechism*. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2017.

A facsimile, decipherment, and analysis of a 17th-century pictographic catechism from colonial Mexico. Besides this catechism’s inventive pictography this work features Nahuatl texts about don Pedro Moteuczoma, and glosses repurposed figures in the manuscript as Nahua nobility. In the end, this catechism articulates novel assertions of indigenous identity and native history.

Christensen, Mark Z. *Nahua and Maya Catholicisms: Texts and Religion in Colonial Central Mexico and Yucatan*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2013.

An ambitious study that compares some sections of the extremely abundant catechetical literature in Nahuatl, comprising hundreds of printed books and manuscripts, with the more circumspect body of Yucatec Maya Christian texts. Besides proposing a useful distinction among texts in terms of authors and audiences, it investigates the social worlds of Nahua and Yucatec Maya notaries that drafted wills in those languages.

Chuchiak, John. "Writing as Resistance: Maya Graphic Pluralism and Indigenous Elite Strategies for Survival in Colonial Yucatan 1550–1750." *Ethnohistory* 57.1 (2010): 87–116.

A compelling exploration of the adoption of European literacy by Maya Christian scribes, and of the stratification of alphabetic writing practices in colonial Yucatán.

Cohen, Thomas M. *The Fire of Tongues: Antônio Vieira and the Missionary Church in Brazil and Portugal*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998.

A remarkable analysis of the kinetic career, and the inquisitorial scrutiny, of the Jesuit preacher and author Antônio Vieira. The work traces the emergence and significance of Vieira's call to uncover Christian revelation through the concerted actions of indigenous peoples, colonizers, Jesuits, and the Portuguese crown in Brazil.

Farriss, Nancy. *Tongues of Fire: Language and Evangelization in Colonial Mexico*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2018.

A broad interpretation of some methods employed by missionaries to communicate Christian teachings and meanings in colonial Mexico, with a focus on the translation of crucial terms, and on how missionary chroniclers understood and memorialized their own enterprise.

Gaillemin, Bérénice. "Au nom de Dieu le Père: revendications de la noblesse indigène." In *Les laïcs dans la mission. Europe et Amériques XVIe-XVIIIe siècles*. Edited by A. Maldavsky, 97–117. Tours, France: Presses Universitaires François Rabelais, 2017.

A poised study of some of the texts in FM 399, one of the most important colonial Mexican pictographic catechisms (see Boone, et al. 2017), with an assessment of possible motivations for submitting this work to a colonial court.

Rafael, Vicente. *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Conversion in Tagalog Society Under Early Spanish Rule*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988.

An influential and theoretically agile examination of the writing practices and translation policies introduced by colonial missionaries into Tagalog communities in the Philippines, with a stress on colonial attempts to reduce the ambiguity of autochthonous writing systems in favor of the Roman alphabet.

Sparks, Garry, Frank Sachse, and Sergio Romero, eds. and trans. *The Americas' First Theologies: Early Sources of Post-Contact Indigenous Religion*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2017.

An inspiring analysis of the earliest theological manuscript produced in the Americas: a corpus of writings in K'iche' Maya by the Dominican friar Domingo de Vico. This extraordinary work, compiled in the middle years of the 16th century, adopted terms drawn from Maya cosmologies and was patterned after Thomas Aquinas's *Summa theologiae*.

Tavárez, David, ed. *Words and Worlds Turned Around: Indigenous Christianities in Colonial Latin America*. Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 2017.

Recent collection of essays that investigates a diversity of translation methods and policies, evangelization practices, and indigenous responses to the production and use of catechisms in Amerindian languages. It combines depth of analysis with breadth, as the work addresses texts written in Valley and Northern Zapotec, Nahuatl, Quechua, K'iche' and Q'eqchi' Maya, Yucatec Maya, and Tupí.

Indigenous Christians, Confessions, and Wills

A large corpus of wills drafted in indigenous languages or in Spanish on behalf of indigenous testators provides an unparalleled opportunity to study household and local devotions, support for particular saints or confraternities, and the economics of indigenous faith, as shown in Rojas Rabiela, et al. 1999–2004; Ramos 2010; Pizzigoni 2012; and Melton-Villanueva 2016. Gruzinski 1989, Barnes 1992, and Harrison 2014 inquire into the practice of confession in indigenous languages, which was intimate, invasive, and didactic.

Barnes, Monica. "Catechisms and Confessionarios: Distorting Mirrors of Andean Societies." In *Andean Cosmologies through Time*. Edited by Robert V. H. Dover, Katherine E. Seibold, and John H. McDowell, 67–94. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992.

A critique of the assumption that the often detailed and piercing interrogations contained in catechisms and confessional manuals reflected common social practices in colonial Andean communities.

Béligand, Nadine. "Lecture indienne et chrétienté: La bibliothèque d'un alguacil de doctrina en Nouvelle-Espagne au XVI siècle." *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 31.2 (January 1995): 21–27.

Analyzes the significance of an extraordinary document: the 1601 testament of an indigenous church official whose private library included eight works. Items listed include a *Contemptus mundi* in Nahuatl (probably a translation of Kempis's *Imitation of Christ*), a Nahuatl grammar, and works by Gante, Sahagún, Bautista Viseo, and Elías de San Juan Bautista.

Christensen, Mark. *The Teabo Manuscript: Maya Christian Copybooks, Chilam Balams, and Native Text Production in Yucatan*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2016.

A critical edition based on a reassessment of previous translations of a late colonial Yucatec Maya manuscript that reflects insightful local understandings of Christian beliefs and practices.

Gruzinski, Serge. "Individualization and Acculturation: Confessions Among the Nahuas of Mexico from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century." In *Sexuality and Marriage in Colonial Latin America*. Edited by Asunción Lavrín, 96–117. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989.

Analyzes the confession templates that addressed intimate transgressions relating to marriage and sexuality in several important printed confessional manuals composed in Nahuatl.

Harrison, Regina. *Sin and Confession in Colonial Peru: Spanish-Quechua Penitential Texts, 1560–1650*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014.

A rich and detailed analysis of the production, contents, and broader significance of early Quechua-language catechisms and confessional manuals. This work examines crucial decisions and choices made as missionaries and ecclesiastics attempted to teach the Christian doctrine in Quechua in systematic ways.

Melton-Villanueva, Miriam. *The Aztecs at Independence: Nahua Culture Makers in Central Mexico, 1799–1832*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2016.

A regional analysis of the transition from late colonial times to the early republic in indigenous communities in central Mexico. With an emphasis on a late corpus of Nahua wills, the work illuminates the apprenticeship of indigenous notaries, reveals the Nahua authorial practices in Spanish-language wills, and documents the social history of Nahua women as Christian subjects.

Pizzigoni, Caterina. *The Life Within: Local Indigenous Society in Mexico's Toluca Valley, 1650–1800*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012.

An astute analysis of a corpus of wills composed by local notaries for the Nahua inhabitants of several communities in the Toluca Valley. These documents reveal minute and insightful details of the devotional practices of Nahua Christians.

Ramos, Gabriela. *Death and Conversion in the Andes: Lima and Cuzco, 1532–1670*. Terre Haute, IL: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010.

A work that tracks changes and complex negotiations regarding ancestor cults and Christian burial practices as death rituals evolved during the early colonial period in Lima and Cuzco. It employs a variety of sources, including wills written on behalf of indigenous people, to take full stock of a momentous transformation.

Rojas Rabiela, Teresa, Elsa Leticia Rea López, and Constantino Medina Lima. *Vidas y bienes olvidados: Testamentos indígenas novohispanos*. 5 vols. Mexico City: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social, 1999–2004.

An important collection of primary sources—indigenous wills from Central Mexico—whose study and analysis attest to the myriad changes that Christianization brought into quotidian practices, household organization and economics, and popular devotions.

Everyday Christian Practices

The embodiment and enforcement of indigenous Christianities called for radical transformations in everyday life in native colonial communities. Institutional approaches and indigenous responses to quotidian Christian practices are magisterially analyzed in Taylor 1996. Preaching and the administration of sacraments are covered in Klaus 1999 and Pardo 2004, while Melvin 2012 and Truitt 2018 address religious establishment and practices in urban settings.

Díaz, Mónica. *Indigenous Writings from the Convent: Negotiating Ethnic Autonomy in Colonial Mexico*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2010.

A concise work on elite native women who took vows as nuns in colonial Central Mexico. The book investigates three of the four convents established for indigenous nuns in the colonial period, focusing on related sermons and letters, interrogating biographical narratives, and assessing hagiographic examples for devout native women.

Graham, Elizabeth. *Maya Christians and Their Churches in Sixteenth-Century Belize*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011.

A carefully documented work that examines from the perspective of historical archaeology and ethnohistory the establishment of churches and everyday Christian devotions for Maya populations who lived in territory now claimed by Belize.

Klaus, Susanne. *Uprooted Christianity: The Preaching of the Christian Doctrine in Mexico Based on Franciscan Sermons of the 16th Century Written in Nahuatl*. Bonn, Germany: Verlag Anton Saurwein, 1999.

A careful and closely documented study of the dense and heterogeneous body of 16th-century Nahuatl-language sermons written by Franciscans and their Nahua assistants and informants.

Melvin, Karen. *Building Colonial Cities of God: Mendicant Orders and Urban Culture in New Spain*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012.

A carefully documented survey of the establishment, spheres of influence, and institutional practices of mendicant orders that settled in important urban nodes for the colonial state.

Oowski, Edward W. *Indigenous Miracles: Nahua Authority in Colonial Mexico*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2010.

Focuses on the social and cultural history of late colonial indigenous devotions in Nahua communities, with particular attention to indigenous patronage, local forms of worship, processions, and financial contributions to Nahua cults.

Pardo, Osvaldo. *The Origins of Mexican Catholicism: Nahua Rituals and Christian Sacraments in Sixteenth-Century Mexico*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004.

A subtle examination of policies regarding the administration of sacraments to indigenous populations, this volume also focuses on the ways in which missionaries approached and conceptualized preconquest social practices, so as to better lead their indigenous charges to receive sacraments freely and knowingly.

Peterson, Jeanette Favrot. *The Paradise Garden Murals of Malinalco: Utopia and Empire in Sixteenth-Century Mexico*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993.

A vivid account of the contents and religious significance of the garden frescoes painted at the Augustinian monastery in Malinalco, painted in the 16th century only to be whitewashed and rediscovered in full in 1974.

Roulet, Éric. *L'évangélisation des Indiens du Mexique. Impact et réalité de la conquête spirituelle (xvi^e siècle)*, Rennes, France: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2008.

An inquiry into the multiple "evangelizations" that took place in New Spain during the 16th century. Drawing from multiple ecclesiastic sources, decrees, court records, and wills, this book attempts to gauge the efficacy of evangelization methods, as well as indigenous responses to these projects.

Taylor, William B. *Magistrates of the Sacred: Parish Priests and Indian Parishioners in Eighteenth-Century Mexico*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996.

The most authoritative historical analysis to date of the activities, networks, finances, and career paths of parish priests in colonial Central Mexico. It illuminates with multiple insights ecclesiastic policies, the administration of sacraments, quotidian devotions, and indigenous participation in public Christian observances.

Truitt, Jonathan. *Sustaining the Divine in Mexico Tenochtitlan: Nahuas and Catholicism, 1523–1700*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2018.

A remarkable investigation of the links among indigenous believers, church authorities, and missionaries in the urban setting of Mexico City, with detailed analyses of religious practices as they intersected with social organization and indigenous everyday activities.

Indigenous Christianities In Performance

A popular bromide among missionaries and priests held that visual representations and performance, rather than texts, conveyed Christian messages more effectively for native neophytes. Christian theatrical performances, which addressed a broad indigenous public and were often based on European models, are analyzed in Horcasitas 1974, Meneses 1983, and the edited four-volume Nahuatl theater set Sell and Burkhart 2004, while Baker 2008 and Turrent 1993 consider musical performance and faith. Lara 2004 and Wake 2010 scrutinize churches and monasteries as elaborate architectural stages and sites for visual indoctrination, while Dean 1999 and Taylor 2016 survey processions and images.

Baker, Geoffrey. *Imposing Harmony: Music and Society in Colonial Cuzco*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008.

An account of the rich and diverse music culture and the organization of sacred music in Cuzco. It stresses the decentralization of these efforts, and depicts the participation of indigenous professional musicians in a variety of musical milieux in colonial Andean society.

Burkhart, Louise M. *Holy Wednesday: A Nahua Drama from Early Colonial Mexico*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996.

A study of one of the earliest known Nahuatl devotional plays, "Holy Wednesday." It addresses the Spanish source for this text, and places its production vividly in the context of 16th-century evangelization efforts among the Nahua.

Dean, Carolyn J. *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999.

A thorough examination, through images and documentary data, of the public performances of the feast of Corpus Christi in Cuzco. It presents the emergence of Andean Christian identity through the participation of indigenous celebrants dressed as former Inca rulers.

Horcasitas, Fernando. *El teatro náhuatl: Épocas novohispana y moderna: Primera parte*. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1974.

An early analysis of Nahua plays, with an emphasis on the breadth and diversity of colonial devotional plays produced for Nahua audiences and the emergence of Nahua understandings about Christian devotions featured in sacred dramas.

Lara, Jaime. *City, Temple, Stage: Eschatological Architecture and Liturgical Theatrics in New Spain*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004.

Explores the creation and use of Franciscan "fortress monasteries" as sites for sacred performances with eschatological significance from the vantage point of Franciscan millennialism. It also proposes parallels between Aztec iconography and the medieval Christian symbols that were integrated into architectural spaces.

Meneses, Teodoro L., ed. and trans. *Teatro quechua colonial. Antología*. Lima, Peru: Ediciones Edubanco, 1983.

A useful anthology that includes Spanish translations for six of the seven known plays written in Quechua in colonial times. These plays depict Inca nobility and Andean characters, and seem to eschew direct translations or adaptations of Biblical stories or European devotional plays.

Sell, Barry D., and Louise M. Burkhart, eds. and trans. *Nahuatl Theater*. 4 vols. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004.

A landmark set of volumes that provide a transcription, translation, and exacting analysis of the vast majority of Nahuatl-language plays that were produced in New Spain, most of them for devotional purposes. The volumes explore European models and precedents for the plays, their incorporation of Nahua cultural and discursive practices, expressions of Guadalupan devotion in these works, and the links between some of these plays and Golden Age Spanish theater. Barry D. Sell and Louise M. Burkhart, Vol. 1, *Death and Life in Colonial Nahua Mexico* (2004); Barry D. Sell, Louise M. Burkhart, and Stafford Poole, eds. and trans., Vol. 2, *Our Lady of Guadalupe* (2006); Barry D. Sell, Louise M. Burkhart, and Elizabeth R. Wright, eds., Vol. 3, *Spanish Golden Age Drama in Mexican Translation* (2008); Barry D. Sell and Louise M. Burkhart, eds. and trans., Vol. 4, *Nahua Christianity in Performance* (2009).

Taylor, William B. *Theater of a Thousand Wonders: A History of Miraculous Images and Shrines in New Spain*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2016.

Accomplished, erudite, and authoritative survey of the deployment and worship of Christian images and shrines in New Spain. It addresses in detail processions, pilgrimages, local devotional performances, and the links between the landscape and sacred objects.

Turrent, Lourdes. *La conquista musical de México*. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1993.

A study of the musical dialogue between missionaries and the indigenous peoples of central Mexico, with particular emphasis on the development of music, songs, and performative practices that proclaimed Christian teachings while making use of indigenous aesthetic and musical principles.

Wake, Eleanor. *Framing the Sacred: The Indian Churches of Early Colonial Mexico*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010.

A fascinating overview of the integration of iconographic principles, actual iconography and material culture, and landscape orientations, all of pre-Columbian origin, into colonial Mexican churches. It also documents a variety of native ritual practices that may serve as context for reading hybrid meanings in sacred Christian architecture.

Censure, Discipline, and the Inquisition

Indigenous colonial subjects who engaged in hybrid devotions or who continued to embrace ancestral practices were investigated in the 16th century by the “apostolic inquisition,” or inquisitorial investigators whose jurisdiction included natives until 1571, when inquisitorial tribunals separate from that of Toledo were established in Mexico City and Lima. This early period was first addressed in Greenleaf 1962 and Greenleaf 1969, and later reassessed in Gruzinski 1989 and Grunberg 1998. Alberro 1988 is a masterful study of inquisitorial policies, and Chuchiak 2012 a helpful and exacting documentary history of the Mexican Holy Office. Villa-Flores 2006, Bristol 2007, and von Germeten 2013 address inquisitorial investigations of people of African descent for heterodox healing, worship, sex magic, and blasphemy.

Alberro, Solange. *Inquisición y sociedad en México, 1571–1700*. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1988.

An authoritative qualitative, quantitative, and historical analysis of the policies, patterns of activity, and methods of the Mexican Inquisition tribunal in the long 17th century, with inspired coverage of both longitudinal trends and revealing details regarding inquisitorial prosecutions.

Bristol, Joan. *Christians, Blasphemers, and Witches: Afro-Mexican Ritual Practice in the Seventeenth Century*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007.

Scrutinizes ritual protocols and devotional practices among colonial subjects of African origin in New Spain by means of a careful analysis of 17th-century inquisitorial records.

Chuchiak, John F. *The Inquisition in New Spain, 1536–1820: A Documentary History*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012.

Authoritative and masterful overview of the juridical procedures employed by the apostolic inquisition and by the Holy Office Tribunal in New Spain. It provides a variety of documents in translation that depict the inquisitors' actions against sorcery, superstition, the Jewish faith, solicitation, bigamy, and all other crimes against the faith, which the Mexican Inquisition pursued exclusively among non-indigenous subjects after 1571.

von Germeten, Nicole. *Violent Delights, Violent Ends: Sex, Race, and Honor in Colonial Cartagena de Indias*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2013.

Vivid and exacting analysis of the religious, healing, and propitiatory practices of women of African descent who were investigated by the inquisitorial tribunal of Cartagena de Indias.

Greenleaf, Richard E. *Zumárraga and the Mexican Inquisition, 1536–1543*. Washington, DC: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1962.

An early, erudite, highly influential analysis of the trajectory, rationale, and methods of the Franciscan friar Juan de Zumárraga, first bishop of Mexico, as the head of the apostolic inquisition in New Spain.

Greenleaf, Richard E. *The Mexican Inquisition of the Sixteenth Century*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1969.

A careful summary of the major trends in terms of policies, prosecution, and political and jurisdictional debates that involved the Mexican Inquisition and its officers in its early stages in New Spain.

Grunberg, Bernard. *L'Inquisition apostolique au Mexique: histoire d'une institution et de son impact dans une société coloniale (1521–1571)*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 1998.

A thoughtful inquiry into the assumptions, methodology, social impact, and results of the activities of the apostolic inquisition in New Spain. It adds layers of complexity to previous analyses of this institution by Greenleaf and other scholars.

Gruzinski, Serge. *Man-Gods in the Mexican Highlands: Indian Power and Colonial Society, 1520–1800*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1989.

Inspired, early work that traced indigenous responses to the apostolic inquisition and later idolatry extirpation attempts through a series of closely observed case studies.

Nesvig, Martin. *Ideology and Inquisition: The World of the Censors in Early Mexico*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009.

Erudite and insightful analysis of institutional practices, conflicts, and debates that framed the work of inquisitorial authorities in New Spain, and their relationships with other missionary and church authorities.

Villa-Flores, Javier. *Dangerous Speech: A Social History of Blasphemy in Colonial Mexico*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2006.

An insightful analysis of the practice and social significance of blasphemy as a transgression punished by the Mexican Inquisition, with a focus on how people of African descent used these juridical practices to confront violence and abuse perpetrated against them.

The Public Punishment of Indigenous idolatry

Early idolatry campaigns in Yucatán, first studied in Scholes and Roys 1938, were also addressed in Clendinnen 1989 and Chuchiak 2005, while Tavárez 2011 provides a longitudinal comparison of idolatry eradication and native responses in the dioceses of Oaxaca and Mexico. On the other hand, Duviols 1971, Griffiths 1996, Mills 1997, and Brosseder 2014 inspect and interpret the well-documented idolatry extirpation campaigns in Lima.

Brosseder, Claudia. *The Power of Huacas: Change and Resistance in the Andean World of Colonial Peru.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014.

Innovative study of the various idolatry extirpation campaigns waged against ancient beliefs in the colonial Andes. It provides a piercing analysis of the persistence of and transformations in the significance of sacred entities and objects categorized, in broad terms, as *huacas*.

Chuchiak, John F. "In Servitio Dei: Fray Diego de Landa, the Franciscan Order, and the Return of the Extirpation of Idolatry in the Colonial Diocese of Yucatán, 1573–1579." *The Americas* 61.4 (2005): 611–646.

Astute and exacting analysis of the debate, political context, and results of Diego de Landa's violent and infamous 1562 idolatry eradication campaign in Yucatán.

Clendinnen, Inga. *Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spaniard in Yucatan, 1517–1570.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

An influential analysis, based on secondary sources and translated materials, of Franciscan attempts to evangelize and discipline Yucatec Maya elites and their communities, with a focus on Diego de Landa's idolatry extirpation campaign as the culmination of this process.

Don, Patricia Lopes. *Bonfires of Culture: Franciscans, Indigenous Leaders, and the Inquisition in Early Mexico, 1524–1540.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010.

Succinct and sometimes speculative examination of important idolatry cases tried by Bishop Zumárraga.

Duviols, Pierre. *La lutte contre les religions autochtones dans le Pérou colonial; l'extirpation de l'idolâtrie entre 1532 et 1660.* Lima, Peru: Institut Français d'Études Andines, 1971.

Admirable survey and analysis of the conduct, objectives, and results of early evangelization, and the early period of idolatry extirpation campaigns in the colonial Andes.

Griffiths, Nicholas. *The Cross and the Serpent: Religious Repression and Resurgence in Colonial Peru.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996.

Dynamic overview of the various methods and legal mechanisms that were employed to address, curtail, and punish Andean devotions in Peru in colonial times.

Mills, Kenneth. *Idolatry and Its Enemies: Colonial Andean Religion and Extirpation, 1640–1750.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997.

Influential and exacting analysis of middle and late colonial campaigns against Andean devotions, with a sustained focus on the activities and partnership of parish priests, Jesuits, and bishops in this enterprise.

Scholes, France V., and Ralph Roys. *Fray Diego de Landa and the Problem of Idolatry in Yucatán*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution, 1938.

The first contemporary analysis of the approach, methods, political conflict, and results of Diego de Landa's attempts to investigate and punish Maya religion in 1562. It provides a wealth of information, analysis of primary sources, and transcriptions that were later used by other scholars.

Tavárez, David. *The Invisible War: Indigenous Devotions, Discipline, and Dissent in Colonial Mexico*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011.

A comparative analysis of the institutional efforts, policies, and results of the attempts to investigate and eradicate ancient indigenous devotions in the dioceses of Mexico and Oaxaca from 1521 until the 1780s. It focuses on indigenous responses, and on the emergence of "literate idolaters" who produced, among other works, the largest corpus of indigenous calendrical manuals in the colonial Americas.

Selected Editions of Primary Sources

This brief list provides an indication of the diversity of existing sources for a diversity of indigenous societies: Andean (*Tercero catechismo*, Duviols 2003); Guaraní (Ruiz de Montoya 1993); Nahua (Alva 1999, Olmos 1990, Sahagún 1986, Sahagún 1993, Sell 2002); and Zapotec (Burgoa 1989).

Alva, Bartolomé de. *A Guide to Confession Large and Small in the Mexican Language, 1634*. Translated and edited by Barry D. Sell, John F. Schwaller, with Lu Ann Homza. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999.

Insightful confessional manual authored by don Bartolomé de Alva, brother of the mestizo chronicler and court translator don Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl. It is based in Alva's own understanding of ancient Nahua devotions, as they persisted in the early 17th century. Originally published in 1634.

Burgoa, Fray Francisco de. *Palestra historial*. Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1989.

Originally published in 1670. Along with Burgoa's *Geográfica descripción* (2 vols., Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1989 [originally 1674]), these are two dense, hagiographic, and encyclopedic works that address the evangelization activities of the Dominican Order in Oaxaca from the late 1520s until the late 17th century.

Duviols, Pierre. *Proceso y visitas de idolatrías. Cajatambo, siglo XVII*. Lima, Peru: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2003.

Important and substantial collection of transcriptions and summaries of idolatry trials and the pastoral visits of bishops who sought to eradicate ancient beliefs in the colonial Andes.

Olmos, Andrés de. *Tratado de hechicerías y sortilegios*. Edited and translated by Georges Baudot. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1990.

Translation and commentary of an important early work by the Franciscan Andrés de Olmos, who thus sought to adapt into Nahuatl his correligionary Martín de Castañega's influential *Tratado de las supersticiones y hechizerías*.

Ruiz de Montoya, Antonio. *The Spiritual Conquest Accomplished by the Religious of the Society of Jesus in the Provinces of Paraguay, Parana, Uruguay and Tape*. Translated by Clement J. McNaspy. St. Louis, MO: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1993.

The first English-language translation of a vivid and dense hagiographic account of the Jesuit *reducciones* in and near colonial Paraguay. Its author, Ruiz de Montoya, who also published an authoritative grammar and vocabulary of and a catechism in Guaraní, helped lead tens of thousands of Christian Indians south, away from the incursions of colonial Brazilian slave raiders. Originally published in 1639.

Sahagún, Bernardino de. *Coloquios y doctrina cristiana*. Edited and translated by Miguel León-Portilla. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1986.

A carefully crafted account of the first encounter between Mexica priests and the twelve Franciscans who traveled to Mexico in 1524, composed four decades later. Although incomplete, the structure of this short text, preserved at the Vatican Archives, resembles that of a formal disputation.

Sahagún, Bernardino de. Bernardino de Sahagún's *Psalmody Christiana*. Edited and translated by Arthur J. O. Anderson. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993.

A translation and edition of one of the most important catechetical works produced by Franciscans in the 16th century. It preserves, among other content, devotional songs that reflect Nahuatl-elevated rhetoric and a Nahuatl worldview. Originally published in 1583.

Sell, Barry D., ed. and trans. *Nahuatl Confraternities in Early Colonial Mexico: The 1552 Nahuatl Ordinances of Fray Alonso de Molina*. Berkeley: Academy of American Franciscan History, 2002.

Translation and summary of a fascinating documentation of early evangelization efforts: a set of ordinances produced by an influential Franciscan to guide Nahuas as they began to create and organize in a relatively autonomous manner their own confraternities.

“Tercero catecismo y exposición de la Doctrina Christiana, por sermones”. In *Doctrina christiana y catecismo para instrucción de indios*. 333–777. *Corpus Hispanorum de pace* 26/2. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1985.

Facsimile edition of a work originally published in 1585. Contemporary edition of a section in Quechua of an important catechetical text produced by church authorities in early colonial Peru in both Quechua and Aymara in order to provide a standard text and translations for priests and preachers who served Andean communities.

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