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## The Travels of El devoto peregrino: A Franciscan Holy Land comes to New Spain

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## **The Travels of *El devoto peregrino*: A Franciscan Holy Land Comes to New Spain**

*Karen Melvin*

For someplace more than 12,000 km distant from New Spain, the Holy Land was surprisingly present. Preachers discussed it in sermons, painters rendered it on canvas, builders constructed replicas of its important sites, authors penned devotional guides to the events that took place on its soil, and members of religious brotherhoods reenacted events from its sacred past. Yet almost none of these preachers, painters, builders, authors, and re-enactors had seen these places with their own eyes, so how did they know how to describe and re-create them?

An important conduit of knowledge was the Franciscan order. Franciscans had served as the Catholic Church's official custodians of the Holy Land since the 1320s, a position granted by King Jaime II of Aragon (whose titles included king of Jerusalem, however little that meant in Jerusalem) and confirmed by Pope John XXII. In this capacity, the order maintained a Catholic presence at dozens of holy sites throughout Palestine. As explained in a Franciscan promotional piece from 1795, Franciscans could be found:

In Nazareth, where [Christ] became flesh. In Bethlehem, where he was born from the pure womb of Most Holy Mary. In the Garden of Gethsemane, where he shed Blood and was captured by the Jews. On Mount Calvary, where he was crucified. In the Holy Sepulcher, where he was buried and gloriously resurrected. On the Mount of Olives, where he ascended to Heaven. In the Valley of Josaphat, where is the Tomb of the Mother of God and her glorious Assumption.<sup>1</sup>

These were the places where Jesus and Mary lived, and it was here, in oft-invoked phrases, where Christ shed his blood for humanity and brought about the redemption of mankind.

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<sup>1</sup> “Carta de Hermandad de los Santos Lugares de Jerusalem,” John Carter Brown Library, bBA795, H551c: “En Nazareth, donde encarnó. En Bethelen, donde nació de las purisimas entrañas de Maria Santisima. En el Huerto de Gethsemani, donde sudó Sangre, y fué preso de los Judios. En el Monte Calvario, donde fue crucificado. En el Santo Sepulcro, donde estuvo sepultado, y resucitó glorioso. En el Monte Olivete, donde subio á los Cielos. En el Valle de Josaphat, donde esta el Sepulcro de la Madre de Dios, y su gloriosa Asumpcion....”

Franciscans celebrated in print, song, sermon, and image the Holy Land as home to the defining moments of Christianity, and they were hardly alone in doing so—in this sense they traveled in the mainstream of Catholic belief. But the order’s role as official guardians provided additional impetus to promote the spiritual potency of these most sacred of places. In this capacity Franciscans also sought out the political, financial, and material support necessary to maintain these sites. The challenges of administering the *Custodia Terrae Sanctae* were myriad, as Franciscans frequently asserted. Rivalries with Muslims, Jews, various Eastern Orthodox traditions (most notably Greeks and Armenians) for control of these sites intensified after the arrival of the Ottomans in 1517. Ottoman-granted access to sites was subject to shifting alliances, legal challenges from rivals, and payment of tribute to multiple officials.<sup>2</sup> Over the course of the following centuries, Franciscans fought to defend what they saw as their rightful possession of existing sites as well as to expand to additional ones, objectives that required deep pockets. Franciscans also had to pay for constructing and maintaining buildings; providing what was needed for worship; supporting friars in residence; providing food, lodging, and health care for pilgrims; and leading pilgrims on tours of holy sites. In sum, it was an expensive and politically fraught project. Nor was it financially self-sufficient. Because the region lacked a local Catholic population who could fund these activities, Franciscans had to look elsewhere for support. Alms collection therefore took place throughout the Catholic world, including, after a 1606 royal decree, the Spanish Americas. Before the century was out, New Spain had become the largest source of alms for the *santos lugares* anywhere in the world.

A source that offers particular insight into the Franciscan *custodia*’s global reach into New Spain is Fr. Antonio del Castillo’s *El devoto peregrino y viage de la Tierra Santa* (The Devoted Pilgrim and Voyage to the Holy Land), first published in 1654. The book takes readers on a lengthy pilgrimage to

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<sup>2</sup> Megan Armstrong, “Spiritual Legitimation? Franciscan Competition over the Holy Land (1517–1700),” in *The Frontiers of Mission: Perspectives on Early Modern Missionary Catholicism*, ed. Alison Forrestal and Seán Alexander Smith (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 159–79; Patrocinio García Barriuso, OFM, *España en la Historia de Tierra Santa: Obra pia Española a la sombra de un regio patronato (estudio histórico-jurídico)* (Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 1994).

the Holy Land, describing its sacred places, what had happened at each one, and how Franciscans kept them accessible to Christians. A bestseller of its day, it circulated widely throughout Spain and the Americas, in the case of New Spain, may have been the most well-known book about the Holy Land. *El devoto peregrino* was the product of the Spanish Franciscans' commissariat of the *santos lugares de Jerusalén* (the Holy Places of Jerusalem), a semi-autonomous hierarchy within the order that consisted of regional offices distributed throughout Spanish territories. Its commissioners, syndics, and alms collectors gathered funds and sent them to Madrid from where they were to be distributed to the Holy Land. Del Castillo, a native of Malaga, had held various offices in the Holy Land before returning to Spain and taking up leadership of the commissariat (1651–1669), and he wrote and published *El devoto peregrino* with the explicit goal of buttressing the commissariat's work. The commissariat held a monopoly on the book's printing, organized its distribution, and benefitted from its profits. While it did become a money-maker, its greater influence came from disseminating a particular set of messages about the Holy Land that linked its spiritual potency to the Franciscans' custodianship. This chapter examines these messages and connects them to the book's circulation in New Spain, demonstrating how global Franciscan networks brought a particular set of ideas about Jerusalem to New Spain.

## **Editions**

*El devoto peregrino* was part of a profusion of works about the Holy Land published throughout early modern Europe. Although pilgrims' guides, travel accounts, and histories of Jerusalem predated the printing press, their production peaked during the sixteenth and especially seventeenth centuries. According to Zur Shalev's calculations, the number of publications about the Holy Land increased from 279 in the fifteenth century to 333 in the sixteenth and to 390 in the seventeenth before slipping to 318 in the eighteenth.<sup>3</sup> In sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain alone, at least thirty-two Spanish-language works found their way into print.<sup>4</sup> Within this popular genre, *El devoto peregrino* was likely

<sup>3</sup> Zur Shalev, *Sacred Words and Worlds: Geography, Religion, and Scholarship, 1550–1700* (Brill, 2011), 79.

<sup>4</sup> *Urbs Beata Hierusalem: los viajes a tierra santa en los siglos XVI y XVII* (Madrid: BNE, 2017). This catalog from a 2017

the most popular work in Spanish realms, appearing in approximately two dozen editions between 1654 and 1806.<sup>5</sup>

These editions offer evidence of longstanding, if fluctuating, interest in the book. Distribution of the highly-anticipated first edition began in January 1655, and its run of 1,750 copies quickly sold out. As indicated in Table 1, at least three more editions (1656, 1664, 1666) followed in quick succession. Then, after a lull of roughly three decades (1666–1700) with no new printings, another twenty or so editions were published steadily through about 1780.<sup>6</sup> All editions were published in Europe, none in New Spain.<sup>7</sup>

**Table 1. Editions of *El devoto peregrino* [AU: Please provide title for table.]**

| Year of publication | Place of publication | Publisher     |
|---------------------|----------------------|---------------|
| 1654                | Madrid               | Imprenta Real |
| 1655                | Antwerp              | Plantiniana   |
| 1656                | Madrid               | Imprenta Real |

exhibition at the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid includes twenty-nine Spanish language works written in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (two in manuscript form only) and cites an additional four works published at the time (p. 35). For more on contemporary works about Jerusalem, see Samuel Eiján, *España en Tierra Santa: paginas de la vida franciscana en Oriente* (Barcelona: Herederos de Juan Gili, 1910) and F. Thomas Noonan, *The Road to Jerusalem: Pilgrimage and Travel in the Age of Discovery* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).

<sup>5</sup> Victor de Lama notes that *El devoto peregrino* came out in more editions than any other pilgrimage guide published in Spain during the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries. Similarly, *Urbs Beata Hierusalem* identified it and Francisco Guerrero's earlier work (*El viage de Hierusalem*, 1st ed., 1590) as the two most successful pilgrimage guides in the history of Spanish printing. Victor Lama, *María Mártir: Pasión y Muerte en la hoguera de una española en Jerusalén (c. 1578)* (A Coruña: SIELAE, 2016), 10; *Urbs Beata Hierusalem*, 149.

<sup>6</sup> This gap was likely related, at least in part, to concerns the Inquisition had about some of the book's contents. In 1682, the head of commissariat in Sevilla wrote to his superiors in Madrid that shipments of the book to the Spanish Americas remained delayed because the Inquisition had not yet come to a decision about the book. AHN OP-12. See note 10 for the two paragraphs that the Inquisition ordered deleted from the work. Also, publication of *El devoto peregrino* continued throughout the nineteenth century.

<sup>7</sup> This list includes only those editions whose existence I could verify in physical or digitized versions and is based on the publication information from title pages. It differs from what can be found in Worldcat.org, which contains several "phantom" editions. It also differs slightly from Palau, who listed twenty editions and did not include the 1655 Antwerp, 1742 Madrid, or 1766 Madrid versions. Information on the 1655 edition comes from a questionable handwritten title page in a copy located at the Biblioteca Nacional de España, but even if the volume was not produced then and there, it does not match any other edition that I have seen or that is listed in Palau. Palau also cites two editions from Barcelona printer Joseph Bró, but I did not include the edition that Palau has from ca. 1730 since the title page does not include a date and since this press only used this particular imprint from 1750 to 1794. Also, while Palau gives an approximate date of 1755 for the other Bró edition, I've estimated it at 1750 because an inventory compiled when Joseph Bró took over the press in 1750 included four copies of the book. It is also possible, however, that Bró produced two editions, one from ca. 1750 and one from ca. 1755. Antonio Palau y Dulcet, *Manual del librero hispano-americano*, vol. II (Madrid: Julio Ollero, 1990); García Barriuso, *España en la Historia de Tierra Santa*; Enric Mirambell I Belloc, "La Familia Bro, d'impressors gironnis," *Annals de l'Institut d'Estudis Gironins* 27 (1984): 249–311. A kind thank you to the librarians of the Cincinnati campus and the Los Angeles Jack Skirball Campus of the Hebrew-Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion for their help verifying edition information.

|            |           |   |
|------------|-----------|---|
| 1664       | Paris     | Antonio Mureto, Impresor, signo del Peregrino   |
| 1664       | Madrid    | A costa de Mateo Fernandez, impresor del rey nuestro Señor  |
| 1666       | Paris     | Antonio Mureto  |
| 1700       | Granada   | Francisco Campacho  |
| 1700       | Barcelona | Vicente Suriá   |
| 1705       | Madrid    | Imprenta Real por Joseph Rodriguez  |
| 1710       | Barcelona | Rafael Figueró  |
| 1719       | Barcelona | En la imprenta de Raphael Figueró   |
| 1722       | Madrid    | En la imprenta de Juan Sanz a costa de Francisco López  |
| 1710–1740? | Barcelona | Joseph Giralt   |
| 1742       | Madrid    | A costa de Don Pedro Joseph Alonso y Padilla, Librero de Camara de su Magestad. Se hallará en su imprenta y libreria, Calle de Santo Thomás, junto al Contraste |
| 1750?      | Girona    | Joseph Bró  |
| 1759       | Tarragona | Magin Canals impresor i librero, en la calle Mayor  |
| 1766       | Madrid    | En la Imprenta y Librería de Don Antonio Mayorál, Plazuela del Angel, donde se hallará  |
| 1768?      | Vich      | Joseph Tolosa   |
| 1769       | Madrid    | Manuel Martin   |
| 1780?      | Barcelona | Antonio Arroque   |
| 1781       | Madrid    | Manuel Martin   |
| 1806       | Madrid    | Imprenta de la Viuda de Barco Lopez, calle de la Cruz, donde se hallará   |

The *santos lugares* commissariat in Madrid remained connected to the printing and distribution process of each edition, despite the range of printers and locations. Publishers were required to have the commissariat's license, and the office defended its monopoly against unlicensed publication, even during the stretch from 1666 to 1700 when no new editions were published.<sup>8</sup> Inventories of the Madrid office recorded the presence of books and the plates used to make its images, and correspondence among its officials noted shipments of books from the office to booksellers and Franciscan officials throughout the Peninsula and the Indies.<sup>9</sup>

These editions ranged from impressive folio volumes with precise lettering and detailed engravings to imageless pocket books set in crooked type. Production values, the place of images in the text, and overall length provided the most significant variations in the book's contents over time. Early

<sup>8</sup> Archivo Histórico Nacional, Obra Pia de los Santos Lugares de Jerusalén (hereafter AHN OP)-10, bk. 1. Information on some of these licenses can be found in García Barriuso, *España en la Historia de Tierra Santa*, and in AHN, Consejos, 1711, exp. 3.

<sup>9</sup> See, for instance, the 1753 inventory in AHN OP-10 4, the accounting records in AHN OP-350, and the correspondence in AHN OP-12.

editions—the 1654, 1655(?), 1664, and 1705 quarto-sized editions and the 1666 folio-sized edition—stood out for their craftsmanship, with each featuring dozens of high-quality images, some large enough to fold out. In contrast, the 1700 edition as well as all those published between 1710 and 1806 were octavo-sized, lacked images, and reduced length by using smaller fonts, combining sections, removing end matter, and sometimes cutting text related to images. Outside of such changes, the contents of the text itself changed little.<sup>10</sup> In his detailed description of the editions published between 1654 and 1705, Patrocinio García Barriuso notes that the 1656 second edition only corrected errors and improved the presentation of the first edition and that the 1664 third edition was the same as the second. My own comparisons of this 1664 edition and the 1705 edition indicate no major changes.<sup>11</sup> In contrast, the 1742 edition shortened the text’s overall length by removing all images as well as some text directly related to those images and by combining paragraphs, chapters, and sections. It also removed some chapter titles and cut an index that summarized notable events in Christ’s life.

The copies that the Holy Places commissariat mass distributed in New Spain were these early, more elaborate, editions. The reasons may have been related to *novohispano* preferences for a certain book format—in 1705 a commissariat official in Santo Domingo specified in a request for the book that they were “the big ones that have images”—but it may also have been related to timing. As discussed below, the commissariat’s distribution of the work ceased in New Spain during the 1720s, with the 1705 quarto edition the final one distributed in large numbers.<sup>12</sup> Although copies of the more basic editions printed throughout the rest of the eighteenth century found their way to New Spain, the Franciscan commissariat did not seek to distribute them in bulk as it did with these early editions. It is therefore

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<sup>10</sup> The Inquisition ordered two paragraphs removed from the section describing the Saint Longinus chapel in the Holy Sepulcher. Handwritten on the title page of the 1666 edition at the Biblioteca Nacional de España is the phrase “Expurgado por el Sto Tribunal: mira el fol. 224.” There, ineffectively crossed out, is the explanation that the unnamed Roman soldier who pierced Christ with his lance did so out of zeal rather than hate. Also see *Indice ultimo de los libros prohibidos y mandados expurgar* (Madrid, 1790), p. 48.

<sup>11</sup> García Barriuso, *España en la Historia de Tierra Santa*, 26–28. Fr. Francisco Suarez’s approval to print the second edition (Madrid, 1655) also notes there were no differences “en lo esencial de la primera impresión” (unnumbered page).

<sup>12</sup> The quote is from AHN OP-6 2a: “los grandes de los que tienen estampas.” The commissariat does not seem to have distributed the 1700 Barcelona edition in New Spain.

possible to speak of the majority of books distributed in New Spain as presenting similar content in similar formats.

### ***El devoto peregrino in the Holy Land***

Although *El devoto peregrino* had much in common with other works about the Holy Land that were published around the same time, it stood out for the connections it made between the Holy Land, the Franciscans' guardianship of it, and readers as potential champions of the Franciscan *custodia*. The book's similarities to its contemporaries included its format—the era's most popular format for books about the Holy Land was the pilgrim's guide—and sometimes even its content, as del Castillo mixed images and text from other books with his own contributions.<sup>13</sup> He also engaged in ongoing debates about identifying the precise spots where events from the Bible had taken place. During the sixteenth century, antiquarians interested in the Holy Land began applying the tools of archaeology, epigraphy, and especially geography to reconstruct biblical landscapes. As a result, Jerusalem was plotted, measured, and mapped into competing interpretations that re-situated or defended the current sitings of places like Calvary and the Holy Sepulcher that were part of established pilgrimage routes and were home to Franciscan churches.<sup>14</sup> Del Castillo also counted steps, cited biblical accounts of events, and

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<sup>13</sup> It was common practice during this time for authors to copy other authors' works and use it as if it were their own. However much of *El devoto peregrino*'s text del Castillo authored himself, he curated an original work designed to communicate certain messages to a particular audience. For instance, Victor Lama curtly dismisses *El devoto peregrino* as “a brief notice taken directly from Quaresmio.” Franciscus Quaresmius, an Italian Franciscan, wrote in Latin and intended his two-volume set to be the definitive account of the Holy Land. The two works had different formats, languages, and target audiences. For more on Quaresmius, see Shalev, *Words and Worlds*, 123–25. For an argument that late medieval pilgrim guides to Jerusalem shared a common source text, see Josephie Brefeld, *A Guidebook for the Jerusalem Pilgrimage in the Late Middle Ages: A Case for Computer-Aided Textual Criticism* (Amsterdam: S.J.G. Brefeld & Uitgeverij Verloren, 1994). In addition, *El devoto peregrino*'s images and maps had been used previously. Alena Robin notes that del Castillo took his maps from works by Giovanni Zuallardo and Adrichomius, and Herbert Thurston contends that del Castillo borrowed or modified maps from Zuallardo, Adrichomius, and Bernardino Amico, even though these maps sometimes contradicted each other. Lama, *María Mártir*, 10; Alena Robin, *Las capillas del Via Crucis de la ciudad de México: arte, patrocinio y sacralización del espacio* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2014), 19–22; Herbert Thurston, *The Stations of the Cross: An Account of Their History and Devotional Purpose* (London: Burns & Oates, 1906), 122–23.

<sup>14</sup> Adam Beaver, “Scholarly Pilgrims: Antiquarian Visions of the Holy Land,” in *Sacred History: Uses of the Christian Past in the Renaissance World*, ed. Katherine Van Liere, et al. (Oxford University Press, 2012), 267–83; Shalev, *Sacred Words and Worlds*; Milan Pelc, “Representations and Descriptions of Jerusalem in the Printed Travelogues of the Early Modern Period,” in *Visual Constructs of Jerusalem*, ed. Bianca Kühnel, Galit Noga-Banai, and Hanna Vorholt (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2014), 397–407.

correlated these accounts with specific locations, with findings that, not surprisingly, confirmed current locations. Franciscan authors also wrote to establish the order's legal titles to custodianship of the Holy Land, fended off claims from Catholic rivals such as the Jesuits and Discalced Carmelites, and sought protection and support from European princes and monarchs.<sup>15</sup> So, too, did del Castillo. For instance, he dedicated the first edition to the king “in order to recognize his natural obligation and to show that all that pertains to Jerusalem is thanks to his Majesty as special Patron and Protector of the holy House.”<sup>16</sup> He also dedicated multiple chapters to the many papal privileges and royal decrees that cemented his order's status as official guardian.

Ultimately, however, these goals were secondary to conveying a set of messages about the need to support the Franciscans' work at these important sites and conveying those messages to as wide an audience as possible. This is why del Castillo wrote in vernacular Spanish instead of Latin and why he used plain language so that, as he put it, readers would not waste time pondering the words themselves but focus on their meaning.<sup>17</sup> Those who grasped these meanings as he intended would come away with new devotion for these sacred places, new esteem for the Franciscan order that maintained them, and new appreciation for the importance of supporting its work with alms.

As the book's title suggests, del Castillo's intended audience included pilgrims who set out on the journey to Jerusalem, and the text contained pragmatic where-to-go and how-to-get-there information. A larger portion of his audience consisted of virtual pilgrims, people who would not encounter the physical place but instead make the trip in their imaginations.<sup>18</sup> He detailed what pilgrims

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<sup>15</sup> Observant Franciscans, the branch of the order in charge of the *custodia*, also faced challenges from Capuchins, a rival branch within the order. Armstrong, “Spiritual Legitimation?”; Adam G. Beaver, “A Holy Land for the Catholic Monarchy: Palestine in the Making of Modern Spain, 1469–1598” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2008).

<sup>16</sup> Unless otherwise noted, citations from *El devoto peregrino* are from the 1656 edition. This quote comes from the “Dedicatoria” (unnumbered page).

<sup>17</sup> *El devoto peregrino*, from “Al Lector” (unnumbered page): “Escribo sencillamente lo que vi, porque no te detengas (Christiano Lector) a ponderar lo que lees; sino que camines con devocion, considerando lo que mis palabras significan.”

<sup>18</sup> The concept of virtual pilgrimage goes back at least two centuries before *El devoto peregrino* to manuscripts and devotional practices in female convents, whose cloistered residents developed replacements for actual pilgrimage. See Kathryn Rudy, *Virtual Pilgrimages in the Convent: Imagining Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), including pp. 28–29 for her definition of virtual pilgrimage literature.

would see at the sacred sites, specified how many steps they would traverse between those sites, and explained why those sites mattered. He also included dozens of images because they “provide better understanding and inspire more than words.”<sup>19</sup> Readers could therefore imagine themselves on their own virtual journey, praying and worshipping at these places, and, as del Castillo advised them, earning the same indulgences as those who visited in person. In effect, he served as a tour guide for readers the same way Franciscans did for the pilgrims traveling on foot through the Holy Land.

Like his on-the-ground tour guide brothers, del Castillo possessed insider knowledge of the place. He informs his readers that his account is grounded in knowledge acquired during his seven years of direct access to the holy sites. He can point out that a seemingly unremarkable old tree propped up by stones is where the Prophet Isaiah was sawn in two. He can describe Pilate’s house—now the local ruler’s private palace and thus off-limits to pilgrims—because he had entered many times on official Franciscan business. He can provide exact measurements between each site on the *via crucis*, such as the twenty-six steps that add up to sixty-five feet between Pilate’s house and where Christ took the cross on his shoulders. Moreover, del Castillo could guide readers through the appropriate emotional responses to all these places, such as the spot on the side of the Mount of Olives where Christ once wept and where now “nobody who comes here does not spill copious tears.”<sup>20</sup>

Del Castillo contrasted his intimate understandings to those of other authors. “Many wrote of their travels to Jerusalem with good intentions and (according to some) with pens more elegant than truthful,” he wrote. He diagnosed the problem as the result of these authors passing through the land so quickly that “they believed all reports, even though many of them were ridiculous.”<sup>21</sup> Similarly, Fr. Juan de Sarria’s “*Aprobacion*” (approval) of the book contrasted how it differed from defective histories written more for the author’s “own ostentation than the common good.” He continued that “a proper

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<sup>19</sup> *El devoto peregrino*, “Al Lector” (unnumbered page): “dan mayor conocimiento que las palabras, y mueven mas.”

<sup>20</sup> *El devoto peregrino*, 171, 193, 201; “nadie llega aquí, que no derrame copiosas lagrimas.”

<sup>21</sup> *El devoto peregrino*, “Al Lector” (unnumbered page): “Escrivieron muchos con buenos deseos viages de Jerusalem, y fueron sus plumas (a juyzio de algunos) mas elegantes, que Viridicas: naciendo esto de su confianza: pues passando por aquel pais tan de priessa, como van los peregrinos, creyeron todos informes, aunque muchos dellos ridiculos.”

historian is one who relates what one sees; and so the Author of this book does not simply believe that which others have told him about distant regions, which through either ignorance or malice is based on either false or impossible information.”<sup>22</sup> For example, del Castillo helped readers distinguish between real and spurious devotion at the house of Pontius Annas. This was where on the night of the Passion Annas struck Christ on the face while asking, “*Sic respondes Pontifici?*” (Is this how you speak to the Pontius?) Del Castillo described how pilgrims venerated the great olive tree in the courtyard—its massive trunk proof that it had stood there since the time Christ had been tied to it—and bought its olives from Armenian vendors. While acknowledging the power of the tree—venerated like a *lignum crucis*—and the worthiness of its fruits as mementos for pilgrims, he gave no credence to another potentially wondrous claim. Made by “some pilgrims who have written travel accounts to Jerusalem,” they claimed to have heard slaps and a voice saying “*Sic respondes Pontifici?*” coming from an underground room. “But having spent so many years in Jerusalem and having made such great efforts to ascertain it, I could never find a single trace,” he cautioned readers. “Also, it is certain that the Turks are so greedy that if there was something to this, it doesn’t seem to me—being Procurator and dealing with them so much—that they would miss out on it, given the money they would have made, as they do in so many other things. I will say nothing more.”<sup>23</sup>

He advised his readers that they would be traveling together as pilgrims, not curious sightseers: “If you seek curiosities, do not go any further. If [you seek] devotion, continue.”<sup>24</sup> Their tour of the Holy Land included sites that figured in its early biblical history, such as places constructed by King David, but had been made sacred by events in Christ’s and Mary’s lives. Here is the house of Simon the Leper

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<sup>22</sup> *El devoto peregrino*, “Aprobacion” (unnumbered page), “Los que assi escriven, oyen contra si a Estraben, u que es defecto considerable, escribir historias, mas para hostentacion propia, que utilidad comun. Es propiamente historiador quien releta lo que vio; y assi el Autor deste libro no creyo q lo otros le informavan, que por o ignorancia o malicia, en Regiones distantes, es contingente ser las noticias o falsas, o impossibles.”

<sup>23</sup> *El devoto peregrino*, 166: “Mas con aver estado yo tantos años en Jerusalem, y aver hecho tantas diligencias por averiguarlo, jamás pude hallar rastro ninguno, y est cierto, que los Turcos son tan codiciosos, que si huviera algo desto, por el dinero lo huvieran manifestado, como hazen otras muchas cosas, aunque sean contra ellos: y siendo yo Procurador, y tratando tanto con ellos, no me parece dexara de saber algo. No digo mas.”

<sup>24</sup> *El devoto peregrino*, “Al Lector” (unnumbered page): “Si buscas curiosidades, no passes adelante. Si devocion, prosigue.”

where Christ washed Mary Magdalen's feet; and here is the gate where Christ entered Jerusalem on Palm Sunday. "Here is the most sacred place of anywhere in the world, worthy of eternal memory, where in the presence of everyone at noon on the feast of Easter, the Cross that bore the weight of the tormented and Crucified Christ was put into a hole in the living rock of Mount Calvary."<sup>25</sup> To visit these places, he promises his audience, was to follow in Christ's footsteps.

Readers encountered this landscape in two formats. The first was as a "true portrait" (*verdadero retrato*) of Jerusalem during the time of Christ. Written as if an extended legend for a map, it lists 270 numbered locations in and around the city. Indeed, they are accompanied by a large fold-out map titled "Descriptio Ierusalem, Quomodo Floruit Tempore D. N. Iesu Christi" (Description of Jerusalem as it flourished in the time of Our Lord Jesus Christ). Although these locations do not correlate with the 59 numbered locations in the map's actual legend, most do appear on the map. Furthermore, the 270 sites appear to be enumerated by where they were located in the city so that sites in close geographic proximity were also in close numeric proximity. For each site, del Castillo provides a stand-alone entry that summarized what made that spot special. For instance, entry number ten locates the house where Mary lived during the fourteen years between Christ's death and her Ascension into heaven. Some entries also note what remained on the site in modern times. In the case of Mary's house, it was the ruins of a single rock wall, not from the house itself but from a church later built on the site.<sup>26</sup>

Many of these sites re-appear later in the book. Once again they appear on a detailed map, but now one of the seventeenth-century city titled, "Novæ Ierosolymæ et Locorum Circumiacentium Accurata Imago" (Accurate Image of New Jerusalem and Its Contours). The accompanying text follows Franciscan-organized pilgrimage routes throughout the contemporaneous Holy Land so that readers encounter holy sites not as they would on a two-

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<sup>25</sup> *El devoto peregrino*, 91: "Aqui esta aquel lugar sacratissimo entre todos los del mundo, digno de eterna memoria, donde en preferencia de todos, al medio dia de la fiesta de Pascua, fue puesta en el agujero de la peña del monte Calvario la Cruz, que sustentava al Crucificado, y atormentado Christo."

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 30.

dimensional map but as they would walking with their Franciscan guide. The routes followed what were common pilgrimage itineraries, starting from the port of arrival in Jaffa, making their way to Jerusalem, heading out on day trips in and around the city, and then venturing to more distant places such as Jordan and Bethlehem. These routes often reflected what was possible to do in a single day. For instance, one day's route started from the Franciscan convent in Jerusalem, looped around from the Valley of Josephat up to the Mount of Olives, and stopped to appreciate approximately twenty sites, including Mary's tomb and the Garden of Gethsemane. Del Castillo also provided the details to fill in these spaces, noting how far they were walking between sites, when they were walking up or down hills, and whether sites were located to their left or right. So while the first format offered a bird's-eye overview of the place, this one moved through the landscape at ground level.

Del Castillo's tours over the expanse of the Holy Land, which would have taken weeks or months on foot, took a couple hundred pages on paper, each page recounting its own set of holy events and treasures. At one point del Castillo pauses to reckon with this embarrassment of riches. Noting there are too many sites for any one pilgrim to visit, he groups sites into twenty-five sets of stations, such as those to the east of Jerusalem, those in the Valley of Josephat, and those inside the church of the Holy Sepulcher.<sup>27</sup> One can imagine the overwhelmed reader, grateful for these more manageable portions of holiness, setting off on a series of shorter spiritual journeys. The overall effect is one of abundance—a Holy Land whose spiritual benefits will never be exhausted. What place on earth could be more deserving of devotion?

Yet, as del Castillo regularly reminds his readers, Catholic access to this seemingly bottomless supply of spiritual benefits was precarious. Muslims, Greeks, Armenians, and other Eastern Orthodox traditions appear throughout *El devoto peregrino* as competitors seeking to take over what belonged to Catholics. Turks were the usurpers who evicted the Franciscans and built a mosque on Mount Zion at

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 351–61.

the spot where the Holy Spirit descended upon the Apostles. They were the jealous tyrants who tore down half of the Holy Sepulcher's beautiful bell tower because they did not want it to be taller than the towers of their own mosques. Greeks had a convent on the site where Elijah prophesized Christ's crucifixion. Armenians had a convent on the site where the Apostle James was beheaded and where Catholics used to have a hospital for pilgrims. Both Greeks and Armenians prevented Roman Catholics from accessing places like the Holy Sepulcher when they used them for their "superstitious and ridiculous" ceremonies.<sup>28</sup> Day-to-day interactions with these foes could also be fraught. Pilgrims traveling through the mountains between Jacob's well and Jerusalem commonly encountered "very tyrannical and cruel" Muslim bandits who forced Christians to pay excessive tribute and "always mistreated them." To make the case that these were not just problems of the past, del Castillo copied three recent letters (1650, 1652, and 1653) from Franciscan officials in Jerusalem who described "these calamitous times." Among the injustices they recounted, local officials demanded that a Franciscan who arrived as an inspector pay a hefty tax as if he were a guardian in charge of a convent, and later when he was actually named guardian, unfairly forced him to pay it again. Another Muslim official incited a crowd to break down a church door during mass and demanded that the faithful churchgoers pay 4,000 *reales a ocho* or pay with their lives. Muslims in one town had forced Catholic residents to flee to the mountains, and drunken Greeks in another town had attacked Catholics without provocation.<sup>29</sup>

The Franciscans appear as unwavering bulwarks against these threats. *El devoto peregrino's* final sections make the case why people should support, including with their alms, the Franciscan project. Its opening chapter summarizes the diverse groups who lived there—the damned Jews, the greedy Muslims and Turks, the superstitious Eastern Orthodox traditions—all erroneous and all dangerous. How were the Franciscans to keep them at bay? They did so in part by paying tribute to Turkish officials so that Catholics could maintain access to holy sites. Del Castillo explains that it was

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 160, 210–11.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., bk. 4, chap. 9.

not possible to escape paying these exorbitant fees. He laments that if we stop paying or protest how much we pay, “the Greeks and Armenians will give that amount and much more in order to take from us these holy sites and to kick us out of Jerusalem.”<sup>30</sup> He then seeks to impress upon readers the magnitude of these costs by itemizing payments that totaled hundreds of thousands of *reales a ocho* in cash and merchandise each year. What’s more, he continued, Franciscans still needed to provide for maintaining churches, sustaining friars, accommodating pilgrims, and redeeming Catholic captives, among other expenses.

The final step was to transform into action this enhanced devotion and appreciation for the Franciscan project: “I pray for God to dispose your heart so that, venerating these sacred places and sacred relics, you do service that his Majesty so esteems.”<sup>31</sup> Action, in this case, meant supporting the Franciscan *custodia* with alms. As a Franciscan who approved (reviewed) the book explained, “we will venerate those holy Places, and as much as it is possible, we will help with our alms, [giving] to those who with such religious and animated zeal defend and sustain the cradle and tomb and other Places that remain as an eternal Monument of our redemption.”<sup>32</sup> Alms would keep holy sites in Catholic hands and stifle usurpers’ efforts to wrest them away. Alms would allow Franciscans to support pilgrims and fulfill their priestly duties to local Catholics. Alms would allow Franciscans to celebrate mass and pray for Catholics throughout the world in the Holy Land’s most holy of places. Furthermore, Catholics were obligated to support this work. Citing the Old and New Testaments, the lives of saints, and theologians, del Castillo argued that today’s Catholics needed to do their part, just as the Apostles and so many other saintly persons had done before them. And while he acknowledged the importance of supporting other charitable works, he concluded that none were as vital as the Franciscans’ enterprise in the Holy Land:

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 368: “sino los Griegos, y los Armenios dan luego aquella cantidad, y mucho mas, porque nos quiten a nosotros los Santuarios, y nos echen de Jerusalem...”

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., “Al Lector” (unnumbered page): “Ruego a Dios disponga tu corazon para que le hagas el servicio que su Magestad tanto estima, venerando sus santos lugares y aquellas reliquias sagradas...”

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., “Abrobacion del Reverendissimo P.M. Fr. Diego Nisseno” (unnumbered page): “[V]eneremos aquellos santos lugares, y en quanto fuere possible ayudemos con nuestras limosnas, a quienes con tan Religioso, i brioso zelo defienden, i sustentan cuna, i sepultura, i demas Lugares que an quedado para eterno Monumento de nuestra redempcion.”

In nothing else are so many things found all together as in the alms that are made to the friars of Saint Francis, who are in Jerusalem as protectors and custodians of the Most Holy Sepulcher. They attend to the universal hospitality of so many pilgrims who come from all over the world; the Redemption of Captives—so pleasing in the eyes of God—who are otherwise without remedy; the repair of so many churches so that God can be worshipped and revered in them; the sustenance of Franciscan friars, Apostolic and Evangelic men; and, above all, the maintenance of the Holy Sepulcher and other Holy Places with such decency and reverence so that they are not profaned.<sup>33</sup>

### ***El devoto peregrino comes to New Spain***

Based on how widely *El devoto peregrino* circulated in New Spain, thousands of people may have visited the Holy Land with it. As on the Peninsula, the first few editions found a large audience. By 1656 word had spread about the volume, and the commissariat's syndic in Mexico, Don Pedro de Eguren, had written to Spain to ask that the 200 copies waiting in Cadiz be sent as soon as possible. He wrote that he had “spoken with some friends, and all have promised to buy them.”<sup>34</sup> Initial demand for the volume may also have been driven by the patronage of New Spain's viceroy, the Duque de Alburquerque, to whom the first volumes that arrived in New Spain were dedicated.<sup>35</sup> The Duque responded with letters of thanks that cited his love and esteem of the holy places and promised to send alms to help cover printing costs.<sup>36</sup> Local officials judged the volume a great success. “I have seen it and it is all that can be desired on the subject,” wrote the head of the commissariat in New Spain.<sup>37</sup> Despite his multiple

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 425: “Pues en ninguna se hallan tantas cosas juntas, como en la limosna que se haze a los Religiosos de San Francisco, que estan en Jerusalem en guarda y custodia del Santissimo Sepulcro, pues concurre en la Hospitalidad tan universal de tantos Pergrinos, que van de todo el mundo; la Redempcion de Cautivos tan agradable a los ojos de Dios, y en cautivos que están tan sin remedio: el reparo de tantos Templos, para que en ellos sea Dios adorado, y reverenciado: el sustento de los Religiosos de San Francisco, varones Apostolicos, y Evangelicos, y sobre todo, el mantener el Santo sepulcro, y demas Lugares Santos, con tanto culto, y reverencia, que no sean profanado.”

<sup>34</sup> AHN OP-15, 13: “he ablado a algunos amigos, y todos me han prometido comprarlos.”

<sup>35</sup> Most printed references, including Palau, do not mention this version of the first edition with the dedication to Alburquerque.

<sup>36</sup> AHN OP-15, 13.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.: “e visto y es todo lo que se puede dessear en la materia.”

subsequent requests for additional copies, none reached his office for several more years. In 1661 Syndic Eguren wrote to Madrid complaining that the promised second edition still had not arrived and that people “are pressing me for them since I told them they were expected on this fleet.”<sup>38</sup> In 1667, officials in Mexico were expecting the arrival of what was mostly likely the third edition and planning on distributing copies throughout New Spain.<sup>39</sup>

Shipments then seem to have come to a stop for about three decades. This stoppage coincided with the pause in printing new editions in Spain. But was it also a matter of lower demand as well as decreased supply? Perhaps, but if so, appetite for the book had returned by the 1680s when the commissioner in Mexico City was requesting new shipments and commissariat officials in Sevilla were asking about printing a new edition with images because “everyone in the kingdoms of the Indies clamors for it.”<sup>40</sup> When exactly shipments resumed is not clear, but it was certainly before publication of the volume resumed in 1700, indicating that demand rather than supply was driving circulation. Twelve boxes seem to have arrived in 1696, and beginning in 1698, the commissariat in New Spain began remitting what were significant sums collected from the book’s distribution. In 1698, it remitted 1,600 pesos, followed by 1,000 in 1699, 875 in 1700, and 900 in 1702. Although Franciscan records do not include the total number of books distributed during these years, the book’s list price of six pesos and records that show the average price per book in 1698 was four pesos suggest that between 860 and 1,100 copies were distributed.<sup>41</sup>

This resurgence launched the period of peak interest and circulation of *El devoto peregrino* in New Spain, a period that lasted through the early 1710s. Early on officials in New Spain pleaded with

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 16: “me han muerto por ellos, por haverles dicho que estava aguardando los en esta flotta.”

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 18.

<sup>40</sup> AHN OP-13: “en los reinos de Indias claman todos por el.”

<sup>41</sup> In 1696 Mexican officials confirmed the arrival of twelve boxes of books about Jerusalem that, even though they did not give the title, were almost certainly copies of *El devoto peregrino*. AHN OP-15, 35. The average price of four pesos comes from records that show that in 1698 the Mexico commissariat remitted 1,600 pesos from 400 copies distributed. The difference between this average of four pesos per copy and the list price could be explained by the number of copies that Franciscans gave away to their benefactors. AHN OP-15, 37; OP-15, 38; OP-15, 39; OP-15, 41; AHN OP-357, box 1. Book price from OP-6, 2.

officials in Spain to publish a new edition in order to meet demand: “[T]he faithful are asking for them” and “donors want them and give substantial alms for them.”<sup>42</sup> After publication of the 1705 edition, *novohispano* officials requested 1,000 copies and kept reminding officials in Madrid of the still unmet demand after shipments were repeatedly delayed until 1709. Then, between 1709 and 1713, eighteen boxes arrived with 1,146 copies of the 1705 edition.<sup>43</sup> Now the challenge shifted from acquiring copies to distributing them. The commissariat office in Mexico spearheaded these efforts and used its existing network of officials as well as local merchants. It sent copies to other cities and provinces, including Yucatán, Michoacán, Guadalajara, Zacatecas, Havana, and the Philippines, where the heads of the provincial commissariats, alms collectors, syndics, and guardians distributed them. In Mexico, and probably in other large cities, books were also sold out of shops. The place to buy them in Mexico was the merchant Don Martín de la Torre’s shop in the *calle de Santo Domingo*. If commissariat officials in Mexico followed the instructions that came from Spain (as they promised they would), they would have advertised the book by placing certificates “in the most public and well-known parts of the city.”<sup>44</sup> These certificates would have informed people that they could find the book in Don Martín’s store and for what price. They would also provide proof that the Inquisition had vetted and approved the book.

By 1712 enough copies of *El devoto peregrino* had arrived in New Spain that supply outpaced demand. Upon hearing the news that officials in Spain had shipped even more copies, the merchant de la Torre wrote back that “there were already enough for this Kingdom. They had been esteemed, but seeing as how so many have arrived, there is no one who offers money for them, and he who takes one lends it for others to read, which hinders what can be distributed.”<sup>45</sup> As a result, the price of the book fell. In 1713 the syndic Don Juan Bernardo Fernandez Moreno complained that “no one wants to give more

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<sup>42</sup> AHN OP-15, 42: “los debotos los piden”; and OP-15, 43: “los piden y dan competente limosna los biencheros.”

<sup>43</sup> For requests for copies, see AHN OP-15, 11, 45, 47, and 48. For information on book shipments, see AHN OP-15, 55 (dates are from when books were shipped from Spain, not when they arrived in New Spain): 1708, 6 boxes, 388 copies; 1711, 2 boxes, 178 copies; 1712, 6 boxes, 448 copies; and 1713, 4 boxes, 212 copies.

<sup>44</sup> AHN OP-15, 48: “en las partes mas publicas ya costumbradas.”

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 51: “era los vastantes para este Reyno ubieran tenido estimazion, pero como an visto que an benido tantos, no ay quien ofrezca dinero por ellos y el que saca uno lo presta para que lean otros con que se frustra el que se dispendan.”

than three pesos for one.”<sup>46</sup> By 1715 the price had fallen to two and a half pesos, because “the kingdom is full of them and people are not as devoted to the books as they are to their pesos.”<sup>47</sup> The head of New Spain’s commissariat, Fr. Antonio de Córdoba, redoubled his efforts: “I find myself fatigued by dispatching them not only in this city, but in places and provinces up to the most distant Manila.”<sup>48</sup> He repeatedly asked permission to require each Franciscan convent to purchase a copy, but his request was eventually denied. The result was a surplus of books languishing in storage. In 1718, 413 books awaited distribution; in 1721 officials were still looking for ways to unload them; in 1725 one official complained that the only way to get rid of them was to sell them below cost.<sup>49</sup>

The Franciscans’ overestimation of the market for *El devoto peregrino* in this period should not distract from its overall success as one of the most widely distributed books of its time in New Spain.<sup>50</sup> In addition to several hundred copies of those first editions imported in the 1660s, another 1,600 to 2,250 copies made it into *novohispano* hands during the first decades of the eighteenth century.<sup>51</sup> It found its way into church libraries, including the Mercedarian and Discalced Carmelite convents in Mexico, the Palafoxian seminary and the Bethelmitic convent in Puebla, and the Franciscan convent at

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<sup>46</sup> AHN OP-6, 2: “tienen poca estimaz.on pues no quieren dar mas q a 3p por ello y que para la devozion ay ya bastantes alla.”

<sup>47</sup> AHN OP-15, 54: “esta lleno el Reyno y no son tan devotos de los libros, como de sus pessos.”

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*: “me he hallado fatigado con despacharlos no solo en la ciudad, lugares sino prov.s pues asta de la mas dilitada de Manila.” Córdoba was not just saying this for effect. By 1715 he had already spent 139 pesos on shipping costs within the viceroyalty, and in the following three years he sent an additional 118 copies to provinces. AHN OP-6, 2; AHN OP-bk. 1; OP-15, 55.

<sup>49</sup> AHN OP-15, 53; OP-15, 54; OP-15, 55; OP-15, 59; and OP-15, 64.

<sup>50</sup> One reason it is difficult to gauge just how successful the book was is that scholarship on the importation of books has tended to track categories of books rather than individual titles, as in Carlos Alberto González Sánchez, *New World Literacy: Writing and Culture across the Atlantic, 1500–1700* (Bucknell University Press, 2011). What scholarship that has tracked individual titles covered different periods, especially the sixteenth and later eighteenth centuries. That said, the number of copies of *El devoto peregrino* distributed in New Spain seem to be on par with those of other best-selling authors. For instance, in Pedro Rueda Ramírez’s inventory of devotional books into New Spain between 1601 and 1649, the book imported in the greatest numbers was Juan González de Critana’s *Perfecto cristiano* with 2,443 copies. Rueda Ramírez, *Negocio e intercambio Diputación de Sevilla, 2005*, 337.

<sup>51</sup> In addition to the estimated 860 to 1,100 copies distributed between 1698 and 1702, a 1718 inventory noted that 733 copies had been sold since 1708 and that 413 remained. My conservative calculation of 1,600 books sold combines the lower sum of the first period with the 733 copies of the later and assumes no additional copies were distributed. The more generous estimate takes the higher sum of the first period and assumes that in addition to the 733 copies sold in the later period, the 413 copies in storage were also sold. I do not attempt a guess at how many copies were sold between 1702 and 1708 or how many copies of later editions might have been imported.

San Úrsula Coapa.<sup>52</sup> In addition to the individual libraries of at least one viceroy and the friends of syndics, books also showed up in the possession of students and diocesan priests, including Miguel Hidalgo. And, as the merchant de la Torre indicated, in addition to people who owned copies of the book, others borrowed their copies, and, given the era's literacy and reading patterns, an even larger number of people would have heard the book read out loud. Moreover, its relevance continued into the nineteenth century, and Franciscans continued to cite it as they did in an 1813 patent of brotherhood for the Holy Places of Jerusalem that confirmed the Franciscans' rights and accomplishments on the basis of the book's authority.<sup>53</sup>

The book also provided a financial boost. According to Franciscan accountings, its distribution brought 8,590 pesos into commissariat coffers between 1698 and 1723.<sup>54</sup> While Franciscans in New Spain recognized the book's direct financial contributions, they also measured its success in its encouragement of devotion and almsgiving to the *santos lugares*—perspectives that would have pleased del Castillo. As New Spain's commissioner, Fr. Antonio Acha y Oleta, informed his superiors in Madrid, the book “not only increases alms but also the devotion of hearts in this new world.”<sup>55</sup>

How exactly *El devoto peregrino*'s readers used the book and how those uses compared to what del Castillo and the constellation of Franciscans and laymen who managed the book's distribution envisioned lies beyond the scope of this chapter. Yet it is worth noting convergences between *El devoto peregrino*'s circulation patterns and a burgeoning devotion to the stations of the cross in New Spain. The

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<sup>52</sup> Information comes from online library catalogs as well as the *Catálogo de la Biblioteca del Convento de la Merced de la Ciudad de México*, I, 44–45, and Jonatan Moncayo Ramírez, “Fondo de origen de la Biblioteca del Convento-Hospital de la Orden Hospitalaria de Nuestra Señora de Belén de la ciudad de Puebla,” in *Leer en tiempos de la colonia: imprenta, bibliotecas y lectores*, ed. Idalia García Aguilar and Pedro Rueda Ramírez (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2010), 233–36. The Biblioteca Franciscana in Cholula has a copy that belonged to the Franciscan convent of Santa Úrsula Coapa. Thank you to David Rex Galindo for this reference.

<sup>53</sup> Don Mariano Vasconcelos y Vallarta had a copy in his possession when he started his course on canon law in 1786 (Archivo General de la Nación, Inquisición, vol. 1211, exp. 13). Information on Hidalgo's copy is from William B. Taylor, *Theater of a Thousand Wonders: A History of Miraculous Images and Shrines in New Spain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 537, n. 40; “Patente de Hermandad de los Santos Lugares de Jerusalem,” Biblioteca Nacional de México, Archivo Francisco, box 58, exp. 1169.

<sup>54</sup> In addition to the abovementioned 4,375 pesos, another 4,215 pesos are recorded in AHN OP-bk. 1: 1713, 1,250 pesos; 1716, 777 pesos; 1718, 405 pesos; 1721, 1000 pesos; and 1723, 783 pesos.

<sup>55</sup> AHN OP-15, 24: “[N]o solo se aumentana la limosna, sino tambien la devocion de los coracones deste nuevo orbe.”

devotion was not new but grew in popularity and developed closer connections to Franciscans when they requested and received papal decrees that extended the indulgences of Jerusalem's *via dolorosa* to stations of the cross established in Franciscan churches around the world. The first of these controversial decrees (other clergy objected to the Franciscan monopoly) came in 1686 and was followed by two more in 1695 and 1696.<sup>56</sup> This new trove of indulgences was almost certainly connected to rising enthusiasm in New Spain. It was during this time that Mexican presses began producing works on the *via crucis*. The earliest ones that I have found are the Jesuit Juan José de Miranda's *Explicacion de los passos de la Passion* from 1681, María de la Antigua's *Estaciones de la Passion del Señor* from 1684, and a 1690 guidebook for members of the Franciscan Third Order that included instructions for praying the *via crucis*.<sup>57</sup> Alena Robin found that many of the simple crosses or small monuments that first appeared in the early seventeenth century were now being replaced by more elaborate sets of stations, some of which included full-fledged chapels. For example, Mexico City's *via crucis*, which included a string of free-standing chapels, was built between 1684 and 1706. Although Robin found little direct evidence for the specific sources used to create these new versions, she cites *El devoto peregrino* as a likely candidate.<sup>58</sup> And, in one confirmed instance of its use, the Oratorian priest Luis Felipe Neri de Alfaro consulted it when building a new *via crucis* in Atotonilco (Guanajuato).<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Henry Charles Lea, *A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences in the Latin Church* (Philadelphia: Lea Brothers, 1896), 465–66.

<sup>57</sup> Juan José de Miranda, *Explicacion de los passos de la Passion, que estan en el Altar del Santo Eccehomo en el Collegio de S. Pedro y S. Pablo de la Compañia de Jesus de esta Ciudad, con algunas devotas meditaciones*. (Mexico City: Por la Viuda de Bernardo Calderon, 1681); María de la Antigua, *Estaciones de la Passion del Señor: que exercitava la V.M. Maria de la Antigua, religiosa professa de nuestra Madre Santa Clara: y le mandó N. Señor las publicase para gloria suya* (Mexico City: Por Juan de Ribera en el Empedradillo, 1684); Clemente de Ledesma, *Compendio de las excelencias de la Serafica Sagrada Tercera Orden que fundò Nuestro P. S. Francisco* (Mexico City: Por doña Maria de Benavides viuda de Juan de Ribera, 1690). Ledesma includes a section titled, "Lvz para saber andar la via sacra. Por el P. Fr. Antonio de la Anunciación."

<sup>58</sup> Alena Robin, *Las capillas del Via Crucis*; Robin, "Via Crucis y series pasionarias en los virreinos latinoamericanos," *Goya* 339 (2012): 130–45; Robin, "El 'Monte': noticias de unos grupos escultóricos para la capilla del Calvario de la ciudad de México," *Encrucijada: Revista Digital del Seminario de Escultura Instituto de Investigaciones de Estéticas* 1, (2008): 14–25.

<sup>59</sup> Neri de Alfaro cites *El devoto peregrino* in two inscriptions on the *via crucis* and mentioned it in a letter to his bishop Ana Isabel Pérez Gavilán, "The Via Crucis in Eighteenth-Century New Spain: Innovative Practices in the Sanctuary of Jesus of Nazareth at Atotonilco, Guanajuato" (PhD diss., State University of New York at Binghamton, 2010), 13. In addition to *El devoto peregrino*, Neri de Alfaro also cited Pedro Gómez Durán's *Historia universal de la vida y peregrinación de el Hijo de Dios en el mundo*.

## Conclusions

How did people in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century New Spain come to know the Holy Land? Given the surge in publications and devotional practices connected to Jerusalem during this time, they most likely encountered it through a range of sources. One source that demands our attention is *El devoto peregrino*. Thanks to the Franciscans' global *santos lugares* project and its networks, this book found its way into the hands of people throughout New Spain. Although most studies of books imported to New Spain have focused on the mechanisms of book sellers and merchants, the example of *El devoto peregrino* demonstrates that religious orders—and not just Jesuits—could effectively circulate materials through their international networks, including at large scales.<sup>60</sup> The book's readers set off on virtual pilgrimage to the Holy Land, with del Castillo curating its bounty of sacred sites. By following their expert guide, readers could amplify their devotion to these places and to the people, especially Christ and Mary, who had sanctified them. This way of experiencing the Holy Land differed from devotional practices such as praying the rosary and walking the *via crucis* in that it remained connected to the contemporary world with its incessant power struggles and religious rivalries. The contemporaneous Holy Land was endangered and needed protection. *El devoto peregrino*'s emphasis on Franciscans as determined guardians of the sacred and its accompanying call to back the order's work with alms set it apart from many other works about Jerusalem. It was at once a pilgrimage guide, a devotional work, a treatise on contemporary politics, and an expansive promotional piece for the *santos lugares* commissariat. So while the narrative format of *El devoto peregrino* brought pilgrims to the Holy Land,

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<sup>60</sup> For instance, in "Hacia una tipología de liberos de la Ciudad de México (1700–1778)." Olivia Moreno Gamoa recognized that convents and colleges sold books by their members but keeps her focus on booksellers. Pedro Rueda Ramírez claims that Jesuits had an international distribution network and that it was more elaborate than those of other orders. Olivia Moreno Gamoa, "Hacia una tipología de liberos de la Ciudad de México (1700–1778)," *Estudios de Historia Novohispano* 40 (2009): 121–46; Pedro Rueda Ramírez, *Negocio e intercambio cultural: el comercio de libros con América en la carrera de Indias (siglo XVII)* (Seville: Diputación de Sevilla, 2005). For good general summary of the field, see Idalia García y Ana Cecilia Montiel, "Una vida entre cajones de libros: Felipe Pérez del Campo en la Nueva España, 1733–1764," *Estudios de Historia Novohispana* 43 (2010): 51–107.

the book's most important contributions came from the particular version of the Holy Land that it brought to its global readership.