

Building Durable Missions Through Cultural Exchange:
Language, Religion, and Trade on the Frontier Missions of Paraguay

Mark Farine

Thesis submitted to the
Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
In partial fulfilment of the requirements
For the MA degree in History

Department of History
Faculty of Arts
University of Ottawa

© Mark Farine, Ottawa, Canada, 2017

Table of Contents

Abstract	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
Introduction – Cultural Exchange in a Forgotten Colony	1
Chapter 1 – From Mohammed’s Paradise to the Christian Jesuit Republic: colonial Paraguay before the Jesuits	17
Chapter 2 – Uneven Syncretism: The Coming Together of Guaraní and Christian Worldviews in the Early Missionary Period	36
Chapter 3 – The Beautiful Words: The Linguistic Survival of Guaraní	51
Chapter 4 – Check Mate: The Strategic Implications of Yerba Mate in the Missions	68
Conclusion – Forgotten Colony, Surviving Culture	92
Appendix 1	99
Appendix 2	105
Bibliography	108

Abstract

This thesis explores the cultural interactions between the Jesuit missionaries and the Guaraní indigenous peoples in the missions of Paraguay from 1609 to 1767. A particular attention is given to the missions' formative years in which both groups refined their cultural strategies.

Specifically, this thesis will explore the collaboration between the two groups and the cultural concessions made by both sides for the project to succeed. While missions are used as an area of evangelization by the Orders that operate them, involvement with the Jesuits allowed the Guaraní to avoid interactions with other settlers and colonial authorities. By agreeing to convert, they gained the protection of the Jesuits. However, they consistently threatened to leave or to refuse work if their protectors took away their most treasured cultural elements: their divine language and their use of sacred herbs like yerba mate.

Furthermore, this thesis delves into power relations in the forgotten frontier. An inconsequential source of income for the Spanish Crown, the Province of Paraguay's main importance was a presence in the buffer zone next to the Portuguese Empire in Brazil. Actors in this frontier—including the Guaraní and the Jesuits—were granted more autonomy and were able to interact with very little royal interference, resulting in an organic cultural exchange between the groups.

Acknowledgements

It has not always been my dream to write about cultural interactions on the Jesuit missions of Paraguay. I first took an interest in the country during the summer after my freshman year, when some casual reading brought me to the fact that the Guaraní language is the most spoken one in the country—the only indigenous language to hold such a distinction in the Americas. Studying Political Science and International Development and Globalization at the time, I became fascinated by the landlocked country; the passion has grown with every project.

I owe a debt of gratitude to many professors who have helped me along my academic path. First and foremost, I must thank my supervisor Doctor Alberto Flórez-Malagón. Through a challenging two years, he has helped guide my path and has advised my academic choices along the way. He has also helped shape my progress as an academic, as my experience assisting him with undergraduate classes and guest lecturing about the Church's role in Latin America have helped prepare me for upcoming academic ventures. His influence can be seen in his shaping of my belief that history is about processes, not individual moments: this influence will be recognizable in the following pages.

I would also like to thank Professor Stephen Baranyi, who in my second year patiently guided me with the first academic paper of which I could be proud. Like most, Paraguay was not his specialty, but he enthusiastically helped launch my specialization when I approached him about what I wanted to study. Years later, he was the one who recommended that I work with Dr. Flórez-Malagón. I would also like to thank Professors Marie-Christine Doran, Raphaël Canet, María Margarita López, and Jorge Carlos Guerrero, who have all repeatedly shared their knowledge and guidance with me

throughout my undergraduate studies. Thanks are also in order for Dr. Julia Sarreal of Arizona State University for graciously providing her doctoral dissertation, which proved to be of great use.

Recognition must also be offered to the University of Ottawa's Department of History; both the Faculty Members and the administrative staff. To Professors Henri Habib and François Lalonde, I learned a tremendous amount about teaching, about interacting with students, and about academic integrity from assisting you in your classes; these experiences were invaluable to me. To Professors Micheline Lessard and M. Mark Stolarik, your flexibility in working with me to integrate my research interests with the themes of our seminars was greatly appreciated. A note must also underline the weekly contributions by Manon Bouladier-Major, Camille Charbonneau, and Suzanne Dalrymple in making the Department a great place to pursue one's studies.

J'aimerais aussi remercier les archivistes des Archives des Jésuites au Canada, en particulier Valérie Grothé. Elles ont aidé à assurer que mes courtes visites à Montréal soient efficaces et productives.

This thesis would not have been possible without the help of Annik Bilodeau, a former Professor and current friend, who encouraged me to pursue graduate studies. She has been a mentor to me over the last three years and has provided invaluable support—also known as tough love—and comradery when they were needed. My fellow graduate students Natalie Benjamin, Bobby Cole, Eric Fecteau, Brent Holloway, Julien Labrosse, Mathieu Laflamme, Mélanie Morin, Cleo Reinink, Logan Scott, Justin Smith, David Suatac, and George Wills have all provided insights and influenced my way of thinking in the years we've spent together.

Finally, I would like to thank my family in New Brunswick without whom this would not have been possible. John, Louise, and Danica Farine: thank you. Along the same lines, my girlfriend Riley DeForest has been by my side the whole time and experienced my rollercoaster ride with me. Thank you all for listening to me when the words were not forthcoming and for patiently reassuring me that it would come together. Thank you to my Ottawa family—Dan DeForest, Aroha DeForest and Sam De Forest—for providing an outlet when it was needed.

Introduction

Cultural Exchange in a Forgotten Colony

Building Durable Missions Through Cultural Exchange: Language, Religion, and Trade on the Frontier Missions of Paraguay studies the progressive evolution of the cultural landscape in the frontier missions of Paraguay from 1609 to 1767, with a focus on the first sixty years—the formative period. The title plays on two key terms: “durable” and “cultural exchange”. The use of “durable” implies threats to the missions, which were in this case both internal and external. The main challenge in the missions’ formative period was assuring their survival and longevity. This study is one of codependence; the Guaraní peoples and the Jesuits had to work together despite the few similarities in their worldviews. The term “cultural exchange,” borrowed from sociology’s “social exchange theory,” in which actions are two-sided and intentional¹, is used as a substitute for the term “transculturation,” coined by anthropologist Fernando Ortiz to describe the complex set of transmutations that take place in a setting of cultural encounter². The reason for the substitution is that Ortiz’ terminology is normally applied by scholars to describe a natural process in which cultures mix and blend organically. Of course, this occurred to a certain extent in the missions. However, in the case of the three main cultural elements analyzed in this study, the mixing of cultures was intentional by at least one party and was used as a survival mechanism.

When referring to Paraguay, the study discusses a geographic entity formed by three major tributaries of the Río de la Plata estuary—the Paraguay, Uruguay and Parana

¹ Richard M. Emerson, “Social Exchange Theory,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 21 (No.1, 1976) p.336.

² Fernando Ortiz, *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995 [1940]) 98.

Rivers³. While the region would commonly be known as “colonial Paraguay,” referring to it as such may lead to confusion, as the historic area now covers four modern countries: Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay. This area was particularly fertile for agriculture, but extremely poor in precious metals: Spain could not find any gold or silver, the main minerals for which they came. As industry evolved, the lack of natural resources has continuously plagued Paraguay: no oil, no natural gas, and no copper were to be found either. The area was also landlocked and separated from Lima, the regional colonial centre, by the high peaks of the Andes as well as by the rugged terrain of the Gran Chaco, making travel to and from the colony difficult. These factors, combined with the local population’s semi-nomadic lifestyle, saw Paraguay⁴ relegated to a place near the bottom of Spain’s list of priorities. This relative lack of interest, when compared to other regions of the Spanish-American Empire, freed some space for other actors to have their voice heard. In fact, the Jesuit missions of Paraguay were home to an intricate, multi-actor negotiation of power. This contradicts the widely accepted narrative, in which only one side is threatened, when it comes to European - Native relations in the Spanish Empire.

Just like missions all over the continent—which were built in order to organize large groups of indigenous peoples under the supervision of religious Orders in an attempt to both civilize them and convert them to Christianity—the Jesuit missions of Paraguay were, by definition, a point of cultural contact. Over the course of their 158 years of existence, however, it was the lack of Spanish interest in the area and therefore

³ See Appendix 1; fig. 1 and 2.

⁴ Occasionally referred to as the “Upper Plata” for its geographic location in reference to the Rio de la Plata estuary.

their isolation from Spanish centres which separated them from other missions and allows the study of cultural exchange with limited outside interference. Over the first thirty five years of the existence of the missions, they had nearly as much contact with the neighbouring Portuguese colony as with Asunción, the modern capital of Paraguay and its economic and political centre since its establishment in 1537. The Paraguay missions are also notable for being the largest missionary projects in colonial America⁵. Much has been studied about this period, which spreads from the founding of the mission of San Ignacio Guazú in 1609 to the Expulsion of the Jesuits from the Spanish Empire in 1767. These studies have generally had a tendency to focus on economic factors, on the dynamics of the attempted conversion of such a large group of people, and on the economic and political consequences of the interaction for both Europeans and the Guaraní peoples⁶. Most studies choose one side as the protagonists and concentrate on how the interaction with the other group affected them, both in the short and the long term. Given their isolation from Spanish centres and the sociopolitical power dynamics surrounding them, these missions provide an excellent backdrop for the study of cultural interactions in a “contact zone,” an area of cultural negotiation between groups with differing interests and often mired in asymmetric power relations, to borrow Mary Louise Pratt’s terminology⁷. While this study must touch on economic and political themes, it is the cultural consequences of these interactions that are of interest

⁵ Stephen Neill, *A History of the Christian Missions* (London: Penguin Books, 1990 [1964]) 171

⁶ Barbara Anne Ganson, *The Guaraní Under Spanish Rule in the Río de la Plata* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003); Julia J.S. Sarreal, *The Guaraní and Their Missions: A Socioeconomic History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014); Magnus Mörner, *The political and economic activities of the Jesuits in the Río de la Plata region: the Hapsburg era* (Stockholm: Library and Institute of Ibero-American studies, 1967); Adalberto López, *The revolt of the Comuñeros (sic), 1721-1735* (Cambridge: Schenkman, 1976) to give a few examples.

⁷ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992).

and their impact on the survival and change of both the Jesuits as an Order and the Guaraní as a culture.

A common typology used to describe power relations in Latin America is a simple geographic divide. The Europeans—mainly through the Royal Administration, the Catholic Church, and later the elite landowners—held the power over the Indigenous populations, who are generally not split into groups in anything but anthropological works. In Paraguay, however, we frequently see groups within this dichotomy veer from their usual roles. Indigenous groups are divided into two subgroups in the mission era: Mission Indian and non-Mission Indians. Though the subgroups are often generalized as “Guaraní,” this term did not refer to a tribe as much as it was a blanket term used to encompass any native speaker of a dialect of the Guaraní language. Like many native populations, the “Guaraní” subgroups were often at war with each other before the arrival of the Europeans. To imply that the “Guaraní” were split solely based on their mission status erases a complex set of pre-existing power relations within the pre-Colombian Upper Plata region.

In addition, the missions did not accumulate tribes as much as they accumulated individuals. To join the missions was a personal choice. Guaraní individuals would often find themselves with a choice of living with family in the missions or living with family in a traditional semi-nomadic way of life. Individuals usually followed their chieftain or *cacique*⁸; in practice it fell to the cacique to invite the Jesuits to build a mission on their land or to ask the Jesuits to invite them into a pre-existing mission⁹. This led to

⁸ Though originally a Taíno term, *cacique* has come to mean the local chieftain of the dominant indigenous societal unit. In this case, the *cacique* was known in Guaraní as the *teýy-ru*.

⁹ Ganson, *The Guaraní Under Spanish Rule* 36.

fluctuations in mission sizes. If working or living conditions did not live up to a certain standard or if they found themselves too alienated from their culture, individuals would simply cross back over the imaginary mission line and re-join the “non-Mission Indians”. This was a powerful weapon in non-verbal negotiation for the Guaraní; the Jesuits needed them for the survival of the missions, so the priests found themselves forced to comply with these demands. Some traditional hierarchies remained intact in the missions, though there were interruptions in the order with their new partners.

That being said, the European side is the one that diverges the most from the model proposed in this typical typology. The perception of a unified European front presented by mid-20th century historians like Mörner is faulty in many aspects. European “power” was split in three main actors: Crown, Church and Citizenry. The only one to present anything remotely close to a united front was the Citizenry, for it was largely made up of people looking to profit off the land, usually using an indigenous workforce. The interests of the settlers were usually uniform, though they did not necessarily correspond to the interests of the Crown and the Church.

The Crown, on the other hand, was complex because there were two fronts to consider: the Spain-based Crown itself and the local representatives of the crown, which included notably a Viceroy in Lima and a governor in Asunción. In turn, the representatives of the crown were not always clear, for there were representatives in Asunción, Buenos Aires, and, with the most power, in Lima. Whereas no Spanish outpost dealt directly with the Crown without a representative, only remote outposts had to go through so many of them. It is also worth noting that governorships were usually used as political platforms, so a governor that impressed the Crown gained favour and fortune. This was not as prevalent in the province of Paraguay: due to the previously

mentioned lack of resources, the Crown rarely paid attention to developments in Asunción¹⁰. This royal apathy led to greater autonomy for the governor, and eventually to a tug of war for power over Asunción between Lima and Buenos Aires.

Much like the Crown, the Church was also split. While the Vatican was the supreme power, it relied almost entirely on Orders to spread the faith in the Americas. The plurality of orders often meant a plurality of interpretations of Vatican doctrine. The further one was from Europe—in travel time—the more autonomous the Orders were. Once again, economic importance also played a role: as there was such a strong connection between the Crown and the Vatican, areas of economic or strategic importance to the Crown were watched more closely. In Paraguay, the Church did not directly play a large role, it instead delegated to religious Orders—mainly the Jesuits and the Franciscans. This is an aspect that will be further developed in Chapter one.

The Jesuits, on the one hand, portrayed themselves—mostly accurately— as the defenders of the Guaraní, as they based their practice on protection of the weak and the poor alongside evangelization. Formed in 1540, they were at the time much younger than the other present Orders. To facilitate the organization's growth, they gained a reputation for establishing a presence in areas difficult to access or of little interest to anyone else. We can think of the Philippines, of Quebec, or of the South American and Asian interiors as examples. In the Upper Plata, this meant establishing a presence at the farthest region of Spanish influence. Late arrivals, they felt their duty was to the Church

¹⁰ The best known of the sixteenth and seventeenth century governors of the Upper Plata—whether in the province of Nueva Andalusia, Río de la Plata, Río de la Plata and Paraguay, Guayra, or Paraguay—was likely Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, who is best known for his role on the ill-fated Narváez expedition through Florida, Louisiana, Texas and Northern Mexico, and not for his unspectacular administration of Nueva Andalusia.

and to the people they were trying to convert, not to the settlers or to the establishment. Unlike other Orders, the Jesuit presence in the capital was scarce. The Jesuits represented in the early seventeenth century an upsetting of the status quo.

The Jesuits quickly became the most powerful and influential organization in the Upper Plata due to their economic influence and to the number of Guaraní under their protection. However, they never succeeded in establishing a presence in the Diocese, from which the Bishop managed ecclesiastical affairs in the province. Between the creation of the Diocese of Paraguay in 1547 and the end of the eighteenth century, there were eight secular bishops, seven Franciscan bishops, four Dominican bishops, two Mercedarians, one Augustinian, and one Benedictine. Control of the Diocese never therefore represented the true makeup of the religious presence in the Upper Plata, leading to frequent tensions between the Jesuits and the other Orders, usually the Franciscans¹¹.

Lost in this description of the power dynamics are the Guaraní. To properly understand the European mindset at the time, it is necessary to describe these relations without taking into account the Guaraní. European correspondence did not recognize realize that the Guaraní also had agency. They had their own internal power structures, which would come to be defined by a battle for influence between the high-shamans—the *karai*—and the caciques, who would later side with the Jesuits and somewhat convert to Catholicism. They also had individual relations with all the other actors, and their decision to enter mission life was a rational one made by these caciques in an effort to assure the survival of their people and their culture. The Guaraní did not

¹¹ López, *Revolt of the Compañeros* 57.

join forces with the Jesuits because they were suddenly struck by the divine grace of the Catholic God, but because they judged that the Jesuits offered them the best protection from forces that would harm them. They notable felt threatened by the Portuguese *bandeirantes*¹²—slave-raiders from Sao Paulo who frequently raided the Upper Plata for Guaraní to bring back with them to Brazil—and the local Asunción elites—who sought to herd them into *encomiendas* for forced labour. Such a threat were the *bandeirantes* that, by 1630, two thirds of mission Guaraní were estimated to have been captured¹³, along with an uncounted amount of non-mission Guaraní. Association with the Jesuits was the best way, they judged, to assure their safety and the survival of their way of life, or at least of parts of their way of life. While the Jesuits could not prevent *bandeirante* attacks or fully protect the territory they had access to better weaponry and a strategic understanding of *bandeirante* plans. The Guaraní relationship with the Crown, though is its own dynamic, varied over time. During the battle of 1628 with the Portuguese over the frontier, the Guaraní gladly fought alongside, and more often than not alone, under the Spanish flag. This was not because the Jesuits told them to, but rather because their territory was at stake. A century and a half later, in the aftermath of the treaty of Madrid of 1750, the Guaraní fought for their land again in the Guaraní War, this time against a combined Portuguese and Spanish force—the Spanish having signed over the land in the Treaty without consulting the Guaraní. Once again, this was not a Jesuit initiative, though the Jesuit failure to control the Guaraní contributed to the expulsion of the Jesuits from Portuguese territories in 1759, French ones in 1764 and Spanish ones in 1767.

¹² Also known as *Mamelucos*.

¹³ Robert H. Jackson, *Missions and the Frontiers of Spanish America: A Comparative Study of the Impact of Environmental, Economic, Political, and Socio-Cultural Variations on the Missions in the Río de la Plata Region and on the Northern Frontier of New Spain* (Scottsdale: Pentacle Press, 2005) 327.

The simplistic polar European-Guaraní typology is a flawed premise when approaching Upper Platine power relations, as multiple sub-actors had various levels of influence. This research will therefore attempt to limit itself to the interactions between the Jesuits and the mission Guaraní. Of course, contextual references to other actors will occur throughout the study as there is pressure placed on the two main actors, but this pressure rarely translated into concrete action¹⁴. The main actors generally acted with independence, and it is this independence that makes their cultural exchange worthy of analysis.

In order to study this cultural exchange, four elements will be examined in depth, each of which has been analyzed from a restricted angle but not in the context of cultural exchange. All four elements are pertinent to this study as we can find within them changes to both the alien culture and the host culture, meaning concessions were made by both sides in the cultural negotiations surrounding them. In studying these elements, we are able to see the ways that Jesuit missionaries overlooked, allowed or even strategically encouraged the integration of the Guaraní cultural elements into their traditional Christian, usually Spanish, worldview. We can also see how the indigenous Guaraní leveraged things the Jesuits needed, like their very presence in the missions, to integrate their own elements into the dominant alien culture, leading to what Ortiz calls a “transcultured”¹⁵ society¹⁶. Of course, one would be hard-pressed to argue that the transcultural balance was even, so to say, but the circumstances surrounding the

¹⁴ For example, the constant pressure from Madrid to use Castilian as the missionary language instead of Guaraní.

¹⁵ The concept of a “transcultured society” as a result is relevant to this study despite earlier criticism of the term “transculturation”; I favour the concept “cultural exchange” as an artificial process rather than the natural “transculturation” but they both result in a transcultured society.

¹⁶ Fernando Ortiz, *Cuban Counterpoint*, 1947.

missionary contact zone did allow for a deeper degree of cultural exchange than that found in other contemporary areas of the Spanish Empire, as can be seen by the official use of the Guaraní language.

Generally speaking, colonial Paraguay was never an active cog in the Spanish imperial machine. While a provincial capital was established in Asunción, it was never more than that—a provincial capital¹⁷. The province's lack of valuable economic resources—gold and silver, but also copper, sugar, tobacco, and coffee—or its economic disadvantage in producing them relegated it to an afterthought in the mind of Spanish colonial administrators. The governorship and bishopric were seldom sought-after positions, usually going to old colonial servants to thank them for their service, or to young men eager to work their way up¹⁸. Throughout the colonial period, Asunción was in the shadow of Lima, which was where the true political and economic action was occurring in the Viceroyalty of Peru. This relative obscurity opened many doors, including the one through which the Society of Jesus entered. Despite not being important politically or economically, the province did share an important border with Portuguese South America and contained a fairly large indigenous population. In order to assure the protection of the border, the imperial administrators wanted to maintain some sort of presence in the area. In addition, the Crown and the Papacy only authorized settlement under set conditions, one of which was the evangelization of the native populace. These conditions, in addition to the fact that the more established religious orders already had comfortable assignments in areas of higher visibility, meant that a

¹⁷ Elman R. Service, *Spanish-Guaraní Relations in Early Colonial Paraguay* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1971) 28.

¹⁸ Paola Domingo, *Naissance d'une société métisse : aspects socio-économiques du Paraguay de la conquête à travers les dossiers testamentaires* (Montpellier : ETILAL Publications, 2006) 172.

younger order like the Jesuits would be given a chance to provide its service in the heart of South America.

The circumstances surrounding the missions also provided another factor that meant more influence for the Guaraní: numbers. The lack of interest in the area meant that these missions were poorly staffed; one could often find only a handful of ecclesiastics managing a mission that was home to thousands. This numerical advantage could be transferred into a certain strategic advantage when it came to cultural negotiations. Numerically impaired, the Jesuits were unable to run or maintain the missions without the help of the Guaraní, who were well aware of this, and occasionally used it to their advantage when they needed something or when the Jesuits pushed their agenda too strongly. At times of disagreement, the Guaraní would occasionally go back into the forest, or the quality of their work would suffer. These tactics were used as tools to ensure that they had a say in how their lives and surroundings were managed, similar to what James C. Scott calls “weapons of the weak”¹⁹.

This all leads into the four cultural elements that will be studied: religion, art, language, and yerba mate. Religion is particularly interesting because it represents the main goal of the Jesuit Order: evangelization. Any discussion of syncretism must first come with the recognition that the word “religion” does not fully express this exchange. The Jesuits generally saw the Guaraní as a people without religion, and the two groups cannot be placed on the same level as one practiced a monotheistic religion and the other had more of a polytheistic spiritual worldview. These clashing definitions were actually conducive to syncretism, as the acceptance of Christian rituals did not necessarily

¹⁹ James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

detract from the practice and observance of the traditional Guaraní ones. Though the Guaraní worldview has essentially been replaced by a syncretized one which considers itself to be under the Christian umbrella today, exceptional anthropological works by H  l  ne Clastres²⁰, Pierre Clastres²¹, and Le  n Cadogan²² have guided researchers in Guaran   mythology and have mapped their spiritual belief system. Cadogan, Paraguay's leading ethnologist, reconstituted what he believed to be pre-contact versions of their founding myths and legends, based on his piecing together of similarities and differences in the tales from interactions with geographically distant subtribes of the Guaran   family.

The Jesuit worldview, on the other hand, is well known and was well documented at the time. Multiple complete histories of Paraguay²³ were written during the missionary period. These primary sources act as both a guide to their belief system and to how they perceived the Guaran  . In addition, a recently published collection of letters from the superiors general to the fathers on the ground in Paraguay from the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu²⁴, the Jesuit archive in Rome, provides insight as to their instructions in all domains, including religion. Upon consultation of these two

²⁰ H  l  ne Clastres, *La terre sans mal : le proph  tisme tupi-guaran  * (Paris :   ditions du Seuil, 1975).

²¹ Pierre Clastres, *Le grand parler : Mythes et chants sacr  s des Indiens Guaran  * (Paris :   ditions du Seuil, 1974).

²² Le  n Cadogan, *La literatura de los Guaran  s* (Mexico: Editorial Joaqu  n Mortiz, 1970 [1965]).

²³ Pedro Lozano SJ, *Historia de la Compa  a de Jes  s de la provincia del Paraguay* (Madrid: Supremo Consejo de la Inquisici  n, 1754-55, 2 vols.); Pierre Fran  ois Xavier de Charlevoix SJ, *Histoire du Paraguay* (Paris: Didot, Giffard, Nyon, 1756, 3 vols.); Antonio Ru  z de Montoya SJ, *The Spiritual Conquest Accomplished by the Religious of the Society of Jesus in the Provinces of Paraguay, Paran  , Uruguay, and Tape: A Personal Account of the Founding and Early Years of the Jesuit Paraguay Reductions* (St Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1993 [1639]); Martin Dobrizhoffer SJ, *An account of the Abipones, an equestrian people of Paraguay* (London: John Murray, 1802 [1784], 3 vols.); Nicholas del Techo SJ, *The History of the Provinces of Paraguay, Tucuman, Rio de la Plata, Parana, Guaira and Uruaica, and something of the Kingdom of Chile in South America*, (London: Henry Lintot and John Osborn, 1746 [1673]); Anton Sepp von Reinegg SJ and Anthony Behme SJ, *An account of a voyage from Spain to Paraguarria, containing a description of all the remarkable things and the inhabitants, as well as of missionaries residing in that country* (Mumbai: Reink Books, 2015 [1697]); Compagnie de J  sus, *Le Gouvernement du Paraguay sous les J  suites* (Madrid, 1771).

²⁴ Mart  n Mar  a Morales SJ (ed.), *A mis manos han llegado: Cartas de los PP. Generales a la Antigua Provincia del Paraguay (1608-1639)* (Roma: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2005 [Vol. 1]).

pools of sources, the religion and spiritual elements prioritized by both groups can be identified; resting behind those priorities are the elements involved in the cultural exchange.

Using this same pool of sources, art can be analyzed. In the missions, art consisted mainly of architecture and ornamental decoration. The centerpiece of the mission and main building worth decorating was always the church; therefore, art in the missions had a strong religious character. Due to the short supply of Europeans in the area, Guaraní residents were trained in classic European artistic techniques and produced most of the buildings, decorations, statues and ornaments on site. Because of the control they had on the mode of religious production, they were able to integrate their spiritual worldview into this Christian art, a phenomenon illustrated by Gauvin Alexander Bailey in his seminal 2001 monograph²⁵ and his 2005 follow-up²⁶, as well as by Serge Gruzinski²⁷. The example of art showcases that transculturation was not always a negotiation, but could sometimes be done covertly by the host culture seeking to assure its survival.

The third cultural element worth studying is the concept of linguistic imperialism, first coined by Danish linguist Robert Phillipson²⁸. Though his study focuses on English as the lingua franca in the twentieth century, it can be translated with ease towards the dominance of Castilian in the Spanish Empire. For a few reasons, this strict concept of linguistic imperialism translates poorly to Paraguay, a country where

²⁵ Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions of Latin America and Asia, 1542-1773* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001 [1999]).

²⁶ Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Art of colonial Latin America* (London: Phaidon, 2005).

²⁷ Serge Gruzinski, *La guerre des images de Christophe Colomb à Blade Runner (1492-2019)* (Paris: Fayard, 1990).

²⁸ Robert Phillipson, *Linguistic Imperialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

more people in the twenty-first century speak Guaraní than Spanish. Joan Rubin²⁹ attempts to explain this by drawing heavily on the concept of “language loyalty,” a sort of nationalism based on language, and on various demographic elements that restricted the Spaniards’ ability to spread the use of their language. Lenka Zajícová also reduced the use of Guaraní in the colonial period to one of demographic necessity³⁰. While the conditions described by these linguists were all real, Jesuit chroniclers offer a different explanation: language simply was not as big a priority in Paraguay as it was elsewhere in the world. Whereas the Christian faith was seen as the one true faith of the civilized people by the Spanish Crown and by the Vatican, multiple European languages were considered as civilized under the same umbrella. Jesuit missionaries did not see a need to civilize the Guaraní linguistically because their language was already considered the equivalent of any European one. If anything, the only form of linguistic imperialism that can be seen on the mission is seen when the Jesuits attempted to write down the Guaraní language in grammars and the recording of history on paper rather than through oral traditions. Lynn Mario T. Menezes de Sousa³¹ argues that the true “white man’s language” in this case is the written language, making the study of linguistic imperialism a particularly interesting one in the context of colonial Paraguay.

Finally, the fourth cultural element to be analyzed is the cultural importance of yerba mate, or Paraguayan tea. Originally frowned upon as “the devil’s herb,” yerba mate soon grew into the missions’ main source of economic livelihood. Culturally, it is

²⁹ Joan Rubin, *National Bilingualism in Paraguay* (The Hague: Mouton, 1968).

³⁰ Lenka Zajícová, *El bilingüismo paraguayo: Usos y actitudes hacia el guaraní y el castellano* (Madrid: Iberoamerica, 2009).

³¹ Lynn Mario T. Menezes de Souza, *Entering a Culture Quietly: Writing and Cultural Survival in Indigenous Education in Brazil*, 2006.

one of the many “sacred herbs” that was used as medicine by the Guaraní shamans before contact. Though it was not consumed recreationally in precolonial times, the Guaraní insistence on its consumption in the missions showcases the adaptability of cultural elements—the use of yerba mate was modified to assure its survival. Many modern socioeconomic histories have been written about Paraguay; all of them devote important sections to the yerba mate trade³². Though those volumes are all very useful in this section as well as throughout the study, they do not properly assess the dilemma faced by Jesuits when they realized that a product they had labelled as the devil’s was indispensable to the success of the missions, both economically and demographically. Some of the aforementioned chroniclers³³ discuss the issue, but they tend to shy away from both the herb’s meaning and the Jesuit interpretation of it. Andrés Prieto³⁴, however, explains the forced shift of the Jesuit interpretation to fit the acceptance of the herb in missionary life. In doing so, he also explores the European expropriation of indigenous knowledge, a frequently occurring phenomenon in contact zones, but nevertheless a means of survival for the host culture.

Though a variety of primary sources were consulted for this study, the nature of the thesis prevents us from overly trusting their validity. The Guaraní peoples have a rich oral tradition, but their language was never written down in precolonial times and

³² Ganson, *Guaraní under Spanish rule*; Sarreal, *The Guaraní and their Missions*; Adalberto López, *Comuñeros*; Thomas Whigham, *The Politics of River Trade: Tradition and Development in the Upper Plata, 1780-1870* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991); Elman R Service, *Spanish-Guaraní Relations*; Nicholas P. Cushner, *Why Have You Come Here: The Jesuits and the First Colonial Evangelization of Native America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

³³ See footnote 23.

³⁴ Andrés I. Prieto, “From the Devil’s Herb to Saint Thomas’ Gift: The Christianisation of Guaraní Sacred Plants in the Jesuit Reductions of Paraguay” in *Medieval and Early Modern Devotional Objects in Global Perspective: Translations of the Sacred*, Elizabeth Robertson and Jennifer Jahner eds. (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010).

still remains mainly an oral language today³⁵. This leaves us with only Jesuit contemporary accounts and modern works of anthropology. For decoding the Guaraní culture, the works of Cadogan and both Clastres are infinitely more valuable than the primary sources, as Jesuits both misunderstood and manipulated information. Because their writing was directed at certain policymakers and ecclesiastic elites, Jesuit accounts are barely trustworthy for direct historical purposes. Their value in this context is the insight that they provide into their mentality, their justification of their policies, and their interpretation of what was going on around them.

Together, these four cultural elements reveal the level of cultural exchange that occurred in the Jesuit missions of Paraguay. By working together both explicitly and covertly, the Guaraní and the Jesuits managed to compromise on some important issues. Both sides managed to keep a fair degree of agency over the cultural elements that were most important to them—Christianity for the Jesuits and both the Guaraní language and the survival of the use of sacred herbs for the Guaraní.

³⁵ Sara Delicia Villagra-Batoux, “The Guaraní Language – the Paraguayan Seal of Identity: A Path to Integration and Development”, *Museum International* 60, No. 3 (2008) 52.

Chapter 1

From Mohammed's Paradise to the Christian Jesuit Republic:

Colonial Paraguay Before the Jesuits

While the monarchs of Europe were beginning to ponder the idea of a navigational route to the Indies, the Tupi-Guaraní tribal family were present in most of the east coast of South America, south of the Amazon. Whereas many Tupi tribes inhabited the areas just south of the Amazon, Guaraní peoples could be found as far north as the Tietê River, near modern São Paulo³⁶. Their settlements spread down the three major rivers of the area, the Parana, Uruguay and Paraguay Rivers, into the modern republics of Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay. Separated from their cousins by the vast semi-arid Gran Chaco, Guaraní tribes also lived west of modern Paraguay, into modern Bolivia, on the fringe of the imposing Inca Empire³⁷. Despite having a presence over such a vast area, the Tupi-Guaraní tribes did not present the same characteristics as the Inca. They did not have an administrative center or shared rulers, their territory was never defined, no collaborative labour or education institutions were established, and their class system was rudimentary³⁸. Whereas the Inca Empire featured not only a ruling class but also a “noble” class charged with various duties such as tribute collecting and census taking—neither of which occurred on Guaraní territory—and a slave-like working class³⁹, the Guaraní essentially lived in a three-tier class system. The *teýy-ru* was the head of the group, featuring between 10 and 60 traditional families,

³⁶ See Appendix 1; fig 1.

³⁷ Clastres, *La terre sans mal*, 7-8.

³⁸ Justo Pastor Benítez, *Formación social del Pueblo Paraguayo* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Nizza, 1967) 20.

³⁹ Irene Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches: Gender Ideologies and Class in Inca and Colonial Peru* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987) 15.

called the *teýy*. The *teýy-ru* had the responsibility of creating diplomatic ties, which was done through marriage, and growing the *teýy*. He shared his power with the shaman, who was the group's spiritual leader. Everybody else in the *teýy* shared a similar position in assuring the functioning of the autonomous unit, which was an independent polity both economically and politically⁴⁰.

Unlike the Inca, there was no permanent network linking the different *teýys* and tribal groups. They therefore developed in different manners, leading to different dialects, attitudes and versions of similar myths important to the Guaraní spiritual worldview. The term "Guaraní" has become a blanket term to describe any native tribal unit that spoke a variation of the Guaraní language. Various nations in the region spoke different variations, but they could all communicate through Guaraní⁴¹. This does not mean that all Guaraní units knew of each other, let alone interacted, collaborated or organized in any way. Conflict occasionally broke out, which led to the formation of *amundás*—larger villages formed by the defensive collaboration of multiple *teýys*—as well as *teko 'as*, which are formed by multiple *amundás*, and finally *guarás*, the largest form of organization formed by multiple *teko 'as*. Instability grew alongside the size of the settlements as the ultimate loyalty always remained with the *teýy*, and these larger units were terminated once their goal was accomplished. Formation of these larger organizational structures could also be for celebration in addition to conflict⁴².

Conflict within and outside the Guaraní linguistic family persisted well into the colonial era and was a constant source of concern for the Jesuit missions. The frequent

⁴⁰ Sarreal, *The Guaraní and Their Missions*, 18-19.

⁴¹ Ruiz de Montoya, *Spiritual Conquest* 142.

⁴² *Ibid* 19.

working trips to the *yerbales*⁴³ were under constant threat of attack, especially by the Montese and Mbaya peoples⁴⁴. The Montese are a Paï Tavytera people, part of the Guaraní linguistic family, whereas the Mbayá are part of the Guaycurú, neighbours and distantly related traditional rivals of the Guaraní and part of the Guaycurú linguistic family. These conflicts led to a division of indigenous individuals into two subgroups in the mission era: Mission Indians and non-Mission Indians. Though the mission Indians are often generalized as “Guaraní” because of the mission language, this term did not necessarily apply to every indigenous individual on the mission. The European insistence on calling them all “Guaraní” and on dividing them based on their mission status erased a complex set of pre-existing power relations from pre-Colombian times⁴⁵.

As previously mentioned, the missions did not recruit tribes as much as they recruited individuals. The choice of mission life or non-mission life was an individual one. Mission populations could vary based on a sudden influx if the outside got more dangerous or a sudden exodus if the Guaraní did not feel they were being treated fairly.

Though the Guaraní chose to be in the missions and generally found the advantages to outnumber the disadvantages, forms of everyday resistance—James C. Scott’s term for the little things that lower-class individuals could do to force change at the top⁴⁶—such as this one assured that the balance of power never tipped so far to the side of the Jesuits that the Guaraní could be culturally assimilated.

⁴³ See footnote 248 on p. 74.

⁴⁴ Whigham, *The Politics of River Trade* 114.

⁴⁵ That being said, a vast majority of the population on the missions belonged to one of the Guaraní peoples and the missions are historically accepted as the “Guaraní missions”. We will continue to use the term Guaraní for “Mission Indians” and specify when clarifications are needed.

⁴⁶ Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*.

While Guaraní relationships with the first expeditions to travel inland to Paraguay were reportedly positive and friendly, it is probable that this was once again due to the European naming practices. The term “Guaraní” is usually found when the encounter was a positive one, whereas an account of a negative encounter would be more likely to feature terms like “*Indios*,” or “*naturales*” in the Spanish accounts and “*sauvages*” in the French ones. Encounters with the “Guaraní,” however, were characterized by friendly relationships, alliance building, and occasional one-sided provision of women.

The first European to sail by the Río de la Plata estuary was Gonzalo Coelho in 1501, only one year after Pedro Álvares Cabral first sailed down the coast of Brazil⁴⁷. Both these explorers travelled under the Portuguese flag, attempting to establish Portuguese dominance over the South Atlantic. While Spain was establishing its presence in the Caribbean, Portugal was ahead in the race to the original preferred destination, Asia. Unlike Spain’s route, Portugal navigated south, establishing trade ports along the coast of Africa before eventually rounding the Cape of Good Hope into the Indian Ocean. The revelation of a Western continent presented new possibilities, and Portuguese sailors were exploring the possibility of potentially reaching Asia by sailing around Cape Horn instead. When the cities of Goa and Malacca were conquered by Portugal in present day India and Malaysia in 1510 and 1511 respectively, the search for quicker access was amplified and Portugal increased its efforts. João de Lisboa explored

⁴⁷ Domingo, *Naissance* 22.

sixty miles into what he called the “Prata” river in 1513-14 and falsely reported, upon landing in Portugal, having found a strait that led to the Pacific⁴⁸.

When this information made its way to Spain, the reaction was swift. An expedition led by Juan Díaz de Solís was sent in 1516 to travel up the river under the Spanish flag. It did not end well for Díaz de Solís, who was captured, killed, and, according to an unconfirmed and unlikely legend, eaten⁴⁹. His encounter was later reported by Jesuit sources as being with the Charrúa people⁵⁰, though it is geographically more likely that it was with the Guaraní⁵¹. Despite the undesirable outcome of the Díaz de Solís expedition, Spain found that the Río de la Plata was west of the boundary defined by the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494, and therefore Spanish territory rather than Portuguese. As the potential mineral richness of the area and the fabled strait leading to Asia had yet to be discovered, a minor territorial squabble began. Both the Díaz de Solís and the Lisboa expeditions claimed that the Río de la Plata hid a rich mineral deposit, thus its “River of Silver” moniker.

Meanwhile, the Spaniards were already in contact and establishing relations with the Guaraní. Upon its retreat, one of the ships from Díaz de Solís’ expedition shipwrecked somewhere in Southern Brazil. A small group survived, including Aleixo García, who would become known to some as the father of the Paraguayan nation⁵². They were taken in by the Guaraní and taught the language, the mythology, and the

⁴⁸ João Capistrano de Abreu, *Chapters of Brazil’s Colonial History 1500-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997) 28.

⁴⁹ Modern anthropological research suggests that neither the Charrúa nor the Guaraní engaged in anthropophagy, though this is still debated.

⁵⁰ The Charrúa people were related to the Guaycurú people, though they also had their own language. They were often in conflict with the Guaraní.

⁵¹ Domingo, *Naissance* 41.

⁵² García took a Guaraní woman and fathered the first Paraguayan mestizo child. García is considered the father of the Paraguayan nation as modern Paraguay is a distinct mestizo nation.

landscape⁵³. There, García learned about the legendary *Sierra de la Plata* that apparently lay to the West. As the story goes, García convinced a Guaraní force to accompany him to Potosí, where he collected silver samples to send back to the rest of the survivors of Díaz de Solís' expedition. García and his group were then attacked by rival Guaraní, where the explorer perished. Some historians doubt the historical validity of Aleixo García's tale, though its relevance is not its validity but that it was believed by contemporary explorers and those for generations to come⁵⁴. His story only added to the lure of the region, as Francisco Pizarro had yet to reach the Inca Empire and this was thus believed to be the best route to the *Sierra de la Plata*. For the only period in its history, Paraguay was thought to be rich in minerals. Spain also learned that they would need an alliance to conquer it⁵⁵.

García's tale spread back to Europe as well, and inspired Portugal to send another attempt⁵⁶. As the Strait of Magellan had finally been found to the South, this expedition was sent inland to explore the river, find the mountain and bring back "400 slaves loaded down with silver"⁵⁷. After leaving Cananéia⁵⁸ in 1531, Martim Afonso de Sousa made it to the Río Iguazu before being shipwrecked and allegedly attacked by Carijós⁵⁹, making the mission unsuccessful⁶⁰. Before they could organize another

⁵³ Domingo, *Naissance* 43.

⁵⁴ Charles E. Nowell, "Aleixo Garcia and the White King" *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 26 (No. 4, 1946) 450.

⁵⁵ Carmen Bertrand et Serge Gruzinski, *Histoire du Nouveau Monde: Les métissages* (Paris : Fayard 1993) 451.

⁵⁶ Spain also tried again, though unofficially. Sebastian Cabot rerouted his trip to the Far East in order to explore the Río de la Plata in 1526.

⁵⁷ Capistrano de Abreu, *Chapters* 32.

⁵⁸ In the south of today's São Paulo state.

⁵⁹ Carijós are part of the Guaraní family.

⁶⁰ Edith Portchat, *Incormações históricas sobre São Paulo no século de sua fundação* (São Paulo: Iluminuras Ltda, 1993 [1956]) 142.

expedition, word spread in early 1534 that Pizarro had secured the Inca Empire and Potosí under the Spanish flag⁶¹.

Spain secured the Río de la Plata later that year. Don Pedro de Mendoza was made *adelantado*⁶² of the new Río de la Plata province⁶³ and made responsible for colonizing it⁶⁴. His expedition arrived in 1536-7, composed of 1300 men and about a hundred horses, and founded a temporary settlement near present-day Buenos Aires⁶⁵. He did not have much difficulty recruiting men, as Garcia's story still inspired dreams of wealth throughout Europe, and news was spreading of Pizarro's Inca treasure. Mendoza was not the most competent of governors—he had been infected with syphilis in Europe and spent half his time bed-ridden—and the expedition suffered from both famine and native attacks⁶⁶. As food was an issue, the men organized various expeditions to search for allies and riches. After *adelantado* Mendoza returned home to die in 1537, his successor Juan de Ayolas organized a trip up the Paraguay River past the Gran Chaco to search for Potosí. There, they encountered the Payaguá people⁶⁷, who killed all 170 members of the expedition, including the newly minted governor⁶⁸. Another expedition took place near the confluence of the Paraguay and Paraná Rivers, this time meeting the friendly Guaraní, forging a lasting alliance with them and solidifying it with the establishment of a permanent settlement named Nuestra Señora Santa Maria de la

⁶¹ Domingo, *Naissance* 45.

⁶² A position adjacent to governorship.

⁶³ At the time New Andalusia.

⁶⁴ This expedition, though technically the Mendoza expedition, is occasionally known as the Irala expedition, as future governor Martínez de Irala was on this trip and had a larger role in shaping the area than his predecessors Mendoza and Juan de Ayolas, both of whom died before completing their first year in office.

⁶⁵ Service, *Spanish-Guaraní Relations* 19.

⁶⁶ Domingo, *Naissance* 67, 80.

⁶⁷ One of the Guaycurú groups that settled the Chaco, known for its hostility to Europeans.

⁶⁸ Service, *Spanish-Guaraní Relations* 19.

Asunción, or simply Asunción, on the 15th of August 1537, the Feast Day of the Assumption of Mary.

The Bay of Asunción presented significant geographic and demographic strategic advantages: its cliffs offered excellent vantage points for watching the river and made the fort relatively easy to defend, the land was considered fertile, and the local Guaraní were eager to engage in military and demographic alliances⁶⁹. Members of the expeditions reported that the Guaraní fed them as much as they desired, and that they were offered two women per soldier. Though it may seem that the women were simply an added perk for the Europeans, they were in reality an important part of the alliance. The expedition was meant as a colonization mission to establish a permanent presence in the Río de la Plata, and it had already lost more men than it could afford in the ill-fated Ayolas mission and with the ongoing famine in Buenos Aires. The women offered a sense of stability as well as a medium-term repopulation strategy⁷⁰. For the Guaraní, their behaviour and desire for an alliance likely indicated the presence of a threat nearby, either in the form of rival indigenous peoples or in the form of Portuguese expeditions seeking slaves. Nevertheless, the Guaraní began calling the Spaniards *toayá*, meaning brothers-in-law⁷¹.

In 1538, a Royal Decree arrived announcing the death of Pedro de Mendoza and dictating that, under any circumstances in which the province was without a governor, the Spanish population could elect their own leader. This Decree was effective indefinitely, and was eventually repealed in the mid eighteenth century after the Revolt

⁶⁹ Domingo, *Naissance* 92.

⁷⁰ *Ibid* 93.

⁷¹ *Ibid*.

of the Comuneros⁷². It proved extremely important in reaffirming the autonomous feeling that was prevalent in the Province, which had a tendency to ignore Royal or Ecclesiastic orders more frequently than other Spanish-American provinces⁷³. When it became clear that Juan de Ayolas was not returning from his Potosí expedition, Domingo Martínez de Irala was the first man elected to be governor of New Andalusia; he had taken it upon himself to lead the settlements, which were at that time essentially limited to Buenos Aires and Asunción, in the former governor's prolonged absence. Buenos Aires would soon be wiped out of the equation: one of Irala's first acts as governor was to order the evacuation of the port city to Asunción. Famine and hostile attacks had a significant effect on the Spanish population in the Río de la Plata province and Irala believed that maintaining a presence in Buenos Aires meant leaving the European population alone there to die. He also justified the evacuation by stating that the alliance with the Guaraní was too important for them to lose and that they needed to at least be able to provide enough support to help the Guaraní in their wars⁷⁴. Afraid that certain residents of Buenos Aires would revolt—their living situations had improved as they had successfully started farming the land and some were concerned that abandoning the port would mean communications issues with Spain—Irala burned down the settlement, leaving behind instructions on how to find Asunción for the next Spanish ships.

Without the alliance with the Guaraní, Spanish presence in the Río de la Plata would not have been sustainable. In addition to the lack of nutrition, multiple Guaycurú

⁷² See page 33.

⁷³ López, *Revolt of the Comuñeros* 21.

⁷⁴ *Ibid* 107.

groups in the nearby Gran Chaco constantly threatened Asunción. In 1542, a large army was formed with two hundred Spaniards and a large number of Guaraní to go into the Gran Chaco. They were not able to permanently subdue their enemies, but the endeavour was successful in that the two allies worked very well together and developed trust in each other⁷⁵. This campaign was led by Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, newly appointed governor by the King earlier that year. The arrival of Cabeza de Vaca caused great concern among the settlers, specifically with Irala, who found himself stripped of his governorship. Cabeza de Vaca was a veteran conquistador of the famed Narváez expedition, which explored Florida and the Mississippi. That expedition was a disaster; Cabeza de Vaca was blown to Texas by a hurricane, where he reported being enslaved by natives⁷⁶. His distrust in Indigenous populations, which stemmed from his experience in North America, did not seem to be adaptable to a colony that heavily depended on peaceful relations with the Guaraní⁷⁷.

The Cabeza de Vaca expedition revitalized the colony, bringing with it 600 Europeans⁷⁸. However, it also promised change. Cabeza de Vaca was shocked by the perceived anarchy in Asunción, characterized mainly by the polygamy he witnessed. Cabeza de Vaca also sought to repopulate Buenos Aires, as he believed Irala had ordered its evacuation in order to avoid communications with Spain, which would allow lawlessness in Asunción⁷⁹. Cabeza de Vaca's main goal, however, was to find some kind

⁷⁵ Service, *Spanish-Guaraní Relations* 21.

⁷⁶ Mariah Wade, "Go-between: The Roles of Native American Women and Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca in Southern Texas in the 16th Century" *The Journal of American Folklore* 112 (No. 445, 1999) 334. Cabeza de Vaca may have just been made to work the same jobs as women, which he equated to slavery.

⁷⁷ All accounts indicate that this concern was unfounded and Cabeza de Vaca practiced great tact in his dealings with the Guaraní.

⁷⁸ Service, *Spanish-Guaraní Relations* 20.

⁷⁹ Domingo, *Naissance* 132.

of mineral richness in the province to lift it from poverty and enrich himself. By 1544, Asunción was seven years old and none of the Río de la Plata's alleged wealth had been discovered. Cabeza de Vaca took an army of Spaniards and Guaraní to the edge of the Inca Empire, looking to finally confirm the settlement's proximity to wealth. The majority of settlers were not in favour of crossing hostile territory and neither were the Guaraní. Conditions were harsh and attacks frequent. Despite this, Cabeza de Vaca refused to abandon the expedition, losing the trust and confidence of his forces⁸⁰. A mutiny occurred and the group headed back to Asunción, where Cabeza de Vaca was swiftly arrested by a group led by Felipe de Caceres, a future governor. He was imprisoned locally for nearly a year before being sent back to Spain in chains, where he was eventually exonerated⁸¹. The governorship was returned to Irala the following day. The autonomous mentality showcased by Irala and his men is an important one to keep in mind, as complex political relations in Paraguay for the rest of the colonial period operated alongside this same mindset⁸².

The ideological opposition between Cabeza de Vaca and Irala was the first of a long line of conflicts between settlers and the Crown. This power structure was further complicated with the creation of the Viceroyalty of Peru in 1542. Whereas the Governorate of New Andalusia—as it was called until that year—reported directly to the Council of the Indies—the Crown's main administrative arm in Sevilla—the new Governorate of the Río de la Plata reported to the Viceroy in Peru, who then reported to the Council. These many layers complicated political power as the settlers themselves

⁸⁰ *Ibid* 142.

⁸¹ After his two adventures in the Americas, however, Cabeza de Vaca never returned.

⁸² This is partially due to the low immigration rate to Paraguay and the concentration of power among descendants of Irala's men.

were often found in disagreement. During Irala's second mandate, there was tension between Buenos Aires and Asunción, as the latter depended on their alliance with the Guaraní and the former was mainly settled with newcomers from the Cabeza de Vaca expedition who were attempting to farm the land and needed Indigenous workers. In this situation, the Governor was against the use of Indigenous workers, but the Viceroy was in favour of the Porteños⁸³. The Council of the Indies could agree with the Viceroy, but if the King was on the Governor's side, administrative action could be complicated and delayed. Letters frequently had to be sent between the Spanish capital⁸⁴, Sevilla, Lima, Asunción, and Buenos Aires, which meant that issues could take years to be resolved. While no Spanish-American outpost dealt directly with the Crown without an intermediary, the province of Paraguay generally had to go through more intermediaries than normal. This royal apathy—due to lack of economic opportunities—led to greater autonomy for the governor, and eventually to a greater tug of war for power over Asunción between Lima and Buenos Aires, as Buenos Aires became the seat of the Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata.

Adding more layers to the complex political onion that was colonial Río de la Plata were the policies of the various ecclesiastical actors. The Church had multiple stakeholders and relied almost entirely on orders to spread the faith in the Americas. Once again, economic importance also played a role: as there is such a strong connection between the Crown and the Vatican, areas of economic or strategic importance to the Crown were watched more closely.

⁸³ Residents of Buenos Aires.

⁸⁴ Madrid, Toledo, or Valladolid, depending on the era.

In the Río de la Plata, two Orders established themselves as the main Church presence: the Society of Jesus—or Jesuits—and the Order of Friars Minor—or Franciscan Order. The Franciscans were the more established ecclesiastics, founded centuries before the Jesuits. While they are well known for their missionary work in the northern reaches of the Spanish-American Empire, their near monopoly only lasted a few decades in the Río de la Plata. It was a Franciscan priest—Father Bernardo de Arementa—whose feud with Cabeza de Vaca played a large role in the legitimacy of his expulsion⁸⁵. Having previously enjoyed a near monopoly on education, they resented the Jesuits' arrival. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, they were mainly found in and around Asunción, running the schools and monasteries as well as the Diocese of Asunción⁸⁶. They were part of early settlement efforts, so they felt a close kinship with the settlers, leading them to often rule in favour of settlers in affairs involving the Guaraní⁸⁷.

The Jesuits, on the other hand, were a young Order formed in 1540. They sought to reinvent the missionary practice and guide their members to take a softer approach avoiding violence as much as possible. The Jesuit philosophy was to earn trust and to covert using only words. A product of its time, the Society of Jesus integrated sixteenth Century humanist thought into the Catholic Church, causing tension with more traditional conservative Orders.

The Crown and the Church both had internal struggles for power, but this does not mean that these were limited to internal structures. It is impossible to define the

⁸⁵ Marion A. Habig, "The Franciscan Provinces of South America," *The Americas* 2 (No.4, 1946) 462.

⁸⁶ At the time named Diocese of Paraguay until the country was granted a second diocese in 1929.

⁸⁷ López, *Comuñeros* 57.

relation between the “Crown,” the “Church,” and the “settlers,” because their subgroups had varying dynamics with each other. A clear example of these diverging relations is the undefinable relationship between the “Crown” and the “Church”. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Asunción political elite consistently protested the Jesuit presence in the area. The local economy was based on agriculture with labour intensive cash crops tobacco, sugar, cotton, and yerba mate, as well as crops for local subsistence such as manioc, maize, sweet potatoes, beans, peanuts and pumpkins. There was not enough money to be made in these crops—at least not with the limited shipping routes available to them—for imported slaves to be affordable. Domestic labour institutions like the *encomienda*—a system of forced indigenous labour in which a settler would be granted the labour of a group of Indigenous people in exchange for assuring their evangelization—were therefore viewed as necessary to the prospering of Asunción. To the Asunción political elite and to the settlers, the Jesuit missions represented a large pool of Guaraní workers who were no longer accessible, up to over 140,000 in the 1730s⁸⁸. The relationship becomes even worse when the Jesuits got involved in the economy. Notorious for their economic autonomy, the missions themselves had a significant agricultural output and flooded the market with crops, most notably yerba mate, driving down the price that the Asunción elites and the settlers could charge.

In this political quagmire, certain actors paired up better than others. Generally speaking, the Governors and local administrators in Paraguay—the Asunción political elite—had excellent relations with their Bishops. They also had a great rapport with those who ran their schools, usually the Franciscans. However, they had issues with the

⁸⁸ Sarreal, *The Guaraní and Their Missions* 1.

Jesuits, mainly because the Bishops struggled with the Jesuits. These problems transcended borders and were common in most areas where Jesuits interacted with Bishops⁸⁹. Meanwhile, the Jesuits had excellent relations with the Crown proper—the King and his Royal advisors. Madrid held the Jesuits in high regard because the Crown sought a presence on the frontier and sought the conversion of the Guaraní, two elements that the Jesuits did better than any others. Madrid went as far as granting arms to a Guaraní militia, the only indigenous militia in the Spanish American Empire, when the Portuguese attempted to push the boundaries of Brazil west in the 1630s. Madrid therefore needed the Jesuit presence in the area.

As shown in the preceding pages, much of the conflict in colonial Paraguay revolved around the presence of the Jesuits and their missions. Though the missions were in place from 1609 to 1767, three main periods of conflict affected the area: the *bandeirante* raids from 1628 to 1641, the Revolt of the Comuneros from 1721 to 1735, and the Guaraní War of 1756, which followed the 1750 Treaty of Madrid. A basic understanding of the three conflicts is essential to the study of political culture on the missions, as it provides the background for so many of the political decisions taken by many of the key actors.

By the turn of the seventeenth century, Paraguay had been populated with much larger numbers of European descendants. Some arrived via the immigration route, but most of them were the result of the large amount of sexual activity taking place in Paraguay. Buenos Aires was no longer the only area to use the *encomienda* system; Paraguay had also gotten involved with larger scale farming and needed indigenous

⁸⁹ William V Bangert SJ, *A History of the Society of Jesus, 2nd Edition* (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1986[1971]) 170.

workers for the system to prosper. The *encomienda* is one of the main reasons the Jesuits did not struggle in convincing large amounts of Guaraní leaders to settle their families in the missions. The main Guaraní motivation was security: they saw the landscape changing and felt that association with the Jesuits was best. This meant a different way of confirming the alliance, of course, but the understanding was that the missions were legally owned by the Guaraní, as was the land upon which they were built⁹⁰. In exchange, the Guaraní would convert to Catholicism, which was an easy thing to claim, but more complex in practice⁹¹. The Jesuits were not interested in forming nominal Christians, they wanted to truly educate the Guaraní in biblical matters and change their worldview. The Jesuits were therefore in charge of managing and protecting the enterprise. As the Guaraní were not used to living in such large groups, missionaries were needed to assure that supplies lasted, as the concept of “saving” was not one with which the Guaraní were familiar⁹².

The first threats to the safety of the missions were the *bandeirantes* who, from 1628 to 1641, terrorized the missions with constant slave raids⁹³. In all, the missions lost about 60,000 Guaraní to these raids and three missions were destroyed. An additional two missions had to be moved to the other side of the River in order to get away from the threat⁹⁴. During this period, a Guaraní militia was formed and armed by the Jesuits, without immediate permission from the Crown. The Jesuits requested permission that

⁹⁰ Julia J.S. Sarreal, *Globalization and the Guaraní: From Missions to Modernization in the Eighteenth Century* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 2009) 173.

⁹¹ See chapter 2 for further detail on the topic.

⁹² Cushner, *Why Have You Come Here?* 106.

⁹³ Maurice Ezran, *Une colonisation douce: les missions du Paraguay* (Paris : Éditions L'Harmattan, 1989) 85-88.

⁹⁴ *Ibid* 31.

arms be granted, but the complex bureaucracy did not accept the demand before 1645⁹⁵. Despite this, the Guaraní militia fought, technically under the Spanish flag, to preserve the missions and to protect their territorial integrity, as well as to avoid slavery. Even after 1641, arms were stored in the missions and the Guaraní militia's existence continued. It was useful to Spain on a few occasions during and after the missionary period⁹⁶, though it complicated power structures. As can be expected, a Guaraní militia loyal to the Jesuits in the Paraguayan missions greatly pleased the King, but greatly concerned elites and settlers in Asunción.

The Revolt of the Comuneros, on the other hand, was a local political battle over control of the Governorate in Asunción. Settlers and elites felt that the Jesuits had the governor's favour and were upset over the mission's large workforce producing significant quantities of agricultural product, which drove down their own prices. While the revolts did not directly implicate the Jesuits or the Guaraní, they were a combined rural and urban effort to pressure the Crown into appointing a governor that had the power to reign them in and assert control for Asunción over the missions. Unlike the similarly named Revolt of the Comuneros that took place in New Granada in the 1780s, this revolt had virtually no undertones of independentism.

In the aftermath of the 1750 Treaty of Madrid, the Guaraní fought for their land again in the Guaraní War, this time against a combined Portuguese and Spanish force, the Spanish having signed over the land in the Treaty without consulting the Guaraní⁹⁷. This was not a Jesuit initiative, though the Jesuit failure to control the Guaraní led to the

⁹⁵ López, *Comuñeros* 42.

⁹⁶ Sarreal, *Globalization and the Guaraní* 202.

⁹⁷ Maurice Whitehead, "From Expulsion to Restoration: The Jesuits in Crisis, 1759-1814" *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 103 (No. 412, 2014/15) 450.

expulsion of the Jesuits from Portuguese territories in 1759, French ones in 1764 and Spanish ones in 1767. For the Jesuits and the Guaraní, this was a question of the Guaraní relationship with the Crown, as it had been agreed that mission territory belonged to the Guaraní and was therefore not Spain's to sign over. However, this did not happen long after the Revolt of the Comuneros, which had succeeded in diminishing Jesuit favour in Europe.

Having explored the complexities of internal and external power relations in colonial Paraguay, it becomes rather obvious that the simplistic polar European-Guaraní typology is a flawed premise when approaching Paraguayan power relations. From its very beginnings, the region was settled with an autonomous mindset: far from the metropole, the original settlers were left to fend for themselves. The power structures that did exist never commanded the levels of respect that they commanded elsewhere. In addition, the network of power relations was complex and filled with various actors. To start, the Europeans were themselves split into three groups, Crown, Church and settlers, which were all additionally subdivided with a wide variety of relations. Various factors influence power relations within European circles: competition among religious orders, the region's poorly defined border, and the region's agrarian nature all caused fissures in the polarizing typology. Then, the analysis of power relations has to take into consideration Guaraní agency and the expression of Guaraní political power through movements of population and through their taking up arms.

There is no proper answer when one asks where the power lay in colonial Paraguay, because in this frontier of the Spanish American empire, no one can truly be seen to have had "control" over the land and its inhabitants. That should not be an unsatisfactory answer, though, as the real value is not in figuring out who had power, but

in understanding the plurality of groups that attempted to fill the void and the dynamics between them.

Chapter 2

Uneven Syncretism: The Coming Together of Guaraní and Christian Worldviews in the Early Missionary Period

The primary goal of the Jesuit missions was the evangelization of the Guaraní. A commonly held belief among Europeans was that the Indigenous people first became good Christians, and that civilization came as a natural following step. From the Jesuit perspective, this meant that religion was their priority and that all other elements could potentially be sacrificed or temporarily put aside if it meant a clearer path towards evangelization. It also led to the Jesuits going great lengths to try to understand the Guaraní worldview, in an attempt to present Catholicism in a way that they could understand. On the Guaraní side, however, this emphasis signified that their spiritual world was in danger if they could not find ways of integrating it into the Christian world.

Of course, this focus on religion did not mean that the Jesuits did not put the Guaraní to work as well. With three or four Jesuits often in charge of missions of over one thousand, a proper food source needed to be developed and cultivated locally⁹⁸. Mission Guaraní each had their own jobs. For most, that meant an agricultural task or labour in the realm of animal husbandry to assure the mission's subsistence. At their peak in 1732, the thirty missions combined for a population of 141,182⁹⁹. Sometimes overlooked is that the Jesuits did not, technically or implicitly, own the Guaraní. In fact, they did not even own the missions¹⁰⁰, or what was produced in them, as the Jesuits had

⁹⁸ Ganson, *Guaraní Under Spanish Rule*, 62.

⁹⁹ Sarreal, *The Guaraní and Their Missions*, 1.

¹⁰⁰ Guaraní leaders did not only own the missions, but as per Sarreal (*Globalization and the Guaraní* 27) they were instrumental in many important practices, such as the choosing of mission locations.

a vow of poverty¹⁰¹. The importance of this can of course be debated, as the Guaraní did not have a conception of ownership, having traditionally lived in a land of plenty and never having struggled with famine or mass societal organization¹⁰². That debate is not the goal of this study. Instead, we are going to aim for an exploration of the religious and cultural considerations between two groups which did not necessarily seem like a perfect match. Evangelization was complicated by the misinterpretation of the Guaraní pantheon, by some strategic mistakes and by differences in worldviews. Meanwhile, the Guaraní were able to assure the survival of their worldview and ease their transition to Christianity through two of their most important cultural elements: language and art.

One of the most common tactics used when it comes to evangelization has traditionally been to associate the Christian God with the God at the top of the target religion's pantheon. This strategy did not always work. From their arrival in the province of Paraguay, the Jesuits took two different routes: either they denied that the Guaraní had a deistic religion, or they began associating the Christian God with the Guaraní God of Thunder, Tupã¹⁰³. Though many religions revere their God of Thunder, the Guaraní worldview was not necessarily one of them¹⁰⁴. While Tupã was a creator God, He was not always a benevolent God. H  l  ne Clastres' seminal study *La Terre sans mal* finds that Tupã was a destroyer God and that, in some versions of the myth, He had very little to do with the Creation of the Earth¹⁰⁵. He inspired awe and respect, but

¹⁰¹ Sarreal, *Globalization and the Guaran  *, 119.

¹⁰² Sarreal, *The Guaran   and Their Missions* 70.

¹⁰³ Judith Shapiro, "From Tupã to the Land without Evil: The Christianization of Tupi-Guaran   Cosmology" *American Ethnologist* 14 (No. 1, 1987) 126. Louis Necker claims that this association was one originally made by the Franciscans in the Sixteenth century. Louis Necker, *Indiens Guaran   et Chamanes Franciscains : Les premi  res r  ductions du Paraguay* (Paris:   ditions Anthropos, 1979)) 87.

¹⁰⁴ Some Guaran   groups grant Tupã more importance than others.

¹⁰⁵ Clastes, *Terre sans mal* 33. Clastres does, however, grant Tupã a greater importance than   namand  .

the Guaraní are not reported to have prayed to Him¹⁰⁶. Tupã is also not the main Guaraní god in most of their recorded accounts; that title would belong to Ñamandú. Tupã held many important roles: in addition to being a Creator God and the God of Thunder, He was mainly known as the God responsible for rain. Even with all those roles, He was not responsible for the most important part of the Guaraní worldview: the language.

Ñamandú was the God responsible for language, alongside other various creations.

While most religions—including Christianity—feature a creation myth beginning with the planet, the Guaraní creation myth begins with the all-important “Creation of Human Language”¹⁰⁷. This emphasis on the history of the language—which partially explains the Guaraní’s defense of its use and their keen attention on passing it down, an aspect that will be further explored in chapter four—places Ñamandú at the top of the Guaraní mythological hierarchy, if one even exists¹⁰⁸. Ñamandú was also the God to whom the Guaraní prayed and was sometimes considered the “God of the Rising Sun”¹⁰⁹.

The choice was made by the Jesuits to attempt to syncretize Tupã and the Christian God¹¹⁰. This was in all probability due to the Guaraní reaction—looking up to the sky—every time Tupã was mentioned. Considering His main duty was to create rain and thunder, the reactions seem easily explained. European ignorance over the importance of language was also integral in the overlooking of Ñamandú. That being

¹⁰⁶ Shapiro, *Christianization* 129.

¹⁰⁷ Full text in Appendix 2. Taken from Rubén Bareiro Saguier, “El fundamento del lenguaje humano” *Litoral* 195/196 (1992) p.253-255.

¹⁰⁸ Modern accounts tend to place Ñamandú at the top of this hierarchy, though no Guaraní documents on this topic exist from the colonial era, making it difficult to confirm if this hierarchy truly existed or if it was born from interactions with Christianity.

¹⁰⁹ An interesting opposition with Tupã, who is sometimes considered the “God of the Setting Sun”. Ñamandú gives and Tupã takes away. Jehan Albert Vellard, “Textes Mbwichá recueillis au Paraguay” *Journal de la Société des américanistes* 29 (No. 2, 1937), p. 373.

¹¹⁰ Shapiro, *From Tupã to the Land without Evil* 129.

said, it is difficult to gain a trustworthy account of the Guaraní mythology. The question of recorded accounts is particularly interesting here. Modern anthropologists have only begun collecting these accounts since the 1930s and still find that the structures and dominant gods vary based on the region where the account was being taken. Taking this into consideration, it is possible to see how the accounts would have varied in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, especially considering the Guaraní language was solely oral and they only rarely had political organization beyond the *teýy* level. It would have been an impressive feat if the Jesuits had found themselves able to accurately map out the general baselines of the Guaraní worldview.

These issues in understanding the Guaraní worldview point to a more complicated question: how can a syncretic religion be formed out of two worldviews that do not use the same definition of “religion”? To the Guaraní, the conception of a Christian God was as difficult to imagine as that of a Christian people—or of Europe as a whole. They tended to keep an open mind—after all, the Jesuits themselves were proof that a Christian people existed; they had to have come from somewhere—but they did not fully understand many of the rituals behind the practice of Christianity. One particularly interesting anecdote from the memoirs of Antonio Ruiz de Montoya tells of terrified Guaraní whenever the Jesuits attempted to baptize them¹¹¹. They saw it as a sign of death, as Jesuits tended to baptize the ill and dying first in order to sneak them into heaven. To the Guaraní, they must have seen large numbers dying after this strange ritual and decided they wanted no part of it. The Jesuits finally began eliminating the

¹¹¹ Ruiz de Montoya, *The Spiritual Conquest* 53-54.

stigma by expanding the baptism and confession rituals to include dance, and, occasionally, feather work¹¹².

Despite the early struggles, the Jesuits were able to find a way to break into Guaraní culture: music. Perhaps because of the sacred meaning of chant in their own culture, the Guaraní responded very well to hymns and to the use of music. In fact, throughout the eighteenth century, the Paraguayan missions earned a reputation in Europe as a location where some of the finest European instruments were made¹¹³. Using music as an entrance point, the Jesuits were able to differentiate themselves from other settlers by setting up missions with emphasis on culture and arts, not just on agriculture and work. Within the missions, groups of specialized artisans appeared under the apprenticeship of specialized Jesuits, and a rich culture of painting, instrument making, sculpting, carving, and carpentry was developed. The tools used for this artistic production were actually often products of local Guaraní ironsmiths.

The Jesuits therefore developed a soft approach to evangelization, which was needed on an asymmetric religious playing field. Unlike many other American pre-Columbian societies like the Inca, the Maya and the Aztecs, the Guaraní did not place much value in honouring the Gods by reproducing them, an ironic twist considering how good they were at reproducing things. Instead, the Guaraní were interested in honouring and perfecting the results of the Gods work. One of the key myths in the Guaraní worldview is the Twins' myth, where cultural heroes, known simply as "the Twins"¹¹⁴, who must prove their divine origins by completing or perfecting the work of the Creator

¹¹² Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions* 153.

¹¹³ Piotr Nawrot, "Teaching of Music and the Celebration of Liturgical Events in the Jesuit Reductions" *Anthropos* 99, Vol 1 (2004) 76.

¹¹⁴ For more details about the Twins myth, see Chapter 4.

and by passing along divine information to human culture¹¹⁵. Therefore, instead of producing artefacts featuring the Gods themselves, they reproduced natural geometric patterns, plants, and animals.

The Guaraní also responded well to these artistic religious activities because, for them, it did not necessarily matter what they were creating or which words they were singing. The *content* mattered very little next to the *act*. Ñamandú was a Creator God. Therefore, the artistic acts of painting, sculpting, carving, weaving, instrument making, building, and singing acted as a way to “be at one with their Creator”¹¹⁶. The act of Creating was a spiritual exercise for the Guaraní, meaning that by painting Catholic icons, sculpting saints or singing psalms in the missions, the Guaraní and the Jesuits were appealing *both* spiritual worldviews concurrently. To the Jesuits, the conversion was working because the Guaraní were not reproducing Tupã. To the Guaraní, they were able to cooperate with the foreigners and keep them on their side while still feeling close to their cultural heritage and spiritual beliefs.

What shocked many of the Jesuits was the proficiency and skill of the Guaraní. They took to the arts very well and quickly gained a reputation for being experts in artistic reproduction. Artisans all over Europe praised the items that were being sent from the missions, especially the musical instruments¹¹⁷. Despite this talent, no evidence has been discovered of a Guaraní figural artistic tradition in the styles of art practiced by Europeans before the encounter¹¹⁸. The Jesuits were all skilled craftsmen specialized in a

¹¹⁵ Prieto, *Devil's Herb* 215.

¹¹⁶ Christine Ballengee Morris et al., “Decolonization, Art Education, and One Guaraní Nation of Brazil” *Studies in Art Education* 41 (No. 2, 2000) 107.

¹¹⁷ Nawrot, *Teaching of Music* 76.

¹¹⁸ Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions* 144.

specific trade¹¹⁹; Guaraní men and women would simply learn by copying what they did, often to perfection. Contemporaries came to the conclusion that this talent had to be innate and stopped trying to explain it. In a way, this lack of an iconographic tradition facilitated the enterprise because, unlike in many other missions in the Americas or around the world, the Christian iconography did not clash with artistic depictions of local deities. It also signified that the Guaraní artisans were not supervised as much as other groups because there was no suspicion that they were integrating their own deities into their work; this was a mistake and an oversimplification from the Jesuits. Just because there was no iconographic tradition did not mean that the Guaraní could not integrate their own worldviews into their work through different means.

One specific area in which Guaraní art baffled Europeans was sculpture. The sculptures being produced out of the missions were so unlike anything else from the era that art historians have taken to calling it its own style: Hispano-Guaraní Baroque¹²⁰. This style, loyal to the collective nature of the missions, is generally notable for the lack of its artist's signature¹²¹. The Guaraní skill with native hardwood was such that sculptures of Jesus frequently found themselves with indigenous facial features. In addition, Hispano-Guaraní Baroque sculptures often find themselves with patterns on them that replicate either traditional Guaraní basketry, ceramics or body-painting patterns¹²².

¹¹⁹ Maxime Haubert, *Des Indiens et des Jésuites du Paraguay au Temps des Missions* (Paris : Hachette, 1967) 203.

¹²⁰ Bailey, *Art of Colonial Latin America* 257.

¹²¹ Josefina Pla, "Le baroque hispano-guaraní," *Europe* 48 (No. 494, 1970) 143.

¹²² Bailey, *Art of Colonial Latin America* 257.

Due to the nature of the missions, most of what was produced was of course used for religious purposes. The instrument makers made instruments to be used for songs of praise, the carpenters built altars, the sculptors created icons, and the carvers designed church interiors. Painters and other artisans decorated icons and churches and adorned them with gold and other decorations. Upon further inspection, the decoration—or ornamentation—produced in the Guaraní missions was clearly distinct from similar icons made in Europe or elsewhere¹²³. The Jesuits, stuck in their European mindset of iconographic religions, appear to have completely missed the spiritual interpretation that was taking place right in front of their eyes. The Guaraní ornamentation process included strong floral, feather and faunal motifs in the clothing of saints, in the ornamental windows, in the gates to the missions, and anywhere else they were tasked to work¹²⁴. In order to insert their culture and their spiritual mythology, Guaraní artists did not need to physically reproduce their gods and spirits because in their pre-Columbian traditions, gods and spirits had multiple incarnations and were constantly in a state of change¹²⁵.

Instead, the Guaraní used the patterns and motifs as well as colours to honour their mythology. The exact ways in which they did so can only be speculated upon, though a recent study of the Chamacoco—or Ishir—peoples can likely offer some perspective in how these techniques were used. The Chamacoco peoples were divided in two areas: some lived near the Paraguay River and others in the Gran Chaco, near the Bolivian border in the Paraguayan north-west. They were thought to be hostile until the

¹²³ Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions* 164.

¹²⁴ *Ibid* 172.

¹²⁵ *Ibid*.

1970s, but are now somewhat integrated into Paraguayan society. Though linguistically different, some Guaraní linguistic elements had crossed over into Chamacoco by the time of contact. Some Guaraní mythological elements are present in their own mythology, which suggests that the two cultures were in constant contact probably back to pre-Columbian times.

Like many Guaraní tribes, the Chamacoco practiced body painting. This is a tradition that died out when Jesuits imposed clothing. If the Guaraní reasoning for corporal painting was at all like the Chamacoco, however, it would not have mattered that much. The Chamacoco interpret colours as a gift from the Gods and use their bodies as a canvas¹²⁶. Colours open up new spiritual opportunities that were beyond their reach and mark different moments in their cultural history¹²⁷. If this can be transferred to the Guaraní, the use of colours interpreted in the context of the missions may simply be a transition of their usage from a bodily canvas to an architectural one. Instead of a corporal canvas, the Jesuits were presenting large altars—which Guaraní painters could decorate in the colours they pleased—that were *designed* to be worshipped. Even in cases where colours may have been limited, the new ones could be taken by the Guaraní as a “new cultural moment” for them.

Guaraní tribes also used art as a way to be at one with nature. Different peoples had different ways of doing this. Some groups used feather work in their clothing, headdresses, and other various accessories; others were renowned for their use of fruit in accessories like necklaces. A recent study on Guaraní ceramics in Southern Brazil found

¹²⁶ Ticio Escobar, *The Curse of Nemur: In Search of the Art, Myth and Rithual of the Ishir* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007) 66.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 76-77.

that the Guaraní not only tried to reproduce natural geometric patterns, but attempted to perfect them by innovating new techniques¹²⁸. This use of art could also be reproduced and integrated into Catholic art. The Guaraní did not stop having worldview when they converted to Christianity, they simply adapted it to the new requirements. The adoration of one religion did not impede them having the Guaraní worldview.

The artistic syncretism between Christianity and the Guaraní worldview therefore greatly profited from the fact that the two did not clash. Not only did the Guaraní worldview depend much more on natural patterns, it also depended on spoken word, music, and dance much more than it did on icons and theology. On the other hand, Christianity features very little dance and does not have a fixed set of design patterns. The only element that was truly shared by the worldviews was the importance of the spoken word. This was more pronounced in the Guaraní worldview because of their previously mentioned genesis story: so important are words and music that a sacred chant is performed before the Earth itself is even created. In the race for linguistic supremacy, a large part of the question was to be resolved by the language spoken on the missions. For a variety of reasons that will be examined in the following chapter, Spanish was rarely spoken on the missions.

The Jesuits quickly learned the language and attempted to write down Guaraní grammars. To a people whose worldview was so tightly attached to its language, the use of Guaraní was assurance that these Europeans were not there to destroy their culture and were interested in working with them. Although it may not seem like syncretism at first glance, the fact that the Guaraní language—this language that was created before the

¹²⁸ Gislene Monticelli, “The sky is the limit: how to exceed the strict rules of the Guaraní ceramics,” *Ciências Humanas* 2 (No. 1, 2007) 111.

Earth and humanity—was preaching Christian gospel, can be considered to be a blending of the two worldviews.

Once again, the content of words did not matter as much to the Guaraní as the fact that they were using the language¹²⁹. The content of masses did not upset the Guaraní because they had no cultural equivalent to this. Spiritual advice could be sought from a shaman, but this was an individual act, not a collective cult. The collective nature of mass also lent itself well to the Guaraní value of togetherness, as well as the collective nature of labour and economic activities performed for the mission's survival. Within the *te'yá*, most activities were performed together and the sense of community was extremely strong. Seeing that the Jesuits performed what mattered the most to them in a communal setting would have been consistent with Guaraní values and helped them see the value in such an exercise.

Like most of the transcultural elements between the two worldviews, the Guaraní language was not intended to be one by the Jesuits. As previously elaborated, its use was a calculated strategy. Again, though, the Jesuits' lack of understanding of the basic principles of the Guaraní worldview resulted in the Guaraní managing to preserve some very important cultural traits. This is not only observable in language; the linear Jesuit view of iconographic religion blinded them to a possible reinterpretation of European or Christian material through the Guaraní worldview. The Guaraní often attributed their own meanings to Christian idols, items or patterns, sometime by association and other times by addition.

¹²⁹ Further elaborated in Chapter 3.

A strong example of this type of reinterpretation is the introduction of Tenerife lace. Characterised by its inter-woven circular patterns, the lace was renamed “Ñandutí” when it was introduced to the missions. “Ñandutí” is the Guaraní word for “spider-web,” which is how the Guaraní chose to approach Tenerife lace. The spider web has a special place in Guaraní mythology, as it is a pattern attached to it through various legends. The most common legend of Ñandutí features competition between suitors for a young girl¹³⁰. Filled with guilt after killing his rival in the forest, one of the young boys confesses to his mother, who makes her way into the forest and finds the body. Keeping her distance, she observes a spider creating a shroud-like layer of webbing. Copying the arachnid’s patterns, she recreates the design and creates Ñandutí. Ñandutí is therefore associated with funeral rites and with honouring the dead, something the Jesuits did not realize when they first made the introduction. The Guaraní therefore simply reinterpreted the lace by association. The Guaraní did not stick to embroidery with Ñandutí, they also transplanted the spider web design into other media: it is possible to find icons of the Virgin Mary wearing a dress with a Ñandutí-pattern on the border, to give but one example¹³¹. This was what reinterpretation by addition looked like in the Guaraní missions.

Adding to this complementarity of the two worldviews was the pre-encounter Guaraní custom of body-painting. The main expressions of pre-Columbian Guaraní art were body painting, feather work, basketry and ceramics. Their artwork, as explained by G.A. Bailey¹³², was not only aniconic but also anti-mimetic, meaning they did not seek

¹³⁰ Annick Sanjurjo. *Ñandutí: Lace of Paraguay* (Austin: Southern Cross Press, 2015) 88.

¹³¹ See Appendix 1, Fig. 3.

¹³² Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions* 149

to emulate or imitate physical appearance, but rather to capture essence. It was taken from simple mathematic and natural patterns easily observable in nature. Therefore, it is not at all incompatible with Christian art. Guaraní artisans in the missions would often paint icons in body-paint, or adorn doorways with these natural patterns. Churches themselves were often constructed at least partially in accordance with Guaraní building practices¹³³. Also, they sometimes used substitution. Where Jesus could not be given a laurel wreath crown due to the lack of laurel trees in Paraguay, the Guaraní would get creative and substitute feathers, tobacco, or yerba mate leaves for the wreath, or add various other indigenous elements like musical instruments¹³⁴. His hair could also be found braided¹³⁵. These highly meaningful adaptations were likely brushed off by Jesuits as either necessity—when substituting one material for another when the original was not available—, abstract, unimportant reproduction errors or creative license. Jesuit accounts gave carefully detailed descriptions of these works of art and pointed out how well they respected the original model that was being emulated; it is highly unlikely that these adaptations would have gone unnoticed.

In the end though, the results were pleasing to the Europeans. Expecting to receive criticism for their work after sending a few idols back to Europe for inspection, the Jesuits received praise for the “modifications”. Europeans found that the works coming out of the Guaraní missions possessed a certain spirituality and serenity fit for a Saint. The Guaraní were able to express calm and reassurance in their art to a point that

¹³³ Kelly Donahue-Wallace, *Art and Architecture of Viceregal Latin America, 1521-1821* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008) 189.

¹³⁴ See Appendix 1, Fig. 4.

¹³⁵ See Appendix 1, Fig. 5.

had not yet been seen in Europe¹³⁶. The Jesuits' trust in the Guaraní expanded; both were happy with their cultural production. This grew into entirely syncretic elements, like the *Kurusu poty*, a flowery cross combining potent elements of both worldviews used in missionary processions¹³⁷. As other Guaraní cultural elements gained importance as the missions aged, this sense of identity was not limited to art. The production and consumption of yerba mate, which will be discussed in the fourth chapter, is a notable example. Yerba mate is today consumed worldwide, adopted as the drink of the Southern Cone of South America, enjoyed by Paraguayans, Chileans, Uruguayans, Brazilians, Argentines and more, regardless of ethnic background.

The Catholic faith and the Guaraní worldview did not operate on the same level. Where the Catholic faith is based on adoration of the God, teaching the meaning of the Bible, and reproducing religious figures in art, the Guaraní worldview instead relied on honouring the work of the divine, using the Beautiful Words¹³⁸ and using natural patterns, colours and images in art. The Jesuit attempt at complete evangelisation, a failed experiment, did not take into account the differences in worldviews. They appropriated the wrong God and misunderstood the essence of Guaraní spiritual teaching. The Guaraní's polytheistic pantheon of Gods and mythology proved to be too much for the Jesuits to fully understand and use, especially considering that versions change based on who they consulted. Used to a specific set of rules and guidelines elaborated inside the Bible, the missionaries were unable to fully grasp the Guaraní

¹³⁶ Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions* 167.

¹³⁷ *Ibid* 179.

¹³⁸ The Guaraní language is derived from "The Beautiful Words" passed on to the Guaraní people by their Gods, according to their mythology.

worldview's lack of precision, so they instead either dismissed it as non-existent or tried as best they could to make it fit within their familiar worldview.

Meanwhile, the Guaraní quickly realized what was most important to the Jesuits. They had more experience with Europeans than the Jesuits had with foreign religions, let alone with the Guaraní people, and knew that conversion would be the key to accessing the safety provided by the missionaries. They generally went along with whatever religious proceeding the Jesuits imposed, such as mass or processions, though they managed to keep their own worldview alive through the arts. This provided an outlet for them to insert their own symbology into the Catholic religious artistic production.

Through the slow integration of cultural elements from one culture to the other, the Guaraní and Jesuits were able to find a happy medium where both survived and arguably thrived together. Of course, it was not an ideal solution for the Guaraní to be converted to Christianity, but given the context of Conquest and of civilizing missions, the Guaraní managed to live in relative peace while maintaining several of their important cultural traits, including their dearest, the Guaraní language. As such, traces of the ancient Guaraní culture continue to be prevalent to this day, not only in the continuing existence of indigenous communities, but also in the dominant culture of the Paraguayan people.

Chapter 3

The Beautiful Words: The Linguistic Survival of Guaraní

“Language has always been the perfect instrument of empire”¹³⁹. Those were the words chosen by Antonio de Nebrija to justify his *Grammatica Castellana*, the first written grammar of the Spanish language, to Queen Isabella upon its publication in 1492. Of course, he was right, as the colonial process would lead to the worldwide spread of relatively small European languages like English, French, Castilian, and Portuguese. In the context of empire, linguistic imperialism—the transfer of the empire’s language of choice to its subjects—has many practical and psychological implications. It clearly defines the cultural hierarchy, allows for easier circulation of bureaucrats and administrators, simplifies business transactions and improves the effectiveness of documents used for religious conversion. It also helps to delegitimize native cultural elements and create a cultural allegiance to the dominant language’s culture. In the case of the Spanish-American Empire, tools like Nebrija’s grammar and the Reina-Valera Bible of 1569 saw heavy use in educational and religious institutions alike leading to Spanish becoming the most spoken language in all but one country derived from it. The study of language in Paraguay is the study of how an indigenous language was grown beyond its parent ethnicity and established as a lasting language despite Spanish imperial policy.

The spread of Spanish in Spain’s American colonies happened quickly for three reasons. Obviously, it was the language of power, that of the colonial administrators. Using Spanish therefore facilitated contact with the Crown, as well as with other

¹³⁹ Ismail S. Tahib. *The Language of Postcolonial Literatures: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2002) 7.

colonies. Then, it was the language of the Church. The Bible is a long book to translate in a language that one has not mastered. When one considers how many different languages were indigenous to the Spanish American empire, it becomes easy to see why they kept operating in Spanish. In addition, when Franciscan friar Bernardino de Sahagún actually did translate it into Nahuatl, it was banned by the Spanish Inquisition, as was to be expected, in 1576¹⁴⁰. Most major indigenous languages now have Bible translations, but they were only published in the twentieth century. Finally, there is also an element of racism involved. European colonialism generally featured a civilizing mission, which extended to language. Danish linguist Robert Phillipson argues that *linguicism* exists when a language is perceived as superior to another and that, in colonial times, the use of the term “dialect” for indigenous languages in opposition to “language” for European ones is as blatant as the opposite uses of “tribal” and “civilized”¹⁴¹. The term “language” implies that it stands independent, whereas a “dialect” must be derived from something else, making it a perceived inferior form of communication.

Having established the reasons why linguistic imperialism was prevalent in colonial Spanish America, the Paraguayan question stands out as an obvious exception. In order to answer it, the three previously mentioned elements of linguistic imperialism will be revisited in a Paraguayan context. Once again, Paraguay’s lack of economic status within the Spanish American empire and its distance from the provincial centre in Lima played important roles in the linguistic question. Europeans were vastly

¹⁴⁰ David Tavarez, “Banned Sixteenth-Century Biblical Text in Nahuatl: The Proverbs of Solomon”, *Ethnohistory* 60 (No. 4, 2013) 759.

¹⁴¹ Phillipson, *Linguistic Imperialism* 38-39.

outnumbered by natives; they were not powerful enough to impose anything by force, be it religion, style of life, or language. Paraguayan cultural historian Bartomeu Melià estimates the presence of between 1.5 and 2 million Guaraní at the time of contact¹⁴²; whereas only about 280 Spaniards were in the area by 1575, most of them men¹⁴³. Asunción was built up as any Spanish colonial city would be, but most Guaraní never saw it and very little infrastructure was within their sight. Though Spanish may have technically been the “language of power,” this would not have been obvious to the Guaraní. Of those who made it to the city, most were married to Europeans to cement an alliance between the two¹⁴⁴, and ended up raising their children, resulting in a Guaraní-speaking mestizo class. These women would play a large role in the spread of the language, but they contributed to the new mestizo class and, due to the aforementioned power dynamics in the area, their offspring were often groomed to take over positions of influence within the European-imported system.

The makeup of Europeans arriving in Río de la Plata province¹⁴⁵ is also relevant to the power of language in the area as it was the American province with the most heterogeneous European background¹⁴⁶. Demographer Peter Boyd Bowman¹⁴⁷ estimates that 23.3% of the original arrivals in the province were not of Spanish origin; the region was from the very beginning of the colonial period home to Portuguese, Flemish, Italian, French, German, English, Dutch and Greek immigrants¹⁴⁸. The presence of many of

¹⁴² Bartomeu Melià, “The Guaraní Religious Experience” in Manuel M. Marzal et al., *The Indian Face of God in Latin America* (New York, Orbis Books, 1996) 171.

¹⁴³ López, *Revolt of the Compañeros* 16.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ Río de la Plata province was only divided in 1617, so when referring to 16th century Paraguay, it was a still a part of Río de la Plata province.

¹⁴⁶ Domingo, *Naissance* 231.

¹⁴⁷ Cited in Domingo, *Naissance*, 232.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 232.

these settlers can be directly linked to King Charles I of Spain—better known as Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor—and his policy allowing mobility and migration within the entirety of his empire, including the Americas, except Jews, *moriscos*¹⁴⁹, and Romani¹⁵⁰. Paraguay's poverty, which meant fewer settlers from the usual regions, opened it up to immigration from other parts of the Holy Roman Empire¹⁵¹. Most of the Italians, meanwhile, arrived with Genoese navigator Leon Pancaldo's 1537-38 voyage, which was destined for Peru but accidentally ended up in Buenos Aires¹⁵².

In addition to foreigners, Río de la Plata province was also abnormal in its “Spanish” population. While, like most Spanish-American provinces, most of the settlers were originally from the southern provinces of Andalucía, Castilla, or Extremadura, Río de la Plata province was home to a larger proportion of Northerners, specifically Basques, Navarrese, Galicians, Asturians and Catalonians from the Levante coast¹⁵³. These populations, although under the Spanish crown, presented similar characteristics to non-Spanish populations; they increased the linguistic diversity of the province, but also that they were more likely than Castilians, Extremadurans and Andalusians to disregard, ignore, circumvent or otherwise refuse to adhere to orders from the Crown. The Basques, Asturians and Navarrese in particular have a rich history of autonomy dating back to the period of Moorish control over Iberia. Linguistically, this translates to a greater likelihood to adapt to a regional language if it is in their best interest rather than unreservedly sticking to Spanish as the only language of communication, business, and

¹⁴⁹ Morisco is the term used to describe recent converts from Islam to Christianity.

¹⁵⁰ Thomas Gomez, *L'invention de l'Amérique: rêve et réalités de la Conquête* (Paris : Aubier, 1992) 144.

¹⁵¹ Domingo, *Naissance*, 255.

¹⁵² Adriana Cristina Crolla, “Momentos y significaciones de las migraciones ítalo-rioplatenses” in *Las migraciones ítalo-rioplatenses: Memoria cultural, literatura y territorialidades*, Adriana Cristina Crolla ed. (Santa Fe: Ediciones UNL, 2013) 21.

¹⁵³ Domingo, *Naissance*, 255.

religious activity. The most influential 16th century governor of Paraguay—and one of its most important advocates of autonomy—Martínez de Irala, was himself Basque.

Another abnormality of the settlement of Paraguay was the lack of an imposing religious presence. It is said that the original conquerors had only one priest among them¹⁵⁴. Though the Diocese of Paraguay was created in 1547, it was frequently vacant until the 1610s and, at its beginning, only had 17 priests¹⁵⁵. Even when the bishopric was filled, bishops frequently neglected their evangelical responsibilities in the province¹⁵⁶; the second Bishop, Pedro Fernandez de la Torre¹⁵⁷, seemed more worried with political maneuvering than with evangelization and frequently found himself involved in conspiracies to overthrow the lieutenant governor¹⁵⁸. His successor Alonso Guerra¹⁵⁹, appointed six years after de la Torre's death, landed in Asunción another six years after his appointment because of difficulties financing the trip. When he arrived, he found only three priests in the city¹⁶⁰. Although Guerra was a Dominican, he invited Jesuits based in Brazil and Peru to come to the province in an attempt to fill the shortage of preachers¹⁶¹. Guerra was eager to do his job, but that was a problem for the people of Asunción, who were not used to being governed closely. Within one year of his arrival, they opposed his efforts to impose the tithe, and he was expelled in 1490 over this issue¹⁶². After that, it took six more years to appoint Tomas Vásquez de Liaño¹⁶³, who

¹⁵⁴ Service, *Spanish-Guaraní Relations*, 89.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁶ Domingo, *Naissance*, 272.

¹⁵⁷ Occasionally Pedro Fernando de la Torre or just Pedro de la Torre.

¹⁵⁸ López, *Revolt of the Compañeros* 13-17.

¹⁵⁹ Occasionally Alfonso.

¹⁶⁰ Domingo, *Naissance*, 272.

¹⁶¹ López, *Revolt of the Compañeros* 34.

¹⁶² Eduardo R. Saguier, "Church and State in Buenos Aires in the Seventeenth Century," *Journal of Church and State* 26 (No. 3, 1984) 498-99.

¹⁶³ Occasionally Tomas, or del Caño.

died before being ordained¹⁶⁴. Paola Domingo estimates that in the Diocese's first 52 years of existence, the bishopric was vacant in half of them¹⁶⁵.

By the end of the sixteenth century, most areas of heavy European colonization in the Americas had already established schools, managed by religious orders, for both creole¹⁶⁶ and native children. This is where cultural assimilation was attempted: Spanish was established as lingua franca and Christianity was imposed. Such an enterprise needed substantial manpower and constant oversight, neither of which was present in Asunción. Without the schools, Spanish never became the lingua franca in the area and most European settlers in the capital had to adapt by becoming fluent in both Spanish and Guaraní.

Finally, another demographic reason exists for the survival of Guaraní and its proliferation through European settlements in the sixteenth century: the absence of European women. Less than a dozen women were part of the original conquest of Río de la Plata in 1536, and a few of those returned to Europe three years later. The harsh living conditions having likely been reported by the returnees, Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca's 1542 trip, the second to Río de la Plata, only brought four women¹⁶⁷. As is to be expected in such a situation, the European population of the region was outnumbered by the mestizo population within a few years¹⁶⁸. The rarity of European women, the Guaraní tradition of welcoming visitors and confirming alliances or partnerships by presenting concubines, and the lack of a strong ecclesiastical presence meant that the

¹⁶⁴, Catholic-Hierarchy.org, *Father Thomas Vásquez de Liaño*, <http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bvasqdc.html>, page consulted on May 15th, 2016.

¹⁶⁵ Domingo, *Naissance* 272.

¹⁶⁶ Criollos (Creoles): People of European descent both maternally and paternally, but born in the Americas.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid* 274-5.

¹⁶⁸ Service, *Spanish-Guaraní Relations* 24.

ground was fertile for European men to indulge sexually. In 1556 and 1575, the Juan de Salazar and Juan Ortiz de Zárate expeditions brought young single women to the province in an attempt to fight polygamy, though not nearly enough women were sent to remedy the situation¹⁶⁹ and Catholic morals remained scarce. The province was derogatorily painted as “Mohammed’s paradise” due to instances of polygamy where each man had “five or ten or one hundred” women¹⁷⁰. Polygamy was not new to the area, as it is an old Guaraní practice: Guaraní men struggled greatly with monogamy in the missions and occasionally walked out on this point. It was considered disgraceful to be “bound to one wife by a tie he could not dissolve at will”¹⁷¹. Virginity, chastity, and celibacy were said to be signs of unhappiness in their culture¹⁷².

When a child was born from these relations, they were usually both raised and instructed by the mother, even if the father was still in the picture. The mother therefore educated the child in Guaraní customs and in the Guaraní language¹⁷³. The implications of these numerous relations is that, within one generation, the majority of mestizos and thus the majority of people of European descent in the province spoke Guaraní as fluently as they spoke Spanish, if not better. This also meant a rapprochement between the European and Guaraní peoples: a priest passing through in 1545 wrote, horrified, that Spaniards referred to their Guaraní allies as “relatives” or “in laws” rather than their servants¹⁷⁴.

¹⁶⁹ Domingo, *Naissance* 275.

¹⁷⁰ Service, *Spanish-Guaraní Relations* 31.

¹⁷¹ Ruiz de Montoya, *Spiritual Conquest* 49.

¹⁷² *Ibid* 75.

¹⁷³ Ganson, *Guaraní Under Spanish Rule* 29.

¹⁷⁴ Quoted in Service, *Spanish-Guaraní Relations* 36.

In other parts of the Spanish-American Empire, a well-defined social hierarchy existed through a *casta* culture. The *peninsulares*¹⁷⁵ held most position of power, with some *criollos*¹⁷⁶ in positions of influence. *Mestizos*¹⁷⁷ were rarely in positions of power unless their peninsular father was extremely influential, but they could still make a decent living¹⁷⁸. At the bottom of the scale were found indigenous populations, *mulattos/pardos*¹⁷⁹, *zambos*¹⁸⁰, free blacks, and slaves¹⁸¹. This hierarchy also existed in Paraguay, though the lack of *peninsulares* and the rarity of creoles in the second half of the sixteenth century—only 22, 1% of legitimate children born in the province in the sixteenth century were creole¹⁸². This meant a much larger responsibility for mestizos, who found themselves in positions of power with more frequency than their counterparts in other colonies. For the most part, these mestizos spoke Guaraní as a native language, which helped solidify Guaraní as the regional language. All children born in Paraguay quickly became known as “mancebos de la tierra,” or “youths of the Earth,” giving them a certain equality of status. These distinctions were accentuated when the so-called *Provincia Gigante de las Indias*¹⁸³ was split in 1617 and Paraguay received its own governorate¹⁸⁴. This split placed most of the Guaraní speakers in the same region, once

¹⁷⁵ Peninsulares: Europeans born in Europe.

¹⁷⁶ See footnote 166.

¹⁷⁷ Mestizo: Offspring of one European parent and one indigenous parent.

¹⁷⁸ Some of the American born Jesuit missionaries were mestizos.

¹⁷⁹ Mulatto/pardo: Offspring of one European parent and one black parent.

¹⁸⁰ Zambo: Offspring of one indigenous parent and one black parent.

¹⁸¹ Though numbers are not available, it is safe to say that free blacks and slaves were few in Paraguay. The port of Buenos Aires, while involved in the slave trade, was not one of its main hubs, and most blacks that passed through would have ended up in Brazil or stayed on as dock workers in Buenos Aires. Definitions taken from Mark A. Burkholder and Lyman L. Johnson, *Colonial Latin America, Seventh Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010 [1990]) 208-222.

¹⁸² Domingo, *Naissance* 297. It is to be noted that this percentage is only for legitimate children, and that the majority of children born in this province were illegitimate in the sixteenth century.

¹⁸³ Officially New Andalusia Governorate (1534-1544), Governorate of the Río de la Plata (1544-1592), and Governorate of the Río de la Plata and of Paraguay (1592-1617).

¹⁸⁴ At the time called Governorate of Guayrá, but commonly known as Governorate of Paraguay.

again tilting the balance of power away from the *peninsulares* and creoles, who had greater numbers in the new governorate of the Río de la Plata. By the end of the eighteenth century, even Asunción masses were performed in Guaraní¹⁸⁵, though the capital audience by that point was largely at least bilingual in Spanish and Guaraní, unlike the missionary ones, which would rather be punished than learn Spanish¹⁸⁶.

As for the religious situation, the clerics quickly found themselves negotiating from a position of weakness. As mentioned, the Diocese had a very weak presence in Asunción in the sixteenth century. When he finally arrived in Asunción in 1585, bishop Guerra attempted to revitalize the presence of the church by allowing and even encouraging interactions with the natives in their own language. Upon realizing that the three priests in Asunción were not enough and that the Jesuits called in from Peru and Brazil still had an adaptation period in front of them, Guerra commissioned Franciscan priest Luis Bolaños to write a Catechism in Guaraní. It was produced only one decade after Sahagún's Nahuatl Bible was banned by the Spanish Inquisition¹⁸⁷. Guerra also took the step of encouraging youth to study theology, as he was open to hiring *peninsulares*, creoles, mestizos, or natives¹⁸⁸.

Bishop Guerra's efforts paid off early in the seventeenth century as Bishop Martín Ignacio de Loyola convened the First Synod of Asunción in 1603. One of its main takeaways was the adoption of Bolaños' Guaraní catechism as obligatory, setting the tone for mission work to be done in the native language¹⁸⁹. This also resulted in the

¹⁸⁵ Rubin, *National Bilingualism* 24.

¹⁸⁶ Ganson, *The Guaraní Under Spanish Rule* 81.

¹⁸⁷ Domingo, *Naissance* 272.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid* 221.

¹⁸⁹ Roman Adrian Cybriwsky, *Capital Cities Around The World: An Encyclopedia of Geography, History and Culture* (Oxford: ABC-CLIO, 2013) 22.

prioritization of the language for the incoming Jesuit missionaries, who immediately set the goal of mastering the language. Within a few years, Antonio Ruiz de Montoya wrote the first Guaraní grammar, originally meant to be a guide for incoming missionaries.

In the missionary setting, where as many as 4,500 Guaraní were supervised by two or three priests in each mission¹⁹⁰, it was very difficult to impose cultural assimilation. Concessions needed to be made, and under the ruling of the 1603 Synod, language was the first. The priority for the Jesuits was obviously religion, so the language did not matter as much as the message. In addition, their learning of the native tongue brought them closer to the Guaraní, and made it difficult for outsiders to intervene in missionary affairs. As early as 1610, the Guaraní confronted the Jesuits about Spanish attempts to enslave them; Jesuit testimonials hint that the use of the Guaraní language as the official missionary language may have been in part to build trust after this incident¹⁹¹. The Jesuits frequently ignored Crown orders to educate the missions in Spanish¹⁹², but the Crown was powerless to do anything about it as the Guaraní were too numerous and too attached to the Jesuits. Besides, the Church had spoken already, so as far as the missionaries were concerned, they were protected on that front. In the missions, Guaraní was not only the official language for religious instruction, but also for daily life, including such activities as music and theatre¹⁹³.

Operations in Guaraní also represented a certain level of control for the Jesuits. In certain relations, it placed them as a necessary intermediary. Though the local secular population of Asunción and other regional towns spoke Guaraní, the governors sent

¹⁹⁰ Sarreal, *The Guaraní and Their Missions* 1.

¹⁹¹ Ganson, *The Guaraní Under Spanish Rule* 80.

¹⁹² *Ibid* 76.

¹⁹³ Zajícová, *El bilingüismo paraguayo* 26.

from Spain rarely did. The same can be said of the Bishops appointed to the Diocese of Paraguay. In addition, any communication between Europe and the Guaraní peoples—either from the Crown or from the Church—had to go through the Jesuits for translation. This intermediary position applied to both directions, as Guaraní leaders were also corresponding with viceregal officials—and occasionally with Spain—by writing letters, which were usually in Guaraní¹⁹⁴.

In addition to control and evangelization, learning the language helped the Jesuits better understand and manipulate Guaraní culture¹⁹⁵. Knowledge of the language naturally led to a better understanding of native mythologies, cultural practices, and tribal relations. This understanding was indispensable with regards to finding religious commonalities¹⁹⁶ and planning the best ways to integrate the natives into a European and Christian lifestyle. It also allowed them the opportunity to debate and discredit shamans¹⁹⁷.

Another interesting factor that could have influenced the Jesuits in keeping the use of Guaraní is simply the lack of a need to replace it. Missionary Jesuits came from all over Europe, so most had to learn a new language anyway. Of course, they came from German, Dutch, Italian, Danish, French and Portuguese backgrounds, so they came from “civilized” languages. Phillipson’s previously-mentioned linguistic argument is an interesting one, but it does not apply in this case. Phillipson defines linguistic prejudice as prejudice based on linguistic characteristics, similar to *sexism* when the prejudice exists

¹⁹⁴ Sarreal, *Guaraní and their Missions* 9.

¹⁹⁵ Ganson, *Guaraní Under Spanish Rule* 43.

¹⁹⁶ See the story of Saint Thomas, chapter 4.

¹⁹⁷ Ganson, *Guaraní Under Spanish Rule* 43.

on the basis of sex or *racism* on the basis of ethnicity¹⁹⁸. It may exist in conjunction with sexism or racism—or in this case religious discrimination—though the crucial element to linguicism is the perceived power gap placed between individuals or groups on the basis of their language.

Linguicism becomes *linguistic imperialism* when an actual structural power gap exists between linguistic groups¹⁹⁹. Phillipson's study focuses on English linguistic imperialism in the twentieth century, in cases like the English relationship with Welsh, or with certain native African languages in countries like Uganda, where educational structures favour the English language. These cases can be considered linguistic imperialism because of the allocation of funds provided, be they from governmental or private sources, which promotes the English language disproportionately to the other competing languages in a specific space.

Another characteristic of linguistic imperialism is that it often coexists with other forms of cultural imperialism. In his study of English linguistic imperialism in the twentieth century, Phillipson points to cultural elements such as music, television, advertisement, movies, and books—including comic books—as being particularly influential to the focused and international growth of a language's influence in the empire's linguistic periphery. These elements, either consciously or subconsciously, become essential to one's place in society; once a language has entered the realm of popular culture, its spread is much more rapid. It is difficult to translate his study to the seventeenth century, when few similar cultural elements could move around the world with any speed. The main transferrable cultural elements in this context that would have

¹⁹⁸ Phillipson, *Linguistic Imperialism* 55.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

reached Paraguay are books and theater, alongside religious practices such as mass and prayer. We already know that theater in the missions was performed in Guaraní, and that Catechism was translated in addition to masses being performed in the native language. In addition, more than one thousand books on the missions were found in Guaraní and even the caciques were usually unable to read or write in Spanish²⁰⁰. Combine these elements with the fact that Guaraní children were not schooled in Spanish and it becomes hard to argue that linguistic imperialism ever truly occurred in the Jesuit missions of Paraguay. This absence is abnormal, as it is generally accepted that Spain's normalized Castilian language program²⁰¹ was much more effective in the Americas than it was in Europe²⁰².

Even without structural linguistic imperialism, it is possible for linguisticism to exist. We certainly know that racism existed, as well as religious discrimination, on the missions. If operating the missions in Guaraní was solely done in order to cope with the demographic situation or to appease the native population, it is likely that the European missionaries would have learned the language begrudgingly, and, in their writings, comment about the superiority of their own native tongue. To prove that linguisticism was also present, all that is needed is to find instances of the Jesuits talking down the Guaraní language or otherwise placing European languages in higher regard. However, it is actually difficult to find examples of such linguisticism when going through Jesuit

²⁰⁰ Rubin, *National Bilingualism* 25.

²⁰¹ Nebrija's grammar was meant to unite the newly reconquered Spain under the Castilian language, though it failed at weeding out either regional dialects or separate languages. It can be argued that Castilian only truly became the Spanish national language during General Franco's fascist regime in the twentieth century. In America, however, Castilian spread rapidly due to the language tools that were being used as well as the high proportion of settlers that had come from Castile, Extremadura, and Andalusia rather than from Northern Spain, Catalonia, Valencia or the Balearc Islands.

²⁰² Phillipson, *Linguistic Imperialism* 31.

accounts and testimonials. In fact, the opposite is true. Father Pierre-François-Xavier de Charlevoix wrote in 1756 that “their language is in no way inferior to any of the prettiest languages that we know”²⁰³. A letter from Father Chomé in Paraguay to Father Vanthiennen in Buenos Aires dated 1732 states “I will admit that after having been initiated to the mysteries of this language, I am surprised to find such majesty and energy; each word is an exact definition that explains the nature of the thing we are trying to explain, clearly and distinctly. I would have never imagined such a noble and harmonious language at the center of such a barbarian culture.”²⁰⁴ As early as 1639, Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, one of the leading scholars of Guaraní at the time, wrote that their high esteem for their language was “rightly so, for it is worthy of praise and of being celebrated among the tongues of renown.”²⁰⁵ If the missionaries were worried about their civilizing mission—and they were—language could be left alone as they believed the Guaraní language to be an equal to their own European languages. While the argument of a civilizing mission can be used in a broader analysis of missionary culture, it seems that its absence can help explain the lack of linguistic imperialism in Paraguay: many –isms can be applied when reading Jesuit accounts, but linguicism is not one of them.

Even in Europe, the Guaraní language had a certain status. Renowned French Renaissance philosopher Michel de Montaigne once compared the language to Greek, a linguistic standard of the time²⁰⁶. There was a certain care attached to beauty within both

²⁰³ Pierre-François Xavier de Charlevoix, *Histoire du Paraguay, Tome 1* (Paris : Didot, Giffart, Nyon, 1756) 181.

²⁰⁴ Father Chomé, “Seconde lettre du père Chomé au P. Vanthiennen” in M.L. Aimé-Martin, editor. *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses concernant l’Asie, l’Afrique et l’Amérique avec quelques relations nouvelles des missions et des notes géographique et historiques, Tome II* (Paris : 1843) 108.

²⁰⁵ Ruiz de Montoya, *Spiritual Conquest* 48

²⁰⁶ Hugh O’Shaughnessy, *The Priest of Paraguay* (London: Zed Books, 2009) 17.

the language and the culture; poets were for example held in high regard. In Guaraní culture, the spoken and sung word are essential concepts to spiritual life²⁰⁷. Ritualized words are gifts to be shared with others, familiar and unfamiliar. This explains in part why the Guaraní language is used as a communal language among different tribes. While different dialects exist, tribes that adhere to the Tupi-Guaraní language family throughout Paraguay, Uruguay, Eastern Bolivia, Southern Brazil and Northern Argentina all speak related languages and can understand each other without difficulty.

This communal character corresponds to one of the main teachings of the Guaraní worldview that they sought to maintain throughout the cultural adaptation process. Even the founders of the modern Republic of Paraguay in 1811 were able to recognize the emotional attachment of the people—by this point natives, mestizos and creoles—to the Guaraní language²⁰⁸. It is said that even those who mainly use Spanish in twentieth century Paraguay will revert to Guaraní when expressing either extreme anger or profound emotion, which suggests an emotional depth that even linguistically surpasses that of Spanish²⁰⁹.

This is important because of the demographics of the area. Unlike in other parts of South America, the Guaraní population was only decimated in the 1860s alongside the rest of Paraguay's population in the War of the Triple Alliance²¹⁰. According to Melià's demographic study, at the time of the Jesuit expulsion in 1767, there was still double the amount of Guaraní over those of European or mestizo descent and the

²⁰⁷ Melià, *The Guaraní Religious Experience* 192.

²⁰⁸ Rubin, *National Bilingualism* 25.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid* 26.

²¹⁰ Pierre Mondain, "Un conflit oublié: la guerre du Paraguay contre la Triple-Alliance (1864-1870)" *Revue Historique* 256 (No. 2, 1976) 414.

mission population itself outnumbered all other inhabitants of Paraguay²¹¹. Because a large part of them participated in the missionary experiment—approximately 90,000 were left in the missions in 1768 after the Expulsion of the Jesuits²¹²—their language was preserved. Most did not learn to read or write in the missions²¹³—why would they, all one thousand books in Guaraní held at the missions were written by the Jesuits themselves²¹⁴. This protected the language from the exotic elements of European style and structures that would later threaten it and preserved indigenous dependence on oral history for the transmission of knowledge. In a way, missionary linguistic policy delayed the contact of Castilian and Guaraní for an extra 150 years and, by the time the large indigenous population left the missions in 1767, linguistic issues were not as important a concern for the crown, considering these populations had successfully converted to Catholicism.

Though, to quote Nebrija again, “language has always been the perfect tool of empire,” the Jesuits have shown that it is not only an offensive tool, but also a defensive one. The Jesuits did not choose to use the invading language as their tool, but the native one in order to gain trust and build relations. They made this choice knowing that the social environment in which they found themselves left them little other choice²¹⁵. Upon an analysis of the geopolitical situation of the Paraguayan missions and of the demographic challenge, it can be seen that they did not have much of a choice in taking the opportunity presented by the Guaraní language to build bridges with these people

²¹¹ Sarreal, *Globalization and the Guaraní* 18.

²¹² Massimo Livi-Bacci and Ernesto J. Maeder, “The Missions of Paraguay: The Demography of an Experiment”, *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 35 (No. 2, 2004) 190.

²¹³ Sarreal, *The Guaraní and Their Missions* 138.

²¹⁴ This was the position taken by Jesuit priests. Dobrizhoffer, *Account of the Abipones*, Vol. 1 229.

²¹⁵ Lozano, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesus* 41

and consolidate the presence of the Spanish and Catholic empires in Paraguay. The beauty, complexity and nobility of the language helped justify its use, but it is safe to say that the missionary effort would have had very different results if linguistic concessions had not been made to the Guaraní.

Chapter 4

Check Mate: The Strategic Implications of Yerba Mate in the Missions

Paraguay's cultural association with yerba mate dates to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Though its cultivation and use in Guaraní culture goes back further, there is nothing in pre-Colombian folklore that explains why the herb would be used over a variety of other native crops in the expression of Guaraní identity. In order to understand yerba mate's place in the cultural identity of the area, we must reflect upon the economic realities of early colonial Paraguay as well as the relations between pre-Colombian peoples and the new arrivals. Yerba mate did not survive as a staple of Guaraní culture but rather became a Guaraní staple to assure the culture's survival.

Throughout the colonial era, European endeavours in the Americas were justified to their various Crowns by their economic potential, expressed in the mineral richness and in the land's ability to yield highly-prized agricultural items that could be sold for profit; these were known as cash crops. The first conquistadores sought gold and silver from their journeys and oriented their travels based on where such minerals were rumoured to be found. Many of the original European settlements were founded around such areas of geological production: Zacatecas and Potosí quickly became central to European activity in the Viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru, respectively, due to their seemingly endless production of silver. While those examples fit the commonly taught narrative that Europeans struck gold and exploited their way to fortune in the New World, they only account for a part of the story. Zacatecas and Potosí happen to be located near the two main centers of pre-Colombian civilization. Zacatecas, while not in

the Aztec realm, was home to the Chichimeca²¹⁶ people, who welcomed the Europeans with silver in 1546²¹⁷. Potosí, on the other hand, was well known to the Inca and exploitation of its silver had begun nearly a century before the European arrival²¹⁸. The moment the Europeans began making alliances with indigenous groups, they learned of these great resources and marked them as potential cities around which to build an empire.

Though the Aztec and Inca had geographically substantial empires, they only covered a fraction of the American continent. Other regions, while inhabited, had an unknown economic potential because of the style of life of those who lived there. In some cases, sedentary peoples were dependent on subsistence agriculture and trade. In others, semi-nomadic peoples practiced slash and burn agriculture. Regardless, the lack of a known mineral deposit did not necessarily mean that such a deposit did not exist. Therefore, ambitious settlers pushed the frontiers seeking fortune, hoping to be the first European to discover and lay claim to the next Zacatecas or Potosí. In certain cases, such as the discovery of diamonds and gold in Minas Gerais by *bandeirantes*²¹⁹ in the late seventeenth century, the search for precious metals was successful²²⁰. Where the search came up empty, the European fortune-seekers did not abandon their quest, but rather

²¹⁶ While the Zacateca were the people-group involved, they are one of many peoples referred to by the Aztecs as “Chichimeca”.

²¹⁷ Philip Wayne Powell, *Soldiers, Indians & Silver: North America's first frontier war*, 1952 (Reprint, Tempe AZ: Center for Latin American Studies, 1975) 10-11.

²¹⁸ Lewis Hanke, *The Imperial City of Potosí: An unwritten chapter in the history of Spanish America* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1956) 1.

²¹⁹ *Bandeirantes* were Portuguese settlers, mainly established in Brazil, who organized expeditions inland with the goal of bringing back slaves and precious metals.

²²⁰ Iran F. Machado & Silvia F. de M. Figueirôa, “500 years of mining in Brazil: a brief review,” *Resources Policy* 27, No. 1 (2001) 12.

turned to agriculture. This meant identifying which land best matched the production of a specific cash crop and producing as much as possible for export.

Ideally, the cash crop itself would be one known in Europe, like coffee, sugar, or cotton. The fortune-seekers soon found out, however, that coffee grows best between twenty-five degrees north of the Equator and thirteen degrees south²²¹, which may be perfect for Central America, the Caribbean, and Northern South America, but leaves out much of the Southern Cone. Its cultivation also varies based on different factors such as altitude²²², which was great news for those trying out the crop in Colombia, but not so much for those in Paraguay. Sugar was a particularly labour intensive crop, and required—at first—a large indigenous workforce, and then easy access to the Atlantic slave trade²²³. Sugar certainly grew in Paraguay, but the cost of labour was such that Paraguayan sugar was not competitive next to cheaper Brazilian sugar²²⁴. Unlike the imported coffee and sugar crops, cotton is native to America. The most common type is native to Central America and was mass produced in pre-Colombian times²²⁵, giving those countries a natural advantage. In addition, it also grows in common conditions, making it an easily outsourceable commodity. Cotton culture in Paraguay has thus long been characterized by its low outputs.

If none of those cash crops were advantageous in the settled area, the preferred alternative was to try native American crops that found favour with European explorers in hope that a market could be expanded across the Atlantic. Thus developed industries

²²¹ Francis Beatty Thurber, *Coffee: from plantation to cup. A Brief History of Coffee Production and Consumption* (New York: American Grocer Publishing Association, 1881) 4.

²²² *Ibid* 5.

²²³ Sidney Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Penguin Books, 1986) 33.

²²⁴ López, *The Revolt of the Compañeros*, 23.

²²⁵ Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2015) 4.

related to crops like tobacco and cocoa. Tobacco was not only present in Paraguay before the Encounter, it was used in shamanistic rituals by the Guaraní²²⁶. That being said, the crop grew in larger quantities in neighbouring areas and it is speculated that tobacco was part of the pre-Columbian trade in the region²²⁷. Tobacco is not as difficult a crop as coffee or as labour-intensive as sugar; within a century of its introduction to Europeans, it was grown in most of the world²²⁸. The problem in this case again lies with competition, but of a different kind: transportation. Whereas the crop grew fine in the region, crops in Paraguay had to travel a significant distance to the port of Lima before embarking on a long journey that crossed four different ports: Lima, Panama, Santo Domingo and finally Cádiz. The tobacco trade was therefore quickly concentrated in areas with easier access to ports than Paraguay, areas like the southern United States, China, Brazil, India, the Philippines and Indonesia. Cocoa, finally, was grown mainly as a monoculture on large estates, often through the use of slave labour²²⁹. Guaraní groups generally practiced slash and burn agriculture²³⁰, creating an environment in which cocoa rarely grew well.²³¹ Besides, cocoa was mainly consumed as a warm beverage in the colonial period and therefore acted as a competitor to mate. Instead of producing these crops, the Paraguayan soil most often produced maize, sweet potatoes, beans,

²²⁶ Dot Tuer, “Old Bones and Beautiful Words: The Spiritual Contestation between Shaman and Jesuit in the Guaraní Missions” in *Colonial Saints: Discovering the Holy in the Americas*, Allan Greer and Jodi Bilinkoff eds. (New York: Routledge, 2003) 85. Johannes Wilbert, *Tobacco and Shamanism in South America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987) 118.

²²⁷ *Ibid* 4.

²²⁸ Jordan Goodman, *Tobacco in History: The cultures of dependence* (London: Routledge, 1993) 36.

²²⁹ William Gervase Clarence-Smith, *Cocoa and Chocolate, 1765-1914* (London: Routledge, 2000) 1.

²³⁰ Service, *Spanish-Guaraní Relations* 15.

²³¹ *Ibid* 3.

peanuts, and pumpkins²³², crops that did not necessarily excite the Spanish fortune-seeker.

Yerba mate, on the other hand, provided Paraguay with an important comparative advantage. *Ilex paraguariensis*, the small tree from which yerba mate is cultivated, grows in the wild in a very specific environment between the latitudes 25 and 32 degrees²³³. This tree also distinguishes itself from the other cash crops because it lacks adaptability; until the Jesuits managed to domesticate it late in the seventeenth century, yerba mate only grew in the wild²³⁴. Any market for yerba mate therefore had to be involved with the province of Paraguay. Finally, it gave Paraguay something the other crops could not: legal classification as a mineral. Because yerba was “a spontaneous production of nature,” a loophole in Spanish law allowed for its industry to be considered royal property like gold and silver, rather than privately owned agriculture²³⁵. Two important questions thus had to be asked: could a market be created for yerba mate, and was such a market desirable?

A market for yerba mate did not have to be created, but rather expanded. Archaeological findings of the crop in Inca tombs near modern-day Lima²³⁶ prove the existence of at least a small scale pre-Columbian trade in yerba mate. Expanding the trade to neighbouring regions within the Southern Cone was definitely a feasible task considering the alleged physiological benefits of consuming mate. Beyond that, the crop would have competed in the same global markets as other stimulating beverages, such as

²³² *Ibid* 15.

²³³ López, *Revolt of the Compañeros* 24

²³⁴ Whigham, *The Politics of River Trade* 10 & 110.

²³⁵ *Ibid*, 110.

²³⁶ Christine Folch, “Stimulating Consumption: Yerba Mate Myths, Markets and Meanings From Conquest to Present,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 52, No. 1 (2010), 11.

coffee and tea, which were being mass produced by the Spanish and British empires, among others. Such a global competition was never within the realm of possibility for yerba mate due to the aforementioned factors—distance from a major port and shipping difficulties through the Pacific—as well as the fact that the yet-to-be domesticated tree is limited in its productivity. This market never turned Paraguay into an economic hotbed, but it contributed to the economic parameters that opened a political space in which no true group was able to claim full control. Paraguay was not prosperous enough to attract the elites or much attention from the Crown, but instead provided political opportunity to those who were at the back of the line in Peru or in New Spain. The yerba mate market also provided a stable crop upon which religious missions could depend for self-sufficiency, a factor that was important when exploring a frontier of little economic interest to the Crown.

Despite its economic benefits, the yerba mate trade was not quickly encouraged. Though the origin of European use of mate is not known, its use was widespread by the late sixteenth century²³⁷. The first known cases of yerba mate usage by Europeans come from the wills and testaments of European settlers in the 1550s, in which the tea was put up for auction, a sign that it had already become a desirable commodity²³⁸. By the end of the sixteenth century though, local leaders were already complaining about excessive use and dependence on the tea by Europeans, *mestizos*, and Guaraní²³⁹. It was considered a vice by many²⁴⁰; dependence allegedly caused one woman to sell her house

²³⁷ Adalberto López, “The Economics of Yerba Mate in Seventeenth-Century South America,” *Agricultural History* 48, No. 4 (1974), 497.

²³⁸ Domingo, *Naissance* 379.

²³⁹ Efraím Cardozo, *El Paraguay colonial*. Asunción: El Lector, 1991, 94.

²⁴⁰ Whigham, *Politics of River Trade*, 110.

in order to purchase the tea²⁴¹. Indigenous use of the tea also frustrated the local elites, as some complained that the Guaraní would often refuse to work until they had been given some²⁴². Due to the lack of yerba mate usage by Guaraní in pre-Columbian times, this refusal might have been another form of everyday resistance, or an excuse not to participate in an economic system they felt was unfair to them and contrary to their beliefs. It might also have been an attempt to connect with their belief system before entering a way of life that was foreign to them. Regardless, the local demand for yerba mate increased exponentially in the second half of the sixteenth century to the point that, by the count of Jesuit Marcial de Lorenzana in 1600, 1000 pounds were already being consumed daily in Asunción²⁴³.

The consumption of yerba mate, as a Guaraní cultural practice, became a communal event. To this day, it is deemed unacceptable to have more than one gourd when drinking mate among friends. The practice is a simple one: the holder of the gourd—generally made from calabash, called the mate, and decorated in Guaraní patterns—prepares the drink by adding dried yerba mate leaves to the gourd, never filling it. Hot water is then poured into the gourd and the *bombilla*, a specific perforated yerba mate straw usually made of silver or bamboo, is inserted²⁴⁴. The holder takes but one drink, and passes the gourd around, sharing both gourd and *bombilla* with friends and strangers alike. The responsibility of adding water when needed is a shared one; if the gourd runs out of water, anyone can add some. For *tereré*, a similarly popular Paraguayan beverage, the hot water is simply replaced with ice cold water. Yerba mate

²⁴¹ López, *Economics of Yerba Mate*, 498

²⁴² *Ibid.*

²⁴³ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁴ See Appendix 1, figures 6 and 7.

is said to be a stimulant when working and a sedative while at rest²⁴⁵, which could explain why its recreational use by Guaraní increased when they were put to work by Europeans, either in a missionary context or an *encomienda*. It is also alleged to help with altitude sickness; as such, close to 50 000 arrobas²⁴⁶ of yerba mate were shipped to the Bolivian silver mountain, Potosí, annually at the end of the seventeenth century²⁴⁷. It was similarly shipped to mountainous regions of Chile. These medicinal claims are still debated, though it is certain that the Guaraní believed them.

Though mate's communal consumption has a relaxed atmosphere, its difficult harvest and preparation present a cruel contrast. For decades before the herb could be domesticated, yerba mate harvest was an arduous process. Large quantities had to be retrieved from the forest²⁴⁸, often several hundreds of miles from the mission²⁴⁹. After an original scout was sent weeks in advance to find a decent batch, small groups of Guaraní—normally from the same traditional family unit under the leadership of the *teýy*²⁵⁰—would leave the missions for months at a time accompanied only by a few ox-pulled wagons filled with food and supplies²⁵¹. Thousands of mission Guaraní undertook these expeditions yearly²⁵². They were often deadly, as the Paraguayan forest was inhabited by a rich array of snakes, insects, jaguars and other predators, slave hunters and *encomenderos*, as well as disease²⁵³. For protection, heavy clothing needed to be

²⁴⁵ Cushner, *Why Have You Come Here* 118.

²⁴⁶ 1 arroba = 25 pounds, so 50 000 arrobas is about 1 250 000 lbs or 567 000 kg.

²⁴⁷ López, *Revolt of the Compañeros* 24.

²⁴⁸ These yerba mate producing forests are called *yerbales*.

²⁴⁹ Ganson, *The Guaraní Under Spanish Rule* 63. See Appendix 1, fig 7: Yerba mate harvest and trade route.

²⁵⁰ Sarreal, *Globalization and the Guaraní* 38

²⁵¹ Whigham, *River Trade* 110-111.

²⁵² López, *Economics of Yerba Mate* 506.

²⁵³ Ganson, *The Guaraní Under Spanish Rule* 64

worn at all times as well as tanned sheepskins for the faces and limbs, and bonfires were maintained throughout the night in an attempt to keep animals away²⁵⁴. Once on site, temporary buildings were built to prepare and store the product, occasionally taking weeks. If that was not enough, they had to actually harvest the herb, which was no small task. The worker first cleaned the tree to avoid cuts, then climbed it. As the trees' breathing organs, the clusters of leaves called *bandoleiras* are found at the edge of the larger branches. To reach these target leaves, the worker needed to first cut off the smaller branches, and then access the *bandoleiras*²⁵⁵. As the tree is quite slippery, this part of the operation can be dangerous, becoming impossible on a rainy day. A complex traditional toasting and drying process then occurred by placing the leaves over an open pit, the *tatacuá*, and surrounding them with bonfires. Once sufficiently toasted, the leaves were placed on a heavy rawhide netting and carried to the *barbacuá*, which is a fifteen to twenty square feet arch with a large fire underneath to dry the leaves. In order to avoid both combustion and the smoky flavour, the *urú*²⁵⁶ kept vigilant watch over it²⁵⁷. The traditional *barbacuá* system was so effective that a modified version is used in modern yerba mate production²⁵⁸. Forty-eight hours later, the yerba was generally dry. Any rain during this period meant restarting the drying *barbacuá* process.

After the toasting and drying, the leaves needed preparation. Large mallets were used to ground the leaves into a coarse powder, though not too fine²⁵⁹. Before loading them onto carts and eventually boats, each member of the expedition carried between

²⁵⁴ Whigham, *River Trade*, 114-115.

²⁵⁵ Ralph H. Cheney, "The Biology and Economics of the Beverage Industry" *Economic Botany* 1 (No. 3, 1947) 263.

²⁵⁶ The *barbacuá* operator.

²⁵⁷ Whigham, *River Trade*, 114-115.

²⁵⁸ See Appendix 1, Fig. 8.

²⁵⁹ Ganson, *The Guaraní Under Spanish Rule*, 64.

150 to 225 pounds of mate on their backs, occasionally more if the expedition lost members²⁶⁰. This process was shortened considerably in the 1660s when the Jesuits became the first to successfully domesticate the tree on their missions, though expeditions were still common throughout the Jesuit era, as domesticated quantities could not adequately respond to demand. One tree could give approximately two kilograms of leaves²⁶¹, which was not enough.

The Jesuits immediately vocalized concerns about yerba mate when the missionary period began in the early seventeenth century. Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, one of the original Jesuits sent to establish the first missions in the area, wrote in 1639:

“I carefully inquired about [the herb’s] origin from Indians who were eight to a hundred years old. I learned as a certain fact that in their youth the herb was not drunk or even known except by a great sorcerer or magician who trafficked with the devil. The devil showed him the herb and told him to drink it whenever he wanted to consult him. He did so, and, under his tutelage, so did others whom we have known in our own days. The witchcraft they perform commonly derives from this herb.”²⁶²

Though this type of legend is commonly found in writings by European missionaries about their interactions with indigenous Americans as a way to discredit their belief system²⁶³, Ruiz de Montoya does not appear to be fabricating this story as much as he is simply misinterpreting it. As was the case with their different traditional uses of art and

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁶¹ Vera Blinn Reber, “Commerce and Industry in Nineteenth Century Paraguay: The Example of Yerba Mate”, *The Americas* 42. No. 1 (1985) 32.

²⁶² Ruiz de Montoya, *The Spiritual Conquest* 42-43.

²⁶³ Fernando Cervantes, *The Devil in the New World: The Impact of Diabolism in New Spain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994) 3.

clothing, the Guaraní and Christian worldviews have fundamental disagreements in their perception of certain concepts. Discussing Ruiz de Montoya's interpretation of the origins of yerba mate, it is obvious that the clashing cultures do not have the same definition of "devil" because the Christian belief system is fundamentally based on a static perception of "good" and "evil" whereas the Guaraní interpret those terms as fluid.

Instead of featuring a "perfect" Creator and his masterpiece planet, Guaraní mythology features the aforementioned Twins, who need to complete missions and perfect the Creator's work. In order to pass their new findings down to humans, they needed to first teach it to the *Añan*²⁶⁴, a term that Jesuits translated to "demon" or "evil spirit," who would then transfer it on to the Guaraní. Here arises a key issue: translation. The fluid Guaraní mythology does not translate well to a religious language used to precisely define and place terms in accordance to their level of "good"ness or "bad"ness. In many myths, the *Añan* can be seen represented in jaguar form; this does not mean that jaguars are evil. Instead, jaguars are simply seen as untamed creatures—what humans become if they do not follow spiritual teachings²⁶⁵. They are also occasionally seen as enforcers for the Gods—if you do not follow the spiritual guidelines, you will likely be hunted by a jaguar²⁶⁶. Similarly, *Añan* are generally harmless figures that are often outsmarted or outwitted by the Twins²⁶⁷. However, because their reason for existing is to plant doubt in human minds and to misguide the shamans²⁶⁸, Jesuits equated their role to

²⁶⁴ *Añan* is one of the many words used to describe them.

²⁶⁵ Carlos Fausto, "If God Were a Jaguar: Cannibalism and Christianity among the Guaraní (16th-20th centuries) in *Time and Memory in Indigenous Amazonia: Anthropological Perspectives*, edited by Carlos Fausto and Michael Heckenberger (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2007) 85.

²⁶⁶ León Cadogan, "Animal and Plant Cults in Guaraní Lore," *Revista de Antropología* 14 (1966) 106.

²⁶⁷ Andrés I. Prieto, *Missionary Scientists: Jesuit Science in Spanish South America, 1570-1810* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2011) 68.

²⁶⁸ Clastres, *La terre sans mal* 31.

the role of the Christian devil²⁶⁹. This poor translation, despite seeming innocuous at first, developed into the rejection of yerba mate based on its alleged diabolic origin.

The Twins myth is one that exists throughout different South American native communities. Each version has its own interpretation; the Guaraní version places more emphasis on tangible cultural contributions on Earth, whereas others are more celestial and abstract²⁷⁰. Had the Jesuits looked into the structures of the Guaraní worldview, they would have seen that the *Añan* were simply used by a *good* religious figure—the Twins—to transfer divine knowledge to humanity²⁷¹. They are the means through which the information is distributed, but not the source of the information itself. It is debatable whether or not this would have made a difference in the Jesuit rejection of yerba mate. While the Jesuits did appropriate many Guaraní customs and cultural elements to facilitate evangelization, they also tried to distance the Guaraní from anything they felt was too closely linked to their indigenous belief system, as they felt it would get in the way of their path to civilization.

By the 1640s, however, the Jesuits realized that yerba mate was the most commercially viable resource that could be produced in the area²⁷². Until that point, the economy inside the missions operated without much contact with the economy outside the missions; it was self-sufficient with most of its needs but still needed to import certain products or to pay the tribute that the Guaraní legally owed the Crown. The cost of importing required materials that could not be found in Paraguay otherwise, like

²⁶⁹ Melià, *The Guaraní Religious Experience* 201.

²⁷⁰ Alfred Métraux, “Twin Heroes in South American Mythology,” *The Journal of American Folklore* 59, No. 232 (1946) 116.

²⁷¹ In addition to medicinal herbs, many other “divine” elements were transferred to humans in this way, including honey, which was an important part of the Guaraní diet.

²⁷² Ross W. Jamieson, “The Essence of Commodification: Caffeine Dependencies in the Early Modern World,” *Journal of Social History* 35, No 2 (2001) 277.

iron²⁷³, was so inflated that the Jesuits could not afford to stay out of the yerba mate trade. Having already clearly stated an opposition to the herb on a religious ground, their entry into the yerba mate trade brought a problem. A theological justification needed to be found for the Jesuits to be able to reverse their stance on the herb as “used for witchcraft,” as Ruiz de Montoya had stated.

Yerba mate’s commercial viability, it must be noted, was a relatively new phenomenon in the province of Paraguay, only dating back to the 1550s. In fact, there is little evidence that the drink was consumed recreationally by the Guaraní before the Spaniards started consuming it²⁷⁴. Because of its spiritual source, the herb was consumed on the advice of the shaman, as a prescription for an ailment of some sort²⁷⁵. The most powerful class of pre-contact shaman, known as the *karai*, had a dual role in which they were both the spiritual advisors and the healers; they controlled the use of the sacred herb as medicine²⁷⁶. Many of the *karai* were accused by Jesuits of practicing witchcraft because of this duality of roles: they used herbs to heal under a religious or spiritual doctrine that was foreign to the European priests. However, the Jesuits also used these accusations to displace the *karai* from their position of power, as they identified this class as one that they could replace through the evangelization process. Therefore, in the missions of Paraguay, the Jesuits assumed both roles: spiritual advisors—priests, their vocation—and also medicinal healers.

²⁷³ López (*Economics of Yerba Mate*, 498) cites a primary source claiming that a horseshoe cost more than the horse in the province of Paraguay.

²⁷⁴ López, *Revolt of the Compañeros* 24.

²⁷⁵ Usually, an ailment of any sort. Yerba mate was and still is a remedy for whichever illness in Guaraní cultures.

²⁷⁶ Prieto, *Devil’s Herb* 212.

However, a common practice among Jesuit missionaries of the time was to document an absence of medicinal knowledge among local populations²⁷⁷. While this practice can be interpreted as yet another instance of the feeling of cultural superiority felt by Europeans and expressed by the dismissal of a native practice, it was likely more of an effort to uproot the connection between the myths and medicine. If Jesuits could take over the medicinal role of the *karai*, they would be in a position not only to disconnect the link with Guaraní mythology, but also to create a new link with Christianity. For this to be justifiable with the authorities, however, they needed to overlook any meaning the herbs had to the Guaraní, as this would have been synonymous with working with objects deemed to be of witchcraft. This loophole allowed them to claim any knowledge gained from natives as new discoveries, which in turn allowed them to use these native remedies in the missions to ease the inevitable cultural shock felt by local populations.

By the time the Jesuits wanted to enter the yerba mate trade in the mid-seventeenth century, however, Ruiz de Montoya's writings were already thirty years old; the Jesuits could not claim discovery of the herb because its so-called origin was well documented. In order to enter the yerba mate trade, they therefore had to come up with a theological justification, which meant discrediting Ruiz de Montoya's findings. Instead of fully discrediting Ruiz de Montoya, they chose the approach of connecting his findings with another theory that was circulating at the time: an attempt to fill in one of the larger theological holes created with the introduction of the Americas into European and Christian knowledge.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

According to the Bible, one of the definitive moments of the spread of early Christianity was the Dispersion of the Apostles, according to which Jesus' Apostles were sent to preach "everywhere"²⁷⁸. Up until the end of the fifteenth century, this claim was believable, and believed, as specific apostles were recorded as having travelled to all parts of the world known to Europeans. America posed a problem to this claim: was it possible that the Apostles missed a landmass? As Christopher Columbus was travelling back and forth in the late fifteenth century, comparisons were already being made between him and Saint Thomas, who had spread the Word to India, which is where Columbus believed he was²⁷⁹. The logical assumption was made that, because Columbus was in the Indies somewhere, he was following in Saint Thomas' footsteps, so the search began for traces of the former's preaching. As the commonly held belief that the Earth was split into three land masses—Europe, Africa, and Asia—slowly transformed into a belief that it was split in four, the search for Saint Thomas continued, and amplified. After all, as Ruiz de Montoya wrote, the apostles were sent across the Earth, so America could not possibly have been left out²⁸⁰.

The Saint Thomas theory is one that rapidly gained traction in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Inspired by Augustinian Alonso Ramos and Jesuit Manuel da Nóbrega, based in Peru and Brazil respectively, Ruiz de Montoya himself was one of the most important champions of the theory²⁸¹ in South America²⁸². So obsessed was Ruiz

²⁷⁸ Mark 16:19-20 KJV.

²⁷⁹ Louis-André Vigneras, "Saint Thomas, Apostle of America" *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 57:1 (1977) 86.

²⁸⁰ Ruiz de Montoya, *The Spiritual Conquest* 79.

²⁸¹ David A. Brading, *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriotism and the Liberal State 1492-1867* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) 173.

²⁸² While The Jesuits were instrumental in the spread of the theory in South America, it was the Franciscans who originally propagated it in Mexico and Central America.

de Montoya with it that he devoted six chapters of *The Spiritual Conquest*²⁸³ to traces of Saint Thomas. Much like Hernán Cortés in his fabled arrival in Mexico, where he claimed to have been mistaken for the foretold arrival of high-priest Quetzalcoatl—a tale that may well have been made up after the events occurred²⁸⁴—Ruiz de Montoya reports of the extraordinary welcome he received in the Province of Paraguay. He attributed it to a roaming preacher who had passed through many centuries before, stating that, in time, “when some priests who will succeed me come carrying a cross as I do, this teaching [that will be lost in intermediate generations] will be heard by your descendants”²⁸⁵. Italian Jesuit Giuseppe Cataldini²⁸⁶, with whom Ruiz de Montoya²⁸⁷ interacted considerably and greatly respected but was not paired, writes a nearly identical account in a 1613 letter to Provincial father Diego de Torres²⁸⁸. While Ruiz de Montoya does not account for how this nugget of information survived through the generations but not the teaching itself, he vehemently believes that this is proof of Saint Thomas the Apostle’s presence in the Americas, just as Diego Durán reported in 1576 that Quetzalcoatl was a distortion of the prophet that Saint Thomas had foretold in Mexico²⁸⁹. A third similar instance appears in Portuguese chronicler Simão de

²⁸³ Ruiz de Montoya, *The Spiritual Conquest* 74-84.

²⁸⁴ J.H. Elliott, “The Mental World of Hernan Cortés” *Transaction of the Royal Historical Society* 17 (1967) 52.

²⁸⁵ Ruiz de Montoya, *The Spiritual Conquest* 74.

²⁸⁶ Sometimes Hispanicised to José Cataldino.

²⁸⁷ Ruiz de Montoya specifically mentions his admiration for Cataldini in *The Spiritual Conquest* (160) but he makes multiple appearances in the account. He does not, however, mention Cataldini in the section where he attempts to prove the connection with Saint Thomas, despite citing as many Jesuits who had heard similar stories as he could; it is therefore possible that the two never discussed Saint Thomas in their brief interactions.

²⁸⁸ Letter is reproduced in Pedro Lozano SJ, *Historia de la compañía de Jesús de la Provincia del Paraguay*, Vol. 2, Madrid: Supremo Consejo de la Inquisición, 1765, 387-8

²⁸⁹ Manuel María Marzal, *Historia de la antropología indigenista: México y Perú* (Merida: Editorial Regional de Extremadura, 1993) 63.

Vasconcellos' 1663 account²⁹⁰. In each of the accounts, the expected prophet is a lighter-skinned bearded man coming from the East and the predecessor had visited multiple centuries before. Ruiz de Montoya excitedly reports that this wandering prophet's name was *Pay Zumé*²⁹¹ in Guaraní territory and *Pay Tumé* in Inca territory—Ruiz de Montoya was a creole born and raised in Lima. This name was clearly, according to his writings, a distortion of the Spanish *Tomé*²⁹².

Ruiz de Montoya also continues Nóbrega's quest for Saint Thomas' footprints. He writes of footprints in a rock at the end of the beach where Saint Thomas landed, which Simão de Vasconcellos identifies as being Toqué Toqué beach near São Vicente²⁹³. He takes Nóbrega's claim further, stating that the locals have assured him that the steps continue all the way to Asunción²⁹⁴. Ruiz de Montoya speculates that Saint Thomas may have reached America by Roman ship or "as may be thought closer to the truth, being transported there by God miraculously"²⁹⁵, and that he was carrying a stone cross so heavy that it remained underground and covered by water for some fifteen hundred years²⁹⁶. Here, he speaks of the Cross of Carabuco, which was first chronicled in 1621 by the aforementioned Augustinian Alonso Ramos. It is alleged to have been brought there by an apostle and somehow ended up in the river after the locals were not able to even scratch it upon the devil's request²⁹⁷. Ruiz de Montoya appears to have been

²⁹⁰ Simão de Vasconcellos, *Chronica da Companhia de Jesu do Estado do Brasil e do que obraram seus filhos n'esta parte do novo mundo*, Second Edition, Lisboa: Editor AJ Fernandes Lopes, 1865 (1663) CIII

²⁹¹ Occasionally spelled *Zomé*, *Çumé* or *Sumé*, especially in accounts from the Brazilian coast, like that of Vasconcellos, or *Pa'i Shume* in the Guaraní language family.

²⁹² Ruiz de Montoya, *The Spiritual Conquest* 74.

²⁹³ Simão de Vasconcellos, *Chronica da Companhia de Jesu* CIII.

²⁹⁴ Ruiz de Montoya, *The Spiritual Conquest* 76.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid* 80.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid* 81.

²⁹⁷ Adolph F. Bandelier, "The Cross of Carabuco in Bolivia" *American Anthropologist* 6 (No.5: 1904) 600.

exaggerating this claim, as the cross, which was not made of stone but wood, has now not only been moved but has been fashioned into two smaller crosses that call churches in Carabuco and Sucre home²⁹⁸. In addition to exaggerating the material, Ruiz de Montoya also appears to have overstated its size²⁹⁹ and indestructibility. However, the exact details of the cross and, subsequently, of Ruiz de Montoya and the Jesuits' interpretations of the Saint Thomas saga did not matter as much as the doors that this saga opened. First, it allowed the Jesuits to share certain founding stories with the Guaraní and to use their own myths in the service of the Guaraní. Second, it pointed to the Jesuits as the successors of Saint Thomas³⁰⁰, or of whomever the prophet was in the Guaraní version of the story. Finally, it proved to be a key element that allowed the Guaraní to integrate themselves into the yerba mate trade.

In *The Spiritual Conquest*³⁰¹, Ruiz de Montoya himself claims that the holy apostle was the source of manioc, one of the staples of the Guaraní diet. In certain versions of Guaraní mythology manioc was part of the same gift from Sumé, alongside other types of food and medicinal plants³⁰². It is dubious to claim that yerba mate was one of these medicinal plants, especially given that its origins are already documented in a separate myth, but that was the claim made by the Jesuits in the 1640s. Unlike the Twins myth, which is not necessarily incompatible with the Sumé myth, the Guaraní-

²⁹⁸ Astrid Windus, "The Embodiment of Sin and Virtue. Visual Representation of a Religious Concept in a Colonial Andean Contact Zone" in Sebastian Jobs and Gesa Mackentun eds, *Embodiments of Cultural Encounters* (Münster: Waxmann 2011) 105.

²⁹⁹ Ruiz de Montoya claims that the cross was seven and a half feet, where as it is estimated to have been closer to 6 (Bandelier, *Cross of Carabuco* 600). This is a significant difference considering the size of the average human male.

³⁰⁰ Eliane C.D. Fleck, "Em memória de São Tomé: pegadas e promessas a serviço da conversão do gentio (séculos XVI e XVII)" *Estudos Ibero-Americanos* 36 (No. 1, 2010) 79.

³⁰¹ Ruiz de Montoya, *The Spiritual Conquest* 46 and 76.

³⁰² Ganson, *The Guaraní Under Spanish Rule* 30.

prophet myth was fully compatible with Christianity³⁰³. Choosing to promote the Sumé myth rather than the Twins myth was a conscious effort to create some syncretic elements upon which to build a bridge between Catholicism and the Guaraní worldview; if it happened to lead to an escape from Ruiz de Montoya's classification of yerba mate—which would be both socially and economically beneficial to the Jesuits—there would be no complaints made.

Ruiz de Montoya's ostensibly religious opposition to yerba mate may have in fact overshadowed a socio-economic rationale. Though the Jesuits were relatively new to the area, Europeans had been settled in the province since the mid-sixteenth century and the first *encomienda* grants in Paraguay date back to 1556³⁰⁴. Many of these settlers, finding themselves relatively secluded from the other Spanish colonies, adopted certain elements of native culture faster than their coastal counterparts. Within a few years of their arrival, Europeans in Paraguay adopted the use of hammocks, which offered protection against certain insects and snakes³⁰⁵, and residents of Asunción quickly paired this hammock use with that of yerba mate³⁰⁶. The herb quickly was identified as a potential cash crop by the settlers and its labour-intensive collection and transport made it a prime target for the *encomenderos* who had access to a relatively large and cheap workforce³⁰⁷. In 1611, the Jesuit lobby successfully pushed for a decree exempting the mission natives—those who had been successfully converted—from *encomienda* duty, creating heavy tensions between settlers and Jesuits who both felt that the others were

³⁰³ This likely explains why only one of the myths appears in contemporary chronicles.

³⁰⁴ Service, *Spanish-Guaraní Relations* 11.

³⁰⁵ Inga Wiedemann, "Brazilian Hammocks," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 104 (No. 1, 1979) 105.

³⁰⁶ Domingo, *Naissance d'une société métisse*, 462.

³⁰⁷ Service, *Spanish-Guaraní Relations*, 85.

attempting to poach “their” natives³⁰⁸. Ruiz de Montoya’s stance against yerba mate was written in this context of Jesuit-settler conflict.

Ruiz de Montoya’s position was also taken relatively early in the mission process. At the beginning of the missionary period, the main concern for Jesuits was to secure as many Guaraní as possible for evangelization and to assure the physical safety of the missions and their inhabitants. This meant conversations and negotiations with the native caciques, often exchanging conversion against protection from *encomenderos* or slave-raiding *bandeirantes*. Economic viability was not a primary concern until after the Guaraní victory in the Battle of Mbororé³⁰⁹ in 1641, widely recognized as the final consolidation of mission territory³¹⁰, at least until the 1750 Treaty of Madrid. This final pushback, accompanied by the later approval³¹¹ by Spain in 1645³¹² to arm the missions³¹³ meant a physical sense of safety for the Jesuits, who could only now truly focus on the economic viability of the missions. The Battle of Mbororé can also be estimated as a turning point in Guaraní agency as the outside threat was now greatly reduced and the Jesuits could no longer solely rely on enticing the Guaraní with the promise of a safer home. From that point on, the level of Guaraní agency trended upwards until the destruction of the missions.

³⁰⁸ Sarreal, *The Guaraní and Their Missions* 31.

³⁰⁹ The Battle of Mbororé was the last of the constant attacks from the *bandeirantes* between 1620 and 1641.

³¹⁰ Dauril Alden, “The Undeclared War of 1773-1777: Climax of Luso-Spanish Platine Rivalry” *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 41 (No. 1, 1961) 55.

³¹¹ Robert Lacombe, “Trois Documents Français du début du XVIIIe siècle sur les Jésuites du Paraguay” *Revue d’histoire économique et sociale* 42 (No.1, 1964) 40.

³¹² López, *Revolt of the Comuñeros* 42.

³¹³ Royal approval was only granted in 1645, though the Jesuits had already clandestinely armed their missions in self-defence.

By defining yerba mate as an ingredient of witchcraft and a product of the devil, Ruiz de Montoya may have been attempting to influence legislators to restrict or eliminate the secular cultivation of the herb, which would have greatly reduced the demand for *encomienda* natives, as the other crops that could be cultivated in the area were significantly less labour-intensive. While this seems like a nearsighted approach in retrospect, Ruiz de Montoya was not an experienced missionary. He was born in a wealthy Peruvian family and indulged in many vices in his early life, only turning to the Society of Jesus in 1606³¹⁴. He was used to the prosperous Peruvian colony and, like many of the Jesuits sent to Paraguay, was poorly trained on the specifics of the region. His approach was one designed to address the specific problems they were facing in the first half of the seventeenth century.

Though yerba mate was defined as it was in Ruiz de Montoya's writings, the Jesuits followed a different policy inside the missions with the Guaraní. Much like many other Guaraní cultural practices, the Jesuits found themselves powerless to stop it³¹⁵. Guaraní themselves requested it, claiming that it eased their workload. By the 1620s, they were claiming that they needed it and that without it they would "weaken and die"³¹⁶. At first, it was simply allowed; then the priests noticed that its consumption prevented "drunkenness and intoxication"³¹⁷ which was beneficial to the missions. Eventually, in the 1640s after Mbororé³¹⁸, the Jesuits entered the yerba mate trade themselves. The second half of the seventeenth century saw great development within

³¹⁴ He would first travel to Paraguay four months later, in 1607. All biographical notes taken from the introduction to *The Spiritual Conquest*, by CJ McNaspy SJ.

³¹⁵ Sarreal, *The Guaraní and Their Missions*, 37.

³¹⁶ López, *Economics of Yerba Mate* 498.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*

³¹⁸ López, *Revolt of the Comuñeros* 55.

the mission, mainly built on the profits made from the yerba mate trade and from breeding cattle³¹⁹.

As previously mentioned, the Jesuits were first able to domesticate the yerba mate tree in the 1660s; one of their crowning achievements, as none of the other settlers succeeded in domesticating the tree. After the Jesuits were expelled in 1767, the plantations survived only until the end of their life span, usually twenty to thirty years, as the Guaraní were not able to maintain the fickle tree and went back to harvesting the wild *yerbales* for all their yerba mate needs³²⁰. The domestication of the plant allowed the Jesuits to pay more attention to the yerba mate trade and to specialize in the production of *caamini*, the highest quality of yerba mate characterized by its smaller leaves, as opposed to the *yerba de palos* that was being produced elsewhere. This makes an important economic difference as trade restrictions and tariffs were set by weight and not by value; *caamini* was able to bring in much more money than *yerba de palos*. In 1747, one arroba of *caamini* was worth two to three times as much as an arroba of *yerba de palos* in Buenos Aires and in Santa Fe, and twice as much in Chile. *Yerba de palos* generally never even entered the Peruvian market, though *caamini* fetched about four times its Buenos Aires value³²¹.

In addition to the domestication of yerba mate, the post-Mbororé security allowed some of the Jesuits to devote more attention to science and medicine, an activity that contributed to both their prestige back home and their usefulness on the missions. The successful identification of a Guaraní remedy represented both a legitimization of

³¹⁹ Lacombe, *Trois documents français* 40.

³²⁰ Sarreal, *The Guaraní and Their Missions* 226.

³²¹ John J. Crocitti, "The Internal Economic Organization of the Jesuit Missions Among the Guaraní" *International Social Science Review* 77 (No. 1-2, 2002) 6.

their role as spiritual advisor/healer and a “new medicinal invention” in Europe, where people were happy ignoring the true origins of the remedy. The most prominent of these works of science is Father Pedro de Montenegro’s *Libro primero y Segundo de la propiedad y birtudes de los arboles i plantas de las misiones y provincia del Tucuman, con algunos del Brasil y del Oriente*, published in either 1710 or 1711. In Jesuit style, the text is written in Spanish with Guaraní and Tupi words sprinkled in liberally³²². At the rear of the book, a fifty page index of 109 native plants and their uses can be found, showcasing the level of care taken by the Jesuits to appropriately learn the native herbalism³²³.

In writing such botanical works, Jesuits like Montenegro managed to somewhat detach the plants from their Guaraní roles and replaced these roles and meaning with pragmatic uses that could have an impact on the European market. In a way, their study removes them from the realm of *witchcraft*, that which is not understood or superstitious, and instead enters them into *medicine*, a hard science. Unsurprisingly, Montenegro does not condemn the use of yerba mate, he instead compares it to chocolate in its ability to help its inhabitants³²⁴. More importantly, Montenegro not only ignores Ruiz de Montoya’s demonic accusations, but he replaces it with another origin story, that of Saint Thomas’ donation³²⁵.

The coming together of Guaraní and Jesuit worldviews on the issue of yerba mate is an early example of transculturation and of an implicit cultural negotiation where

³²² Pedro de Montenegro SJ, *Libro primero y Segundo de la propiedad y birtudes de los arboles i plantas de las misiones y provincia del Tucuman, con algunos del Brasil y del Oriente*, Biblioteca nacional de Madrid, 1710-11.

³²³ *Ibid.*, 369-419.

³²⁴ *Ibid.* 54-55.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*

the cultures did not clash as much as they blended together or adapted to each other. It is no coincidence that yerba mate remains a symbol of Paraguay, a country proud of its mixed Guaraní -European population and heritage.

Conclusion

Forgotten Colony, Surviving Culture

Over nearly 160 years, the Jesuit missions of Paraguay hosted a complex series of cultural interactions which resulted in the roots of a transcultural modern Paraguayan identity. Alongside the offer of safety from slave-raiders and *encomenderos*, the Jesuits managed to convince large amounts of Guaraní individuals to trust them with the offer of cultural concessions. This allowed the Guaraní to keep certain cultural practices and elements that were important to them while still gaining a Jesuit education in Biblical matters.

The case of the Paraguayan missions offers an interesting scenario largely because of its geopolitical situation. As far as contact zones go, this one finds itself offering both parties an important amount of autonomy. Though the land was originally contested upon European arrival because of false rumours of wealth, the newcomers quickly realized that dreams of gold and silver were not to be on Paraguayan soil – nor in Paraguayan rivers. Combined with the reality of colonial world trade being centred on ports, the “island surrounded by land,” as Paraguay would come to be known in the republican era, presented very few economic incentives for potential settlers and therefore was not an important chess piece on the King’s board.

This lack of priority meant that, from the sixteenth century onward, the region’s power dynamics were complex and ever changing. The region’s lack of desirability to settlers meant a larger opening to settlers outside the main conquistador dynasties from Andalusia, Castile and Extremadura, which in turn signified a wider diversity of settlers. Europeans from the Basque country, Valencia, Catalonia, Galicia and Navarre brought with them their own languages—and a certain tendency for disregarding a King that was

not traditionally theirs. The region was also open to other nationalities; Italians, Flemish, Dutch, Germans and Englishmen also all brought their own languages with them – and were not any more attached to the Spanish Crown.

Even with this openness, the relative number of settlers in Paraguay was meager compared to other American settlements. This was especially true considering that the area was a relatively densely-populated indigenous area. Whereas many of the other densely-populated indigenous areas were either Crown priorities—Mesoamerica and the Inca Empire being prime examples—or relatively unexplored by Europeans until much later in Conquest—we can think here of the Mapuche of Chile—the Guaraní continued to live along the Upper Platine rivers as the Europeans consolidated their settlement in Asunción. The Aztecs and the Inca were also contacted relatively early, for their region, by large groups of disease-carrying men. Inland, disease had a much smaller effect on the Guaraní, allowing them to keep their numbers healthy.

Another effect of being inland was the increased difficulty in subduing them by force. Mass weaponry and fortifications do not travel well up waterfall-filled rivers, especially with “hostile” groups watching carefully. Thus began an alliance by necessity between the European settlers and the Guaraní, described by Europeans as some of the friendliest indigenous groups that they encountered in the Americas. The alliance started off as a military alliance: the Guaraní were in conflict with some of the surrounding groups, often these same groups that had been attacking the settlers. Guaraní tradition stated that alliances are confirmed through blood relations and, needing to boost their numbers, the Europeans quickly began the task of populating the province with a new type of person: the half-European, half-Guaraní known as the mestizo.

As the area was of low priority to the Crown, it was also originally of low priority to the Church. A Diocese was created in 1547, but its incompetence quickly showed as its first half-century was characterized by an oft-vacant bishopric and a steadily low number of ecclesiastics. Coupled with the alliance's easy access to Guaraní women, usually two to ten per European, the lack of religious oversight quickly turned the province into a sexual playground. The elevated birthrate, in turn, only served to reinforce the alliance between Europeans and Guaraní because very few European women were present in the province; the new mestizo generation was therefore mainly raised by Guaraní women.

With this second generation, the Guaraní language was solidified as a shared language in the area. Already a shared language among the different river tribes and many of the Gran Chaco tribes of the area, Guaraní was passed down to mestizo offspring by the mother. By the time this generation was raised, Guaraní became the de-facto language of the region because the still-low immigration rate meant that very few *peninsulares* were being brought in and Guaraní-speaking mestizos would have access to positions of power. Guaraní eventually went on to become the official language of the missions, as the Jesuits not only found it to be of strategic use but also to be quite a beautiful language, as advanced and civilized as any of their own European languages.

The Jesuits found the language to be of strategic use because the Guaraní accorded it such an importance. The Guaraní genesis myth differs from many of the world's "Creation stories" because within it, we find human language to be created before even the planet on which we live. The so-called "Beautiful Words" went on to become a key element of the Guaraní worldview and using them was deemed as essential. The Jesuit use of the language allowed them to get on with their main priority,

evangelization, through spoken word and mass, as well as through song, poetry, and theatre.

The Jesuits, though central figures in Paraguay relations from the early seventeenth century to the mid-eighteenth century, did not harbour great relations in the province with anyone except the Guaraní. They were only called in by a Dominican bishop—Alonso Guerra—in 1588 because the region was in desperate need of ecclesiastics: when he first arrived in Asunción, only three priests were active in the city. Nevertheless, as the colonial city of Asunción grew, it was the Franciscan order that educated most of the urban descendants of Europeans, as well as the Diocese. The Franciscans, known for taking a harder position towards the assimilation of Native Americans, believed that the Jesuits were conceding too much to the Guaraní and generally sided with the urban elites who kept their children in Franciscan schools. Urban elites, in turn, harboured ill-feelings towards the Jesuits because their economic livelihood was in agriculture. The settlers needed Guaraní to serve in their *encomiendas* for their operations to be successful, and mission-Guaraní were exempt from *encomienda* service. Resentment of the Jesuits grew as they became larger players in the local economy; their large workforce allowed them to produce more agricultural product and flood the market, which cut into the settlers' livelihood.

Before they worried too much about economic production, the Jesuits had two main concerns: consolidating the safety of the missions and planning out the evangelization of the Guaraní. The safety of the missions was an immediate concern, as they were still young when the *bandeirantes* began to strike from nearby Brazil. They managed to fight back, eventually winning the right from Spain to maintain an armed Guaraní militia, the only such Indigenous militia in America. As for evangelization, the

Jesuits first had to try to find commonalities between worldviews that did not share much. One religion was monotheistic with iconographic worship whereas the other was polytheistic and aniconic. However, the lack of similarities between the two meant that the same cultural practice could be used to satisfy both worldviews at the same time. By saying mass in the Guaraní language, the Jesuits were praising their God and the Guaraní were praising their God's work—the language itself. The same applied for many other artistic practices: natural colours and flowery or feathery patterns on altars and crosses, dancing baptisms and Guaraní-language songs of praise. The path to syncretism was through art.

That being said, the Jesuits also had to worry about maintaining the missions. The Guaraní traditionally lived in *teýys*, small familial units, and lived day by day. They had no concept of ownership or of saving. This way of life is unsustainable when thousands of people live on the same settlement and have the same nutritional needs. To cope with this, the Jesuits put the Guaraní to work on agriculture and on animal husbandry. This differed from the usual Indigenous labour institutions because the Guaraní lived in the missions by choice. If they found that what they were getting was not of equal value to what they were giving, they could simply walk out of the mission – and they often did. Poor job assignments or constant mistreatment often led to Guaraní returning to life in the forests.

Another form of everyday resistance for the Guaraní was their insistence on being allowed to consume yerba mate. They believed that yerba mate was a stimulant and helped to ease their workload. Its use on the missions was a problem for the Jesuits, who had already referred to the herb as “the devil's herb”. In reality, the Jesuits had simply misinterpreted yerba mate's Guaraní donation myth. Nevertheless, the Guaraní

insisted on being allowed to use it and it also presented economic potential that other crops did not. The Jesuits were therefore pressured into changing their story and reporting that yerba mate's donation was from Saint Thomas the Apostle. The Bible had claimed that apostles travelled the entirety of the world spreading the word, but the original church teachings never accounted for the new continent. Many ecclesiastics therefore spent considerable amounts of time in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries searching for traces of Saint Thomas—or Santo Tomé—in the Americas; he was the apostle who had travelled to India and was therefore most likely to have made the trip.

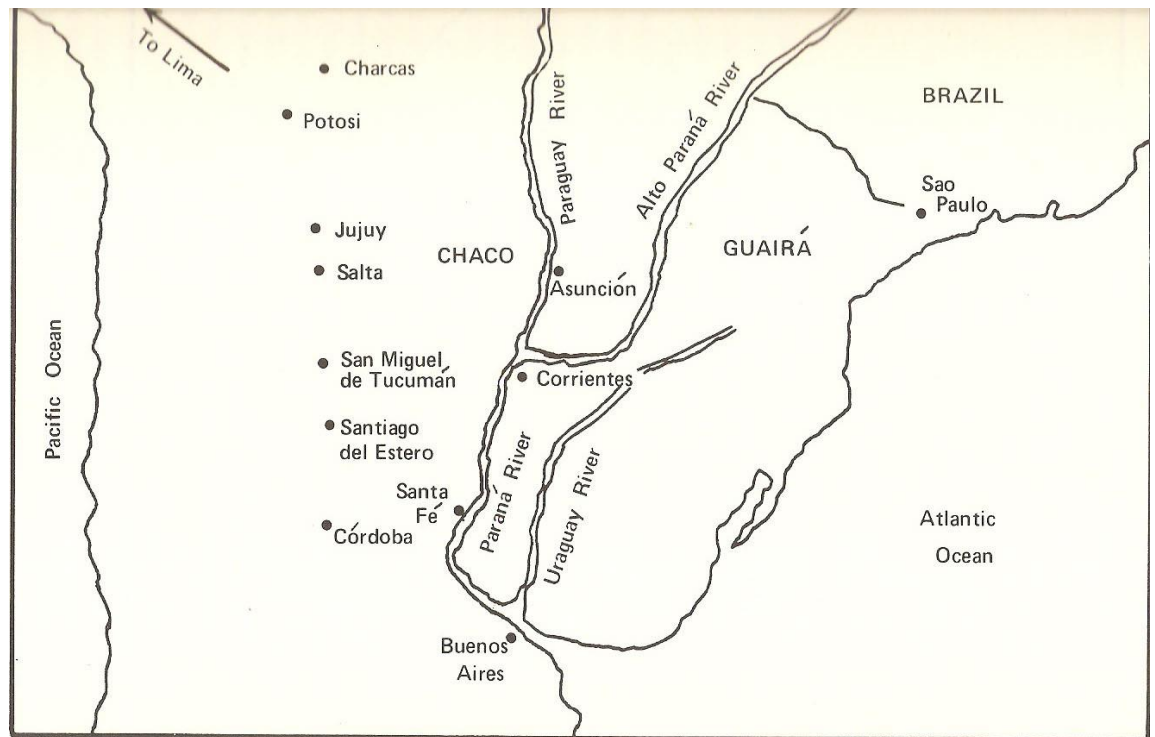
When the Guaraní were discovered to have had an ancient lighter-skinned preacher named Zumé, the Jesuits made the association between similar names. They justified allowing the use of yerba mate by claiming that, in fact, it was not a demonic herb because it was not donated to the Guaraní by a pagan God but by Saint Thomas when he had first travelled the land in the first century. Similarly to what they did with yerba mate, the Jesuits co-opted many traditional Guaraní medicinal herbs and claimed them as their own medicinal discoveries. This gave them more legitimacy in Europe, but also in the missions, where they were trying to supplant the tribal *karai* whose dual role included both spiritual advising and healing.

There is a lot to be learned from the Jesuit interaction with the Guaraní on their Paraguayan missions. It is a story of survival. The Jesuits were a young missionary Order constantly threatened by the local elites and the more established Orders in addition to the Guaraní who took advantage of the main card they held: the threat to walk out. Without the Guaraní, there would be no missions. The Guaraní were also threatened, however, by a changing world in which the new forces of power ostensibly had no interest in their way of life and in their culture. But the story of the interactions

between the groups is also one of cooperation. In the end, the success of the missions was dear to both sides. Though the two actors had different objectives, they managed to compromise on certain topics and bring together the cultures on others, assuring the prosperity of the missions, the evangelization of the Guaraní, and the survival of multiple important facets of the Guaraní worldview.

Appendix 1

Fig 1. Map of the Río de la Plata Estuary splitting into the Paraná and Uruguay Rivers. The Paraguay River later appears. The Tietê River can be seen branching off the Alto Paraná River near São Paulo.



Paraguay, Tucumán, and the Río de la Plata
at the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century

Taken from Lopez, *Revolt of the Comuneros* 1.

Fig 2: Location of the Jesuit missions when compared to modern borders.

Les Missions

LOS MISIONES



Taken from PortalGuaraní.com.

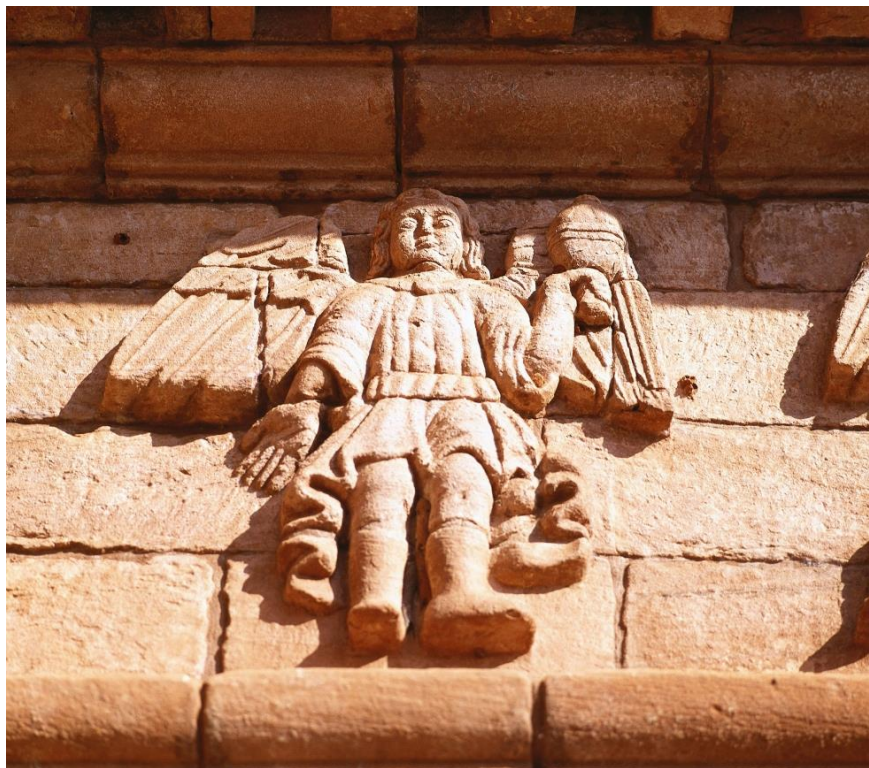
http://www.portalguarani.com/807_bartomeu_melia_lliteres/14756_la_madera_de_las_misiones__y_la_utopia_tuvo_lugar_o_la_utopia_en_su_lugar_bartomeu_melia_.html

Fig 3: Statues of the Virgin Mary adorned in Ñandutí in the Churches of el Rosario and Itaguá.



Taken from Sanjurjo, *Ñandutí* 82.

Fig. 4: Angel holding *maraca*, Santísima Trinidad mission frieze.



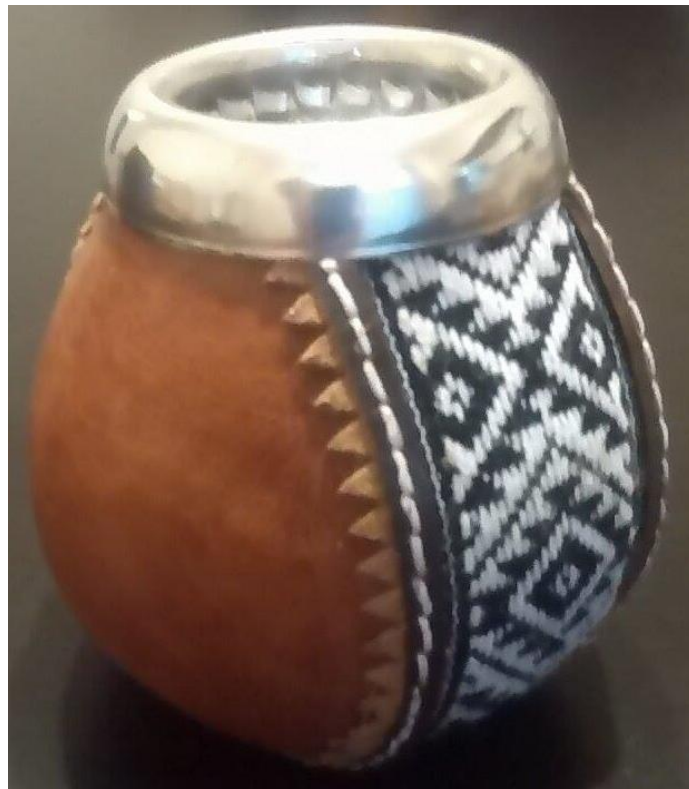
Taken from Guillermo Wilde, “Imagining Guaranis and Jesuits: Yesterday’s History, Today’s Perspective”, *ReVista*, 2015. <http://revista.drclas.harvard.edu/book/imagining-guaranis-and-jesuits>. Page consulted on August 2nd, 2016.

Fig. 5: Braided Jesus.



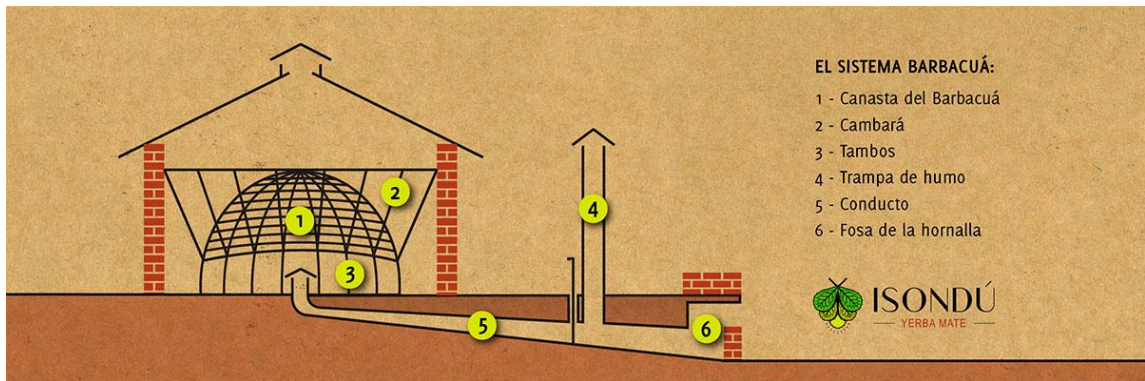
Taken from Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions*.

Fig. 6: Mate gourd.



Photographed by author.

Fig. 9: Modern barbacoá as used by the Isondú yerba mate company of Argentina.



Taken from: Isondu Yerba Mate, *Barbacua System*, www.isondu.com.ar/en/barbacua-system/. Consulted on July 15th, 2016.

Appendix 2

The Foundation of Human Speech – Guaraní Creation Story transcribed by León Cadogan

1

The true father Ñamandu, the first one,
 Out of a small portion of his own godliness,
 And out of the wisdom contained in his
 Own godliness,
 Caused flames and tenuous mist to
 Be begotten.

2

Having emerged in human form
 Out of the wisdom contained in his own godliness,
 And by virtue of his creative wisdom
 He conceived the foundation of human speech.
 Out of the wisdom contained within his own godliness
 And by virtue of his creative wisdom
 Our father created the foundation of human speech,
 And caused it to form part of his own godliness.
 Before the earth existed,
 In the midst of primeval darkness,
 Before there was knowledge of things,
 He created the foundation of future human speech,
 And the first true father Ñamandu
 Caused it to form part of his own divinity.

3

Having conceived the origin of future human speech,
 Out of the wisdom contained within his own godliness,
 And by virtue of his creative wisdom
 He conceived the foundation of love of one's fellow men.
 Before the earth existed,
 In the midst of primeval darkness,
 Before there was knowledge of things,
 And by virtue of his creative power
 He conceived the foundation of love of one's fellow men.

4

Having created the foundations of human speech,
 Having created a small portion of love,
 Out of the wisdom contained within his own godliness
 And by virtue of his creative wisdom
 He created, in his solitude,
 The beginning of a sacred hymn.
 Before the earth existed,

In the midst of primeval darkness,
 Before there was knowledge of things
 He created, in his solitude,
 The beginning of a sacred hymn.

5

Having created, in his solitude, the origin of human speech;
 Having created, in his solitude, a small portion of love,
 Having created, in his solitude, a short sacred hymn,
 He pondered deeply
 About sharing the origin of human speech,
 About sharing the words of the sacred hymn,
 About sharing the love for one's fellow men.
 Having pondered deeply,
 Out of the wisdom contained within his own godliness,
 And by the virtue of his own creative wisdom,
 He created those who could share his godliness.

6

Having pondered deeply,
 Out of the wisdom contained within his own divinity
 And by virtue of his creative power,
 He created the brave-hearted Ñamandu;
 He created him simultaneously with the reflection of his own wisdom (the sun).

Before the earth existed,
 In the midst of primeval darkness,
 He created the brave-hearted Ñamandu.
 For the father of his future numerous suns,
 For the true father of the word-souls of his future numerous suns
 He created the brave-hearted Ñamandu.

7

Following these things,
 Out of the wisdom contained within his own divinity
 And by virtue of his own creating power,
 To the true father of the future Karáí,
 To the true father of the future Jakairá,
 To the true father of the future Tupá,
 He granted knowledge of godliness.

8

Following these things,
 The true father Ñamandu
 To seat herself opposite his own heart,
 Imparted knowledge of godliness
 To the future true mother Ñamandu.

The true father Karaí
 Granted knowledge of godliness
 To whom would seat herself opposite his heart,
 To the true future mother Karaí.

The true father Jakairá, in the same manner,
 Imparted knowledge of godliness
 To the true mother Jakairá.

The true father Tupá, in the same manner,
 To whom would seat herself opposite his heart,
 Imparted knowledge of godliness,
 To the true future mother Tupá

9
 For having assimilated
 Divine knowledge from their own
 True father,
 After having assimilated
 Human speech,
 After having inspired in love
 Of one's fellowmen,
 After having assimilated the series of
 Words of the sacred hymn,
 After having inspired themselves
 In the foundation of creative wisdom;
 We call these, also,
 The sublime true fathers of
 The word-soul,
 The sublime true mother of
 The word-soul.

Taken from Peter Lambert and Andrew Nickson (eds.), *The Paraguay Reader: History, Culture, Politics* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013) 17-20.

Primary Sources

Aimé-Martin, M.L., editor. *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses concernant l'Asie, l'Afrique et l'Amérique avec quelques relations nouvelles des missions et des notes géographique et historiques, Tome II*. Paris : 1843.

Compagnie de Jésus, *Le Gouvernement du Paraguay sous les Jésuits*, Madrid, 1771.

De Charlevoix, Pierre-François Xavier, *Histoire du Paraguay*. Paris : Didot, Giffart, Nyon, 1756.

Del Techo, Nicholas *The History of the Provinces of Paraguay, Tucuman, Rio de la Plata, Parana, Guaira and Uruaica, and something of the Kingdom of Chile in South America*, (London: Henry Lintot and John Osborn, 1746 [1673]).

Dobrizhoffer, Marin, *An account of the Abipones, an equestrian people of Paraguay* (London: John Murray, 1802 [1784], 3 vols.).

Lozano, Pedro, *Historia de la Compañia de Jesus de la provincia del Paraguay*. Madrid: Supremo Consejo de la Inquisición, 1754-1755.

Montenegro, Pedro de SJ, *Libro primero y Segundo de la propiedad y birtudes de los arboles i plantas de las misiones y provincia del Tucuman, con algunos del Brasil y del Oriente*, Biblioteca nacional de Madrid, 1710-11.

Morales, Martín María, SJ (ed), *A mis manos han llegado: Cartas de los PP. Generales a la Antigua Provincia del Paraguay (1608-1639)*, Roma: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2005 (vol. 1).

Ruiz de Montoya, Antonio SJ, *The Spritual Conquest Accomplished by the Religious of the Society of Jesus in the Provinces of Paraguay, Paraná, Uruguay and Tape: A Personal Account of the Found and Early Years of the Jesuit Paraguay Reductions*. St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1993 (1639).

Sepp von Reinegg, Anton and Anthony Behme SJ, *An account of a voyage from Spain to Paraquaria, containing a description of all the remarkable things and the inhabitants, as well as of missionaries residing in that country* (Mumbai: Reink Books, 2015 [1697]).

Simão de Vasconcellos, *Chronica da Companhia de Jesu do Estado do Brasil e do que obraram seus filhos n'esta parte do novo mundo*, Second Edition, Lisboa: Editor AJ Fernandes Lopes, 1865 (1663) CIII

Bibliography

Alden, Dauril. "The Undeclared War of 1773-1777: Climax of Luso-Spanish Platine Rivalry" *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 41, No. 1; 1961. Pp. 55-74.

Bailey, Gauvin Alexander. *Art of Colonial Latin America*. London: Phaidon, 2005.

- Bailey, Gauvin Alexander. *Art on the Jesuit Missions of Latin America and Asia, 1542-1773*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001 (1999).
- Ballengue Morris, Christine, Karai' Mirin and Christina Rizzi. "Decolonization, Art Education, and One Guaraní Nation of Brazil". *Studies in Art Education* 41, No. 2; 2007. Pp. 100-113.
- Bandelier, Adolph F. "The Cross of Carabuco in Bolivia" *American Anthropologist* 6, No.5; 1904. Pp. 599-628.
- Bangert, William V. SJ. *A History of the Society of Jesus, 2nd Edition*. St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1986 (1971).
- Bareiro Saguier, Rubén. "El fundamento de lenguaje humano". *Litoral* 195/196; 1992. Pp. 253-255.
- Beatty Thurber, Francis. *Coffee: from plantation to cup. A Brief History of Coffee Production and Consumption*. New York: American Grocer Publishing Association, 1881.
- Beckert, Sven. *Empire of Cotton: A Global History*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2015.
- Benítez, Justo Pastor. *Formación social del Pueblo Paraguay*. Buenos Aires: Ediciones Nizza, 1967.
- Bertrand, Carmen et Serge Gruzinski. *Histoire du Nouveau Monde: Les métissages*. Paris : Fayard 1993.
- Blinn Reber, Vera. "Commerce and Industry in Nineteenth Century Paraguay: The Example of Yerba Mate", *The Americas* 42, No. 1; 1985. Pp. 29-53.
- Brading, David A. *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriotism and the Liberal State 1492-1867*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Burkholder, Mark A. and Lyman L. Johnson. *Colonial Latin America, Seventeenth Edition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010 (1990).
- Cadogan, León. "Animal and Plant Cults in Guaraní Lore". *Revista de Antropología* 14; 1966. Pp. 105-124.
- Cadogan, León. *La literatura de los guaraníes*. Mexico: Editorial Joaquín Mortiz, 1970 (1965).
- Capistrano de Abreu, João. *Chapters of Brazil's Colonial History 1500-1800*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Cardozo, Efraím. *El Paraguay colonial*. Asunción: El Lector, 1991.
- Cervantes, Fernando. *The Devil in the New World: The Impact of Diabolism in New Spain*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.
- Cheney, Ralph H. "The Biology and Economics of the Beverage Industry" *Economic Botany* 1, No. 3; 1947. Pp. 243-25.

- Clarence-Smith, William Gervase. *Cocoa and Chocolate, 1765-1914*. London: Routledge, 2000.
- Clastres, H  l  ne. *La terre sans mal : le proph  tisme tupi-guaran  *. Paris :   ditions du Seuil, 1975.
- Clastres, Pierre. *Le grand parler : Mythes et chants sacr  s des Indiens Guaran  *. Paris :   ditions du Seuil, 1974.
- Crocitti, John J. "The Internal Economic Organization of the Jesuit Missions Among the Guaran  " *International Social Science Review* 77, No. 1-2; 2002. Pp. 3-15.
- Crolla, Adriana Cristina, "Momentos y significaciones de las migraciones   talo-rioplatenses" in *Las migraciones   talo-rioplatenses: Memoria cultural, literatura y territorialidades*, Adriana Cristina Crolla ed. Santa Fe: Ediciones UNL. Pp. 15-72.
- Cushner, Nicholas P., *Why Have You Come Here? The Jesuits and the First Evangelization of Native America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Cybriwsky, Roman Adrian. *Capital Cities Around the World: And Encyclopedia of Geography, History, and Culture*. Oxford: ABC-CLIO, 2013.
- Domingo, Paola. *Naissance d'une soci  t   m  tisse : aspects socio-  conomiques du Paraguay de la conqu  te    travers les dossiers testamentaires*. Montpellier: ETILAL Publications, 2006.
- Donahue-Wallace, Kelly. *Art and Architecture of Viceregal Latin America, 1521-1821*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008.
- Elliott, J.H. "The Mental World of Hernan Cort  s" *Transaction of the Royal Historical Society* 17; 1967. Pp. 41-58.
- Emerson, Richard M. "Social Exchange Theory" *Annual Review of Sociology* 2; 1976. pp. 335-362.
- Escobar, Ticio. *The Curse of Nemur: In Search of the Art, Myth and Ritual of the Ishir*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007.
- Ezran, Maurice. *Une colonisation douce: les missions du Paraguay*. Paris :   ditions L'Harmattan, 1989.
- Fausto, Carlos. "If God Were a Jaguar: Cannibalism and Christianity among the Guaran   (16th-20th centuries)" in *Time and Memory in Indigenous Amazonia: Anthropological Perspectives*, edited by Carlos Fausto and Michael Heckenberger. Gainesville: University Press of Florida; 2007. Pp. 74-105.
- Fleck, Eliane C.D. "Em mem  ria de S  o Tom  : pegadas e promessas a servi  o da convers  o do gentio (s  culos XVI e XVII)" *Estudos Ibero-Americanos* 36, No. 1; 2010. Pp. 67-86.

- Folch, Christine. "Stimulating Consumption: Yerba Mate Myths, Markets and Meanings From Conquest to Present," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 52, No. 1; 2010. Pp. 6-36.
- Ganson, Barbara Anne. *The Guaraní Under Spanish Rule in the Río de la Plata*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003.
- Gomez, Thomas. *L'invention de l'Amérique: rêve et réalités de la Conquête*. Paris : Aubier, 1992.
- Goodman, Jordan. *Tobacco in History: The cultures of dependence*. London: Routledge; 1993.
- Gruzinski, Serge. *La guerre des images de Christophe Colomb à Blade Runner (1492-2019)*. Paris: Fayard, 1990.
- Habig, Marion A. "The Franciscan Provinces of South America". *The Americas* 2, No. 4; 1946. p. 461-481.
- Hanke, Lewis. *The Imperial City of Potosí: An unwritten chapter in the history of Spanish America*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1956.
- Haubert, Maxime. *Des Indiens et des Jésuites du Paraguay au Temps des Missions*. Paris : Hachette, 1967.
- Jackson, Robert H. *Missions and the Frontiers of Spanish America: A Comparative Study of the Impact of Environmental, Economic, Political, and Socio-Cultural Variations on the Missions in the Río de la Plata Region and on the Northern Frontier of New Spain*. Scottsdale: Pentacle Press, 2005.
- Jamieson, Ross W. "The Essence of Commodification: Caffeine Dependencies in the Early Modern World," *Journal of Social History* 35, No 2; 2001. Pp. 269-294.
- Lacombe, Robert. "Trois Documents Français du début du XVIIIe siècle sur les Jésuites du Paraguay" *Revue d'histoire économique et sociale* 42, No.1; 1964. Pp. 27-73.
- Lambert, Peter and Andrew Nickson (eds). *The Paraguay Reader: History, Culture, Politics*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2013.
- Livi-Bacci, Massimo, and Ernesto J. Maeder. "The Missions of Paraguay: The Demography of an Experiment" *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 35, No. 2; 2004. P. 185-224.
- López, Adalberto. "The Economics of Yerba Mate in Seventeenth-Century South America," *Agricultural History* 48, No. 4; 1974. Pp. 493-509.
- López, Adalberto. *The revolt of the Compañeros (sic), 1721-1735*. Cambridge: Schenkman, 1967.
- Machado, Iran F. and Silvia F. de M. Figueirôa. "500 years of mining in Brazil: a brief review," *Resources Policy* 27, No. 1; 2001. Pp. 9-24.

- Marzal, Manuel María. *Historia de la antropología indigenista: México y Perú*. Merida: Editorial Regional de Extremadura, 1993.
- Melià, Bartomeu. "The Guaraní Religious Experience" in *The Indian Face of God in Latin America* Manuel M Marzal et al. eds. New York: Orbis Books, 1996. Pp. 169-216.
- Menezes de Souza, Lynn Mario T. "Entering a Culture Quietly: Writing and Cultural Surviva in Indigenous Education in Brazil" in *Disinventing and reconstituting languages*, Sinfree Makoni and Alastair Pennycook, eds. Buffalo: Multilingual Matters, 2007. Pp. 135-169.
- Métraux, Alfred. "Twin Heroes in South American Mythology," *The Journal of American Folklore* 59, No. 232; 1946. Pp. 114-123.
- Mintz, Sidney. *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History*. New York: Penguin Books, 1986.
- Mondain, Pierre. "Un conflit oublié: la guerre du Paraguay contre la Triple Alliance (1864-1870)". *Revue Historique* 256, No. 2; 1976. Pp. 385-418.
- Monticelli, Gislene. "The sky is the limit: how to exceed the strict rules of the Guaraní ceramics". *Ciências Humanas* 2, No. 1; 2007. Pp. 105-115.
- Mörner, Magnus. *The political and economic activities of the Jesuits in the La Plata region: the Hapsburg era*. Stockholm: Library and Institute of Ibero-American studies, 1967.
- Nawrot, Piotr. "Teaching of Music and the Celebration of Liturgical Events in the Jesuit Reductions," *Anthropos* 99, No. 1; 2004. Pp. 73-84.
- Necker, Louis. *Indiens Guaraní et Chamanes Franciscains : Les premières réductions du Paraguay*. Paris: Éditions Anthropos, 1979.
- Neill, Stephen. *A History of the Christian Missions*. London: Penguin Books, 1990 (1964).
- Nowell, Charles E., "Aleixo Garcia and the White King". *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 26, No. 4; 1946. Pp. 450-466.
- O'Shaughnessy, Hugh. *The Priest of Paraguay*. London: Zed Books, 2009.
- Ortiz, Fernando. *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1995 (1940).
- Phillipson, Robert. *Linguistic Imperialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Pla, Josefina. "Le baroque hispano-guaraní," *Europe* 48, No. 494; 1970. Pp. 142-147.
- Portchat, Edith. *Incormações históricas sobre São Paulo no século de sua fundação*. São Paulo: Iluminuras Ltda, 1993 (1956).
- Powell, Philip Wayne. *Soldiers, Indians & Silver: North America's first frontier war*, Tempe AZ: Center for Latin American Studies, 1975 [1952].

- Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. London: Routledge, 1992.
- Prieto, Andrés I. "From the Devil's Herb to Saint Thomas' Gift: The Christianisation of Guaraní Sacred Plants in the Jesuit Reductions of Paraguay" in *Medieval and Early Modern Devotional Objects in Global Perspective: Translations of the Sacred*, Elizabeth Robertson and Jennifer Jahner, eds. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010. Pp. 211-228.
- Prieto, Andrés I. *Missionary Scientists: Jesuit Science in Spanish South America, 1570-1810*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2011.
- Rubin, Joan. *National Bilingualism in Paraguay*. The Hague: Mouton, 1968.
- Saguier, Eduardo R. "Church and State in Buenos Aires in the Seventeenth Century," *Journal of Church and State* 26, No. 3; 1984. Pp.491-514.
- Sanjurjo, Annick. *Ñandutí: Lace of Paraguay*. Austin: Southern Cross Press, 2015.
- Sarreal, Julia J. S. *Globalization and the Guaraní: From Missions to Modernization in the Eighteenth Century*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 2009.
- Sarreal, Julia J. S. *The Guaraní and Their Missions: A Socioeconomic History*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014.
- Scott, James C. *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.
- Service, Elman R. *Spanish-Guaraní Relations in Early Colonial Paraguay*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1971 [1954].
- Shapiro, Judith. "From Tupã to the Land without Evil: The Christianization of Tupi-Guaraní Cosmology". *American Ethnologist* 14, No. 1; 1987. Pp. 126-139.
- Silverblatt, Irene. *Moon, Sun, and Witches: Gender Ideology and Class in Inca and Colonial Peru*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987.
- Tahib, Ismail. *The Language of Postcolonial Literatures: An Introduction*. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Tavarez, David. "Banned Sixteenth-Century Biblical Text in Nahuatl: The Proverbs of Solomon", *Ethnohistory* 60, No. 4; 2013. Pp.759-62.
- Tuer, Dot. "Old Bones and Beautiful Words: The Spiritual Contestation between Shaman and Jesuit in the Guaraní Missions" in *Colonial Saints: Discovering the Holy in the Americas*. Allan Greer and Jodi Bilinkoff eds. New York: Routledge; 2003. Pp. 77-98.
- Vellard, Jehan Albert. "Textes Mbwichá recueillis au Paraguay". *Journal de la Société des américanistes* 29, No. 2; 1937. Pp.373-386.
- Vignerat, Louis-André. "Saint Thomas, Apostle of America" *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 57, Vol 1; 1977. Pp. 82-90.

Villagra-Batoux, Sara Delicia. “The Guaraní Language – the Paraguayan Seal of Identity: A Path to Integration and Development”, *Museum International* 60, No. 3 ; 2008. Pp. 51-59.

Wade, Mariah. “Go-between: The Roles of Native American Women and Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca in Southern Texas in the 16th Century”. *The Journal of American Folklore* 112, No. 445; 1999. Pp. 332-342.

Whigham, Thomas. *The Politics of River Trade: Tradition and Development in the Upper Plata, 1780-1870*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991.

Whitehead, Maurice. “From Expulsion to Restoration: The Jesuits in Crisis, 1759-1814,” *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 103, No. 412; 2014/15. Pp. 447-461.

Wiedemann, Inga. “Brazilian Hammocks,” *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 104, No. 1; 1979. Pp. 105-133.

Wilbert, Johannes. *Tobacco and Shamanism in South America*. New Haven: Yale University Press; 1987.

Wilde, Guillermo, “Imagining Guaranis and Jesuits: Yesterday’s History, Today’s Perspective”, *ReVista*, 2015. <http://revista.drclas.harvard.edu/book/imagining-guaranis-and-jesuits>. Page consulted on August 2nd, 2016.

Windus, Astrid. “The Embodiment of Sin and Virtue. Visual Representation of a Religious Concept in a Colonial Andean Contact Zone” in Sebastian Jobs and Gesa Mackentun eds, *Embodiments of Cultural Encounters*. Münster: Waxmann, 2011. Pp. 93-114.

Zajícová, Lenka. *El bilingüismo paraguayo: Usos y actitudes hacia el guaraní y el castellano*. Madrid: Iberoamerica, 2009.

Catholic-Hierarchy.org. *Father Thomas Vásquez de Liaño*, <http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bvasqdc.html>, page consulted on May 15th, 2016.

Portal Guaraní.com *Bartomeu Melià Lliteres*, http://www.portalguarani.com/807_bartomeu_melia_lliteres/14756_la_madera_de_las_misiones_y_la_utopia_tuvo_lugar_o_la_utopia_en_su_lugar_bartomeu_melia_.html, Page consulted on September 30th, 2015.