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**FROM EUROPE TO THE CHACO-PARAGUAYAN FRONTIER. THE
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DE EUROPA A LA FRONTERA CHACO-PARAGUAYA. LOS HERMANOS JESUITAS: TRAYECTORIAS BIOGRÁFICAS, GUERRA E HISTORIAS GLOBALES EN EL SIGLO XVII

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Abstract:

This article aims to analyse the biographical trajectories of various Jesuit Brothers in the 17th century, such as Domingo de Torres, Antonio Bernal, among others. Most of them were born in Europe and were soldiers in numerous battles. They then joined the Society of Jesus and travelled to the Paraguayan Jesuit Missions where they taught the Guaraní Indians how to use European firearms and tactics of war. In this way, the life of these Jesuit Brothers shows us the mechanisms by which the Spanish Empire negotiated and protected its frontiers with "non-state" agents (Jesuits) and local native populations (Guaraní Indians). This biographical view enables us to understand how frontier defences were constructed, and how the inter-imperial relationship as well as the military knowledge circulation functioned in the Spanish Empire.

Keywords: Society of Jesus, Guaranis, Jesuit Missions, Paraguay, Frontier war.

Resumen:

Este artículo pretende analizar las trayectorias biográficas de algunos hermanos coadjutores temporales jesuitas del siglo XVII, como Domingo de Torres, Antonio Bernal y otros. Muchos de ellos nacieron en Europa y fueron soldados en diferentes campos de batalla. Luego se unieron a la Compañía de Jesús y viajaron a las misiones jesuíticas paraguayas donde enseñaron a los indios guaraníes a usar armas de fuego y tácticas de guerra europeas. Así, la vida de estos jesuitas nos mostrará los mecanismos por los cuales el Imperio Español negoció y protegió sus fronteras mediante agentes "no estatales" (jesuitas) y poblaciones nativas locales (indígenas guaraníes). Esta visión biográfica nos permitirá entender cómo se construyeron la defensa fronteriza, las relaciones interimperiales y la circulación del conocimiento militar en el imperio español.

Palabras Clave: Compañía de Jesús, guaraníes, Misiones jesuíticas, Paraguay, Guerra fronteriza.

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Introduction

Studies in Global and Transnational History expose the need to apply new theoretical and methodological tools in the analysis of European empires during the early modern era¹. Insights constructed through examining the biographies of the agents of the Iberian empires, while not novel, are crucial to understanding the functioning and administration of these power structures between the 16th and 18th centuries. The concept of a "Global Micro-History"², allows us to study key historical figures that circulated and established global "connections" during the early modern era³. In this way, individuals and local situations can be understood from the global perspective.

In this article I analyze the biographical trajectories of various Jesuit brothers, which makes it possible to situate local frontier conflicts on an inter-imperial plane, that is, in a global framework of war between Iberian empires⁴. Referring to the temporary coadjutor brothers who arrived in the Jesuit Province of Paraguay during the 17th century⁵. These Jesuit brothers helped train the Guaraní Indians who defended that frontier in the war against the Portuguese *bandeirantes*.

¹ Bartolomé Yun Casalilla, «“Localism”, Global History and Transnational History. A Reflection from the Historian of Early Modern Europe», *Historisk Tidskrift* 127, n. ° 4 (2007): 659-678; Maxine Berg, ed., *Writing the History of the Global: Challenges for the 21st Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, for the British Academy, 2013); Sebastian Conrad, *What is Global History?* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016); Daniel Emilio Rojas, ed., *Amérique Latine Globale. Histoire Connectée, Globale et Internationale* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2017).

² Tonio Andrade, “A Chinese Farmer, Two African Boys, and a Warlord: Toward a Global Microhistory”, *Journal of World History* 21, n. ° 4 (2010): 573-591; Francesca Trivellato, “Is There a Future for Italian Microhistory in the Age of Global History?”, *California Italian Studies* 2, n. ° 1 (2011), <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/0z94n9hq>; Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Three ways to be alien. Travails & encounters in the Early Modern World* (Waltham, Massachusetts: Brandeis University Press, 2011); John Paul Ghobrial, “The Secret Life of Elias of Babylon and the Uses of Global Microhistory”, *Past and Present* 222, n. ° 1 (2014): 51-93; Giovanni Levi, “Microhistoria e Historia Global”, *Historia Crítica*, n. ° 69 (2018): 21-35.

³ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, “Holding the World in Balance: The Connected Histories of the Iberian Overseas Empires, 1500–1640”, *The American Historical Review* 112, n. ° 5 (2007): 1359–1385; Sanjay Subrahmanyam, “Sobre comparaciones y conexiones: Notas sobre el estudio de los imperios ibéricos de Ultramar, 1490-1640”, en *Europa, América y el Mundo. Tiempos Históricos*, ed. by Roger Chartier y Antonio Feros (Madrid: Marcial Pons, Ediciones Jurídicas y Sociales, 2006), 239-262; Sanjay Subrahmanyam, “Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia”, *Modern Asia Studies* 31, n. ° 3 (1997): 735-762; Serge Gruzinski, *Las cuatro partes del mundo: historia de una mundialización* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2010); Serge Gruzinski, «Les mondes mêlés de la Monarchie Catholique et autres “connected histories”», *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 56, n. ° 1 (2001): 85-117.

⁴ Cf. Bartolomé Yun Casalilla, *Iberian World Empires and the Globalization of Europe 1415-1668* (Palgrave Macmillán, 2019) and Tamar Herzog, *Frontiers of Possession. Spain and Portugal in Europe and the Americas* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2015).

⁵ A Jesuit province was an administrative division with a provincial father residing in the city designated as the capital of that administrative unit. The important thing is to point out that these provinces had a different jurisdiction than the administrative divisions prevailing in that same territory. For example, the Jesuit Province of Paraguay, with its capital in Córdoba, included the governorates of Tucumán, Buenos Aires and Paraguay, as well as their corresponding bishoprics. In other words, there was a juxtaposition of jurisdictions that generated complex negotiation processes among all parties involved (crown, local authorities, neighbors, Jesuits, Guaraníes, etc.), especially when mobilizing resources for the frontier war.

The temporary coadjutor brothers: their functions within the order

The Society of Jesus is a global religious order whose members have great mobility⁶. The Jesuits maintain the principles of obedience and subordination devoted to Saint Ignatius of Loyola. A vertical organization existed in which the Father General in Rome was "the head of the whole system followed by the provincials, the rectors of the colleges and the other local superiors"⁷. In this vertical organization, a fundamental element was the circulation of information. One important facet of this structure was that it kept the Father General informed about what was happening in each of the provinces. In this way, many letters linked distant provinces with the Father General in Rome. For this research project, documents such as annual letters, reports, and memorials, were read carefully for both literal and implied meanings in order to separate the religious objectives (proper to the order) from the political and economic questions of each region⁸.

The global Jesuit connections manifested themselves in multiple ways. For example, Fathers' procurators from the American provinces, made requests to Europe⁹ for European Jesuits to be sent to the Indies (*indipetae* letters)¹⁰, or they requested studies of compilation and/or biographical analysis of members of the order according to their different geographical origins¹¹. Although the latter did not carry out an in-depth analysis of the life of each Jesuit, they allowed a general idea of the diversity of origins and trajectories that converged in each Jesuit province¹².

⁶ Aliocha Maldavsky, "Conectando territorios y sociedades. La movilidad de los misioneros jesuitas en el mundo ibérico (siglos XVI-XVIII)", *Historica* 38, n. ° 2 (2014): 71-109.

⁷ Sabina Pavone, *Los jesuitas: desde los orígenes hasta la supresión* (Buenos Aires: Libros de la Araucaria, 2007), 21-22. The limitations of the concept of *obedience* within the Society of Jesus and the degree of autonomy achieved in the province of Paraguay, are analyzed in Fabian Fechner, «"Quando os di el orden, no os quité la prudencia" La obediencia aplicada en la administración local y en la tratadística. El caso de los jesuitas del Paraguay», *Historia y Grafía* n. ° 49 (2017): 23-56.

⁸ On the circulation of information and the political use of correspondence cf. Arndt Brendecke, *Imperio e información. Funciones del saber en el dominio colonial español* (Madrid: Iberoamericana verduert, 2016); and Jean Boutier, Sandro Landi et Olivier Rouchon, dir., *La politique par correspondance. Les usages politiques de la lettre en Italie, XIVE-XVIIIIE siècle* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2009).

⁹ Gabriel Martínez Serna, "Procurators and the Making of the Jesuits' Atlantic Network", in *Sounding in Atlantic history. Latent structures and intellectual currents, 1500-1830*, ed. by Bernard Bailyn y Patricia L. Denault (Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England: Harvard University Press, 2009), 181-209, notes 528-536.

¹⁰ Aliocha Maldavsky, "Pedir las Indias. Las *cartas indipetae* de los jesuitas europeos, siglos XVI-XVIII, ensayo historiográfico", *Relaciones*, 132 (2012): 147-181.

¹¹ Hugo Storni, "Jesuitas italianos en el Río de la Plata (antigua Provincia del Paraguay 1585-1768)", *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, 48 (1979): 3-64; Hugo Storni, "Jesuitas valones, flamencos y franceses, misioneros en el Paraguay 1608-1767", *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, 49 (1980):417-431; Johannes Meier, «"Totus mundus nostra fit habitatio" Jesuitas del territorio de lengua alemana en la América portuguesa y española», in *Sao Francisco Xavier. Nos 500 anos do Nascimento de Sao Francisco Xavier: da Europa para o mundo 1506-2006* (Porto: Centro Inter-Universitario de História da Espiritualidade, Instituto de História Moderna, Faculdade de Letras Universidade do Porto, 2007), 57-86.

¹² For example, Hugo Storni, *Catálogo de los jesuitas de la provincia del Paraguay (Cuenca del Plata) 1585-1768* (Roma: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1980); José del Rey Fajardo, *Bio-bibliografía de los jesuitas en la Venezuela colonial*, 2º edición (San Cristóbal, Santafe de Bogotá: Universidad Católica del Táchira, Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, 1995); and Eduardo Tampe, *Catálogo de Jesuitas de Chile (1593-1767). Catálogo de regulares de la Compañía en el antiguo Reino de Chile y en el destierro* (Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Alberto Hurtado, Instituto de Historia-Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, Centro de Investigaciones Barros Arana, DIBAM, 2008).

Many Jesuit Fathers arrived in the Northeast of Rio de la Plata for evangelizing and missionary labors¹³. In addition, some of them performed more earthly tasks, indispensable for the survival of new missions¹⁴. They were the temporary coadjutor brothers who performed various functions, for example in roles as architects, sculptors, musicians, and apothecaries¹⁵.

The figure of the temporary coadjutor is defined in the *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*. The *First and general examination to be proposed to all those who ask to be admitted to the Society of Jesus*, in Chapter 6, differentiates between the spiritual and the temporal coadjutor brothers. The first "are priests, having sufficient letters to help in spiritual things; the temporal ones, not having sacred orders, with or without letters, can help in the necessary external things". Next, this norm clarifies that whoever entered the Society of Jesus "must proceed and walk in the same way that has been shown to him..." and in the case of the temporary brothers, they must not "...claim more letters than he knew when he entered"¹⁶.

The various activities carried out by these temporary coadjutor brothers were included in these "necessary external things"¹⁷. In this project, we are interested in those that promoted the circulation of knowledge, training and military weaponry among the Guaraní natives.

These and other activities could be carried out by the same coadjutor brother, as shown by the life of Brother Domingo de Torres in the missions of Paraguay. Domingo de Torres was born on April 28, 1607 in Osuna, Spain. He entered the Society of Jesus in 1627 in the Jesuit province of Andalusia and arrived at the port of Buenos Aires on December 20, 1636. He professed his last vows on July 25, 1641 in the reduction of Santa Maria in the region of Paraguay¹⁸. The following year, Torres was in the reduction of San Miguel, erecting a

¹³ I use the term *Northeast Rioplatense* to refer to a large territory that includes regions near the river basin Paraguay-Paraná-Rio de la Plata, belonging to the current countries of Argentina, Brazil and Paraguay. The national histories of each of these republics have provoked the historical fragmentation of this territory, leaving aside the significant social, economic and religious ties that existed in these lands during the period we are interested in. A synthesis of these links in Ernesto J. A. Maeder and Ramón Gutiérrez, *Atlas Histórico del Nordeste Argentino* (Resistencia: IIGHI-CONICET- FUNDANORD, Universidad Nacional del Nordeste, 1995).

¹⁴ In a memorial of 1632 addressed to Father General Mucio Vitelleschi, the fathers of the reductions requested four coadjutor brothers to "relieve them in temporary things: 1st to take care of the sowing beds, cattle ranches and vineyards; 2nd another who is a tailor and does what is necessary of the wardrobe, and repairs when it is broken; 3rd another who understands something of pharmacy, medicine, barbershop and infirmary; 4th another who is a painter, to make the altarpieces of churches and houses, etc.". Pablo Hernández, *Organización Social de las Doctrinas Guaraníes de la Compañía de Jesús*, vol. 1, (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1913), 355.

¹⁵ A general idea about these Jesuits temporal brothers in Hernández, *Organización...*, Vol. 1, 354-361.

¹⁶ Seen, *Primero examen y general que se ha de proponer a todos los que pidieren ser admitidos en la Compañía de Jesús*. Exa. 1:112; Exa. 1:116 and Exa 1:117, en: http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/03d/1491-1556_Ignatius_Loyola_Constituciones_de_la_Compania_de_Jesus_ES.pdf (23/01/2019)

¹⁷ In this study we will focus only on biographies related to Paraguay's reductions. However, we consider that this circulation of military knowledge, techniques and weaponry through these temporary coadjutor brothers of the Society of Jesus was practiced throughout the overseas missions, including not only the American but also Asian territories. For example, let us remember the figure of the Jesuit Ferdinand Verbiest who introduced improvements in the construction of cannons in the times of the Chinese emperor Kangxi. Alfred W. Crosby, *Throwing Fire. Projectile Technology Through History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 108-109.

¹⁸ I use *Paraguay* to refer to the Jesuit Province of Paraguay, which covered a larger territory than the current Republic of Paraguay. The biographical data of Brother Torres in Storni, *Catálogo...*, 286-287.

provisional church because a gale had destroyed the previous one¹⁹. In that same year, this brother applied some *sudores*²⁰ to Father Francisco Díaz Taño, demonstrating that he had certain medicinal knowledge of the time²¹. Sometime later, the provincial Father Juan Bautista Ferrufino refers in his annual letters to this Jesuit as a "master brother in sculpture and dedicates himself to the construction of churches and tabernacles for the reserve of the Blessed Sacrament"²². In addition, the Jesuit historian Guillermo Furlong also highlights the architectural work of Domingo de Torres. This is noted in the 1674 Catalogue where he appears as an "architect" in the reduction of San Carlos. Four years later, another Catalogue placed this brother in the reduction of San Nicolás, although without specifying his task²³. Finally, Torres died in the reduction of Apostles, and Furlong says the following about him in that village, "if he was not a note surgeon, he was a fervent herbalist"²⁴.

Therefore, this brief biographical journey exposes the mobility of these coadjutor brothers within the Paraguayan mission territory. Brother Torres circulated through at least five reductions and fulfilled various functions (architect, sculptor and herbalist). Later, the military activities that Brother Domingo de Torres was involved in will be analyzed further.

These brothers also participated in the expeditions made by the fathers' procurators sent to Europe. These missions had the objective of gathering new priests and brothers who would travel to the reductions of the New World. The case of the temporary coadjutor brother Simón Méndes is highlighted.

Simón Méndes was born on 27 October, 1605 in Vila Pouça de Aguiar, Tras-os-Montes, Portugal. He entered the Society of Jesus on August 15, 1639 in the Jesuit province of Paraguay and arrived at the port of Buenos Aires on November 28, 1640. He professed his last vows on October 28, 1653 in Salta and died in the city of Córdoba on August 25, 1676²⁵. To these brief biographical data, we must add the active participation of Méndes in the armed confrontations against the Brazilian *bandeirantes*. One of his letters, dated 23 November, 1641 and addressed to Brother Diego de Molina in Seville, provides a crucial and detailed testimony on the results of the battle of Mbororé²⁶. In addition, this brother traveled as a companion to the father procurator of the province of Paraguay, Father Cristóbal de Altamirano. Both made the necessary arrangements in Europe between 1670 and 1673 and formed an expedition of 30 priests and 3 coadjutor brothers destined for Paraguay. This

¹⁹ Cf. "Cartas Anuas del padre provincial Lupercio Zurbano al padre general Mucio Vitteleschi del 8 de septiembre de 1644", en Pablo Pastells, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Provincia del Paraguay. (Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay, Perú, Bolivia y Brasil, según los documentos originales del Archivo General de Indias)*. Tomo II (1638-1668) (Madrid: Librería General de Victoriano Suárez, 1915), 106, note n. ° 1; and Guillermo Furlong, *Misiones y sus pueblos de guaraníes* (Buenos Aires, 1962), 176.

²⁰ "remedio, y curación, que se hace en los enfermos, especialmente en los que padecen el mal gálico, aplicándoles medicinas, que los obliguen à sudar copiosa, ò freqüentemente". *Diccionario de Autoridades*, Tomo VI. 1739. <http://web.frl.es/DA.html>

²¹ "Carta del padre Francisco Diaz Taño al hermano Diego de Molina del 20 de febrero de 1642", en Pastells, *Historia... Tomo II...*, 63, note n. ° 1.

²² *Cartas Anuas de la Provincia Jesuítica del Paraguay. 1645-1646 y 1647-1649*, introd. Ernesto J. A. Maeder; Colab. María Laura Salinas (Resistencia, IIGHI-CONICET, 2007), 80.

²³ Furlong, *Misiones...*, 532.

²⁴ Furlong, *Misiones...*, 606.

²⁵ Storni, *Catálogo...*, 183.

²⁶ Let us remember that this battle stops to a great extent the Portuguese advance on these lands, as the historian Guillermo Furlong mentions, since then the "Paulistas did not throw themselves thus no more to plunder the reductions". Furlong, *Misiones...*, 127. The letter of Jesuit Brother Simón Mendes in Pastells, *Historia... Tomo II...*, 59-61, note n. ° 1.

mission left from Seville on December 15, 1673 and arrived in Buenos Aires on March 15, 1674.

This type of expedition was authorized by the *Casa de Contratación* in Seville, before they were permitted to leave for America. This documentation provides detailed descriptions of each of the Jesuits who were on board. In the case of Simón Méndez the change in spelling of his surname is notable: "Simón Méndez, temporary coadjutor of age of sixty-seven years between cano and medium body...". This type of change was common in early modern era documentation. However, it is even more peculiar that it refers to him as "from Ecija", modifying his place of birth²⁷.

In the latter we must consider that a previously *Real Cédula* dated October 20, 1672 had authorized the return of that Jesuit expedition to Paraguay. But the king sent as a condition that "...the three parts of them are Spanish, in conformity with what was sent by Cédula of March 6, 1655, and the fourth part of foreigners, as they are vassals of the King..."²⁸. If to this legal framework, we add the end of the Portuguese restoration war (1640-1668), we can better understand this strategy of the Jesuits by modifying not only the spelling of a surname, but also the birthplace of brother "Méndez" to simulate his origin as a Portuguese.

The participation of the Jesuit brothers in the Frontier War

The Jesuit reductions in Paraguay suffered *bandeirantes* attacks from present-day Brazil in the first decades of the 17th century. The name *bandeirantes* refers to those who made up an "*entrada*" or "*bandeira*". This consisted of a large expedition organized by the state or by individuals, sent to seek gold, precious stones and Indians. The Indians were hunted and sold as slave labor for the sugar mills on the Brazilian coast²⁹.

The most detailed testimony on these attacks is in the work of Father Antonio Ruiz de Montoya. This Jesuit describes São Paulo's advances on reductions, especially the most important years between 1631 and 1637³⁰. These attacks led to the destruction of 11 of the 13 reductions founded by the Jesuits in the Guayrá region³¹. Only two missions survived (San Ignacio and Loreto) and they were subsequently moved to new locations so that the evangelizing mission would be preserved. The following map N°1 represents this process of relocation of the Paulist reductions and advances during this period.

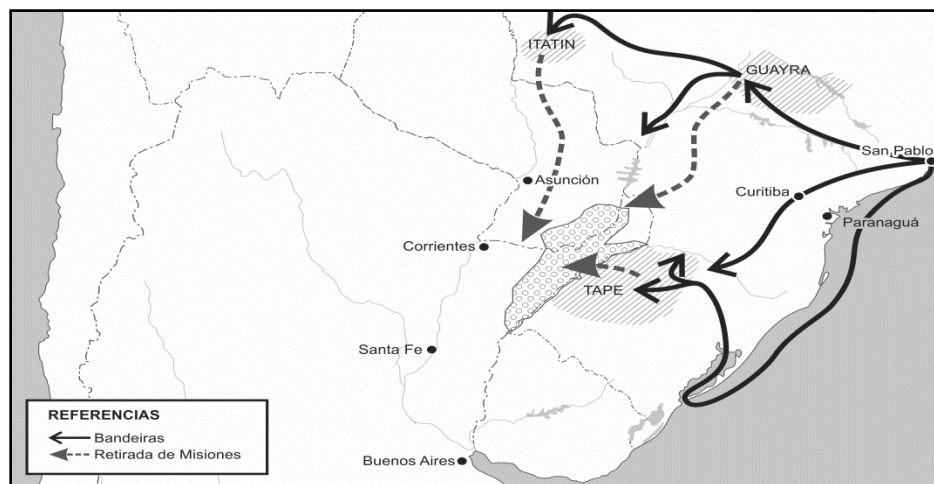
²⁷ This description was made by Joseph de Veitia Linage in Seville on September 16, 1673. Archivo General de Indias, Contratación, 5549. f.13.

²⁸ Pablo Pastells, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Provincia del Paraguay. (Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay, Perú, Bolivia y Brasil, según los documentos originales del Archivo General de Indias). Tomo III (1669-1683)* (Madrid: Librería General de Victoriano Suárez, 1918), 41.

²⁹ These *bandeirantes* attacks on indigenous populations only diminished at the end of the 17th century with the gold discoveries in Minas Gerais, Goiás and Mato Grosso. Roque Barros Laraia, *Los indios del Brasil* (Madrid: Mapfre, 1993), 49-50.

³⁰ Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, *La conquista espiritual hecha por los religiosos de la Compañía de Jesús en las Provincias de Paraguay, Paraná, Uruguay y Tape. 1639*. Preliminary study and notes Ernesto J. A. Maeder (Rosario: Equipo Difusor de Estudios de Historia Iberoamericana, 1989).

³¹ San Ignacio (1609); Loreto (1610); San Francisco Javier (1623); Encarnación (1625); San José (1625) and San Miguel (1627) were on the shores of the Paraná panama and the Tibají river. Other five Jesuit missions, such as San Pablo (1627); Ángeles del ayaoba (1625-1627), San Antonio (1627), Santo Tomás (1628) and Jesús María were around the city of Villarrica. Two other reductions, Concepción and San Pedro, were of the Guañanas Indians. Ruiz de Montoya, *La conquista...*, 159, note n. ° 124.



**Figure 1. “Attacks of the Brazilian *bandeiras* and relocation of Jesuit reductions (1628-1640)”³².
Source: Núcleo de Estudios Históricos Coloniales at IIGHI-CONICET/UNNE (Argentina) in Maeder y Gutiérrez, *Atlas Histórico*....**

This conflict on an inter-imperial frontier explains two issues. The first was the mobilization of temporary coadjutor brothers with a European military past, towards this territory. The second issue was the subsequent military activities of these Jesuits on this border.

In the 1630s several Jesuits were linked to armed clashes with the Lusitanians. Thus, while defending the reduction of Jesus Mary, the Fathers Pedro Romero and Pedro de Mola, as well as the brothers Antonio Bernal and Juan de Cárdenas, shot the *bandeirantes* with muskets. In addition, according to the testimony of provincial father Diego de Boroa of March 4, 1637, these four were also shot in that confrontation³³. This matter of Jesuits wounded with firearms in their hands was the main discussion of the 6th Provincial Congregation of Paraguay, held from July 18 to August 8, 1637. However, this Congregation failed to reach a definitive position on this matter.

Mucio Vitelleschi in a later letter leaves no doubt as to how difficult this issue is.

(...) what I feel in this matter, refer to it, and what I have written to you on other occasions. But in a word, I say that I neither like nor can I approve of what was recently done in order to defend the Indians³⁴.

³² I would like to thank Dr. María Laura Salinas who kindly gave us this map that is part of a cartographic series being developed by the members of the *Núcleo de Estudios Históricos Coloniales* at IIGHI-CONICET/UNNE (Argentina) in order to update the maps of the region published in Maeder y Gutiérrez, *Atlas Histórico*....

³³ “Carta do padre Diogo de Boroa, Provincial do Paraguai, dando conta a alguns padres da Companhia da destruição de quatro reduções do Tape pela bandeira de Antonio Raposo Tavares”, 4 de marzo de 1637, en *Manuscritos da Coleção de Angelis. Tomo III. Jesuítas e bandeirantes no Tape (1615-1641)*, introduction and notes by por Jaime Cortesão (Río de Janeiro: Biblioteca Nacional, 1969), 143-144.

³⁴ “...lo que siento en esta materia, remitome a ello, y a lo que en otras ocasiones les tengo escrito. Pero en una palabra digo que ni me agrada, ni puedo aprobar lo que últimamente se hizo en orden a defender a los indios”. Martín Morales, ed., *A mis manos han llegado. Cartas de los PP. Generales a la Antigua Provincia del Paraguay (1608-1639)* (Madrid, Roma: Universidad Pontificia de Comillas, Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2005), 581-582, note g.

Shortly afterwards, in 1639 while engaged in a new confrontation with the Portuguese *bandeirantes* from San Pablo³⁵, the aforementioned brother Domingo de Torres was wounded in the leg by a musket shot, and Father Diego de Alfaro died of one in the forehead. Clearly, the Jesuits, and in particular the coadjutor brothers, were still involved in this type of armed confrontation during this time.

When analyzing this border conflict between *bandeirantes*, Jesuits and Guaraníes, we must consider that between 1580 and 1640 the union of the Lusitanian and Castilian crowns in the figure of Felipe II took place. This meant that for sixty years the American territories colonized by both kingdoms recognized the same king and, therefore, their inhabitants were vassals of the same crown³⁶. This aspect is important to understand the limitations that the authorities and inhabitants of the northeast Rioplatense had to face, by the armed route, the *bandeirante* advances during the first decades of the 17th century. A warlike response against vassals of the same crown could be considered as a betrayal of the monarchy itself.

Thus, the Jesuits and Guaraní natives practically defended their villages without the help of nearby Hispanic populations and without their militias being recognized as such. One example of this was on January 11, 1638, when the city council of Corrientes denied the help of men and military equipment for the reductions. The justification was that the city could not gather the required 200 men, rather it could only enlist 15 men, "poor and without weapons or horses, ammunition or supplies" to defend the city³⁷.

A few years later the situation changed on that border, with the Jesuit coadjutor brothers playing a very important role. A letter dated November 9, 1641, from Father Francisco Díaz Taño to Father Diego de Montiel, Attorney General of the Indies, refers to the aforementioned triumph in the battle of Mbororé against the Portuguese troops. This epistle highlighted the participation of Jesuit brother Domingo de Torres in training the Guaraní natives:

The Portuguese of São Paulo returned to our Reductions, I heard about it in Rio Janeiro, I left as quickly as I could and as I arrived in Buenos Aires we warned the missionary fathers; they sent muskets and harquebuses more than they already had, which Brother Domingo de Torres had taught them to shoot (...)³⁸.

³⁵ Cf. "Carta del padre Claudio Ruyer dirigida al padre procurador general Francisco Diaz Taño del 23 de julio de 1639", en Pastells, *Historia... Tomo II...*, 22, note n. ° 1; and "Protesto anônimo de um padre da Companhia junto a uma autoridade anônima contra a acusação de infidelidade ao Rei lançada a Companhia", 10 de mayo de 1653, en *Manuscritos da Coleção de Angelis. Tomo II. Jesuítas e bandeirantes no Itatim (1596-1760)*, introduction, notes and glossary by Jaime Cortesão (Río de Janeiro: Biblioteca Nacional, 1952), 114. Aurelio Porto said after receiving this shot father Alfaro, then brother Domingo de Torres, with an accurate shot killed the captain of that *Bandeira*. Aurelio Porto, *Historia das Missões Orientais do Uruguai. Primera parte*. Second edition revised and improved by Padre Luis Gonzaga Jaeger (Porto Alegre: Livraria Selbach, 1954), 177.

³⁶ Francisco Bethencourt expose the idea of the Iberian connections before the Union crowns of Castilla and Portugal. He uses the concept of *Iberian Atlantic* and its continuity during the eighteenth century. Francisco Bethencourt, "The Iberian Atlantic: ties, networks, and boundaries", in *Theorising the Ibero-American Atlantic*, ed. Lisa Vollendorf y Harald Braun (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 15-36.

³⁷ *Actas capitulares de Corrientes. Tomo I: 1588-1646* (Buenos Aires: Academia Nacional de la Historia, Kraft, 1941), 392-393.

³⁸ "Los Portugueses de S. Pablo volvieron sobre n[uest]ras Red[uccion]es, tube noticia dello en el Rio Janeiro, Sali lo r[apid]o q. pude y assi como llegué a Buenos Ayres avisamos a los Padres Misioneros; embiaronse mosquetes y arcabuzes mas de los q. ya tenían, con los quales el H[erman]o Domingo de Torres los avia enseñado a tirar...". Pastells, *Historia... Tomo II...*, 61, note n. ° 1.

Clearer than the previous letter, is the following communication from Brother Simón Méndez to Jesuit Brother Diego de Molina in Seville, on November 23, 1641:

(...) there will already be at 600 firearms that are made in the same Reductions. A Father is the Master having given the beginning to Brother Dominic de Torres, to whom we owe the teaching of the use of weapons in the Indians, which seemed impossible as some said; and now they are already right-handed soldiers³⁹.

It is apparent that the context had changed.; the Portuguese restoration war had started on a global scale, and for that reason its repercussions on the border of the northeast Rioplatense were obvious. In the testimonies of the period, Brother Domingo de Torres was directly involved, along with other coadjutor brothers in the military training of the Guaraníes. Additionally, according to Guillermo Furlong, Torres had worked as a soldier in Chile before joining the Society of Jesus⁴⁰. This element was also evident in the biography of another Jesuit who needs to be highlighted here: Antonio Bernal.

Brother Bernal was born in 1582 in Palhaça, Portugal, and joined the Society of Jesus on August 20, 1615 in Paraguay. He professed his last vows in Encarnación on 22 November, 1626 and died in the city of Córdoba on 13 April, 1661⁴¹. The annual letters of the period 1659-1662, refer to the death of this brother and give greater references to his biography:

Before entering it [Society of Jesus], he was from his youth a soldier by land and sea, preserving his good customs, having managed by his courage to climb the military ladder until he was appointed captain of cavalry in the kingdom of Chile...⁴².

Finally, Antonio Bernal has "...begun to arrange his life in the manner of our parents, who were present there as military chaplains, until, feeling called to the militia of the Celestial King, he entered his company..."⁴³.

After his conversion (forced or not by that context), Bernal was assigned to the Tape reductions. Of particular interest is that this brother went to the village of Jesus Mary, where he was with Father Peter de Mola. Brother Bernal participated in battles against the Portuguese and we know that he was wounded, "he received a bullet in the hand that pierced his chest, in the precise place where he wore a medal of the Purísima Concepción which miraculously saved his life"⁴⁴. According to the previously mentioned testimony of the

³⁹ "...abrà ya al pie de 600 armas de fuego q. se hazen en las mismas Reducciones. Un P.e es el Maestro aviendo dado primero principio el H.o Domingo de Torres, a quien se debe la enseñaça del uso de las armas en los indios, q. pareçia cosa imposible como algunos dezian; y agora son ya diestros soldados". Pastells, *Historia... Tomo II...*, 60-61, note n. ° 1.

⁴⁰ Furlong, *Misiones...*, 126.

⁴¹ Storni, *Catàlogo...*, 37.

⁴² "Antes de entrar en ella [la Compañía de Jesús], era desde su mocedad soldado por tierra y mar, conservando sus buenas costumbres, habiendo logrado por su valor subir en el escalafón militar hasta ser nombrado capitán de caballería en el reino de Chile..."

⁴³ "...comenzado a arreglar su vida a modo de nuestros padres, que allí estaban presentes como capellanes militares, hasta que, sintiéndose llamado a la milicia del Rey Celestial, entró en su compañía...". *Cartas Anuas de la Provincia Jesuítica del Paraguay. 1658-1660 y 1659-1662*. Introd. María Laura Salinas (Resistencia: IIGHI-CONICET, 2010), 75-76.

⁴⁴ "recibió un balazo en la mano que le perforó luego el pecho, en el sitio preciso donde llevaba una medalla de la Purísima Concepción la cual milagrosamente le salvó la vida". Martín M. Morales, "Violencia y misión en la antigua provincia del Paraguay", *Studia Missionalia* 60 (2011), 7.

Provincial Father Diego de Boroa, Brother Bernal also used a harquebus during the defense of the reduction of Jesus Mary against the *bandeirantes*. In this confrontation, Brother Bernal was injured, as well as Father Pedro de Mola, Father Pedro Romero and Brother Juan de Cárdenas⁴⁵.

In a short time, both the Jesuits and the monarchy itself recognized the convenience of transferring men with military experience to the province of Paraguay in order to train the Guaraní and take care of the armament. In this configuration, a border was protected that maximized resources (both material and human), while simultaneously developing a "conflictive pact" between the inhabitants of that region in which the crown ceded part of the monopoly of violence into the hands of the Guaraní and Jesuits⁴⁶.

In the Royal Decree of November 21, 1642, this issue is further considered, and it was established that these lay brothers would be in charge of arms and ammunition in order to train the Indians. It was stated in this decree: "some brothers who have been soldiers can take from the Kingdom of Chile"⁴⁷. It is of note, that Priests were not involved with military training and actions. There is no doubt this activity was already occurring at the time, as shown by these examples of Brothers Domingo de Torres and Antonio Bernal, who had military experience in Chile before arriving in Paraguay.

In this way, the Society of Jesus was strengthened through time by separating the temporary works from the spiritual ones.

The manufacture of firearms and military knowledge in reductions

The numbers of firearms in reductions was constant during the first half of the 17th century. This was due to various factors such as their capture to defeated enemies, purchases in nearby cities as well as the manufacture of arms in reductions.

Father Juan Pastor mentions in a letter of December 22, 1646 the situation of the Indians, the Jesuit and their weapons. "They have defended themselves courageously for twelve years against this part of the Portuguese of Brazil [...] buying arms and ammunition, and other things necessary for their defense, in great quantity, and of value, because firearms reach seven hundred..."⁴⁸. The following year, the visit of Governor Jacinto de Lariz registered a total of 609 firearms. This number increased later with 150 weapons sent by the Viceroy of Peru⁴⁹. Ten years later, the visit of Governor Blázquez de Valverde exhibits a

⁴⁵ "Carta do padre Diogo de Boroa, Provincial do Paraguai, dando conta a alguns padres da Companhia da destruição de quatro reduções do Tape pela bandeira de Antonio Raposo Tavares", 4 de marzo de 1637, in *Manuscritos da Coleção de Angelis. Tomo III. Jesuitas e bandeirantes no Tape (1615-1641)* Introduction and notes by Jaime Cortesão (Rio de Janeiro: Biblioteca Nacional, 1969), 143-144.

⁴⁶ Bartolomé Yun Casalilla, *Marte contra Minerva: el precio del imperio español, c. 1450-1600* (Barcelona: Crítica, 2004).

⁴⁷ "puedan llevar del Reino de Chile algunos hermanos que hayan sido soldados". Hernández, *Organización...*, vol. 1, 187.

⁴⁸ "Se han defendido valientemente de doce años a esta parte de los portugueses del Brasil [...] comprando armas y municiones, y otras cosas necesarias para su defensa, en mucha cantidad, y de valor, pues llegan las armas de fuego a setecientas...". AGI. Audiencia de Charcas, 149.

⁴⁹ Arno Álvarez Kern, *Missões: uma utopia política* (Porto Alegre: Mercado Aberto, 1982), 172-173, note n. ° 78.

total of 686 firearms in these missions. This visit does not specify the weapons that were in two reductions (Itapuá and Loreto), therefore, this number could be increased⁵⁰.

It is worth mentioning that studies exist that refer to the dissemination of military knowledge among the Guaraníes, especially from the perspective of the implementation of European combat tactics and techniques typical of the modern period⁵¹. However, we have no analysis of how firearms were manufactured in these villages, and especially, the dissemination of the knowledge needed to develop them.

The testimony of Friar Gabriel de Valencia, a Jesuit for 15 years, is interesting as it acts to bring us closer to understanding the importance of the manufacture of arms in reductions. Valencia affirms in his communication to the governor of Tucumán, that during the confrontation with the Portuguese they had four thousand firearms, but that in addition, those missions also had:

Four continuous forges in the work of the harquebus whose author had been a brother coadjutor called Domingo de Torres [...] learned from that brother coadjutor Father Francisco de Molina [...] and with these two masters and cousins of four official forges, all skilled, with abundance of materials well let understand how many mouths of fire open carved in twenty years and must believe that among the Indians already open official who have reached the first of masters⁵².

This friar considered the number of firearms distributed in the reductions of the Jesuits in the year 1657, when he writes, "...at least fourteen thousand mouths of fire, muskets, arquebuses and the like, fourteen pieces of medium artillery; and of alfanjes, *chusos*, picas, and the like..."⁵³. These numbers are probably excessive if we compare it with the quoted figures of the visits of Lariz (1647) and Blázquez de Valverde (1657). However, Valencia provides us with interesting clues about the key role played by Brother Torres in the initiation of various strategies to increase the number of firearms by the Jesuits.

Without a doubt, one of the greatest concerns of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus with respect to the Guaraníes, was how to modify their fighting techniques and tactics so that

⁵⁰ Cf. AGI. Audiencia de Charcas. f.374v.-f.1104; Álvarez Kern, *Missões...*, 172-173, note n° 78; and Pastells, *Historia... Tomo II...*, 471-472; 474-476; 480-481; 483-485; y 489-501.

⁵¹ Kazuhisa Takeda, "Las milicias guaraníes en las misiones jesuíticas del Río de la Plata: un ejemplo de la transferencia organizativa y tácticas militares de España a su territorio de ultramar en la primera época moderna", *Revista de Historia Social y de las Mentalidades* 20, n. ° 2 (2016), 33-72.

⁵² "...quatro fraguas continuas en la labor de los arcabuces cuyo autor avia sido un hermano coadjutor llamado Domingo de Torres [...] aprendió del d[ic]ho hermano coadjutor el P[adr]e Fran[cis]co de Molina [...] y con estos dos maestros ya primos oficiales de quatro fraguas, todos haviles, con abundancia de materiales bien se deja entender quantas bocas de fuego abran labrado en veinte años y se debe creer que entre los indios abra ya oficiales que ayan llegado al primero de maestros". "Copia de uma carta do governador de Tucumã para Frei Gabriel de Valencia, franciscano, mas egresso da Companhia de Jesus, pedindo noticias sobre esta, com a respectiva reposta, contendo informes muito particulares sobre toda a Província Jesuítica do Paraguai e as atividades dos seus membros. 26 de marzo de 1657- 8 de mayo de 1657", en *Manuscritos da Coleção de Angelis. Tomo II...*, 259-260.

⁵³ "...por lo menos a catorce mil bocas de fuego, mosquetes, arcabuces y semejantes, catorce piezas de artillería mediana; y de alfanjes, chusos, picas, y semejantes...". "Copia de uma carta do governador de Tucumã para Frei Gabriel de Valencia, franciscano, mas egresso da Companhia de Jesus, pedindo noticias sobre esta, com a respectiva reposta, contendo informes muito particulares sobre toda a Província Jesuítica do Paraguai e as atividades dos seus membros. 26 de marzo de 1657- 8 de mayo de 1657", en *Manuscritos da Coleção de Angelis. Tomo II...*, 259.

they would have better results against the Portuguese. Similarly, the temporary coadjutor brothers played an essential role in teaching the techniques needed to develop this type of armament. Further analysis of this type is necessary in future works.

Conclusions

This article constitutes a first approach to the "unknown" figure: the Jesuit temporary coadjutor brothers. I focus on some biographical examples of a particular Jesuit province (Paraguay) during the 17th century. This type of study brings us closer to global and transnational trajectories. These Jesuits belonged to true "different imagined communities" whose relationships provoked transformations in those community. These global trajectories allow us to understand these regions in a permeable way, with individuals of great mobility, who took with them in each displacement their knowledge and techniques, in this case military, and spread them among the local inhabitants.

These cases also show us the mechanisms by which the Spanish crown defended this frontier. Bartolomé Yun Casalilla used the idea of "conflictive cooperation" or "conflictive pact" to understand the power relations between the crown and the local elites, both on the peninsula and in overseas territories. In this way, Yun Casalilla proposed moving away from two poles so often repeated by historiography to describe these relations, such as "blind obedience" and "systematic resistance and conflict"⁵⁴.

In my point of view, the biographical trajectories of these Jesuit brothers allow us to observe this order beyond their evangelizing tasks. We consider that, among the members of the Society of Jesus, the neighbors of the nearby cities and the monarchy itself, a sort of "conflictive pact" developed to protect those regions. In this article we focused fundamentally on the context of the configuration of the Guaraní militias and, therefore, on the construction of this "conflictive pact" between the protagonists of that border.

As we pointed out, the temporary coadjutor brothers of the order played fundamental roles for the development of the missions in Paraguay, especially through their active participation in the confrontations with the Portuguese *bandeirantes*. Their actions allowed them to train the Guaraní natives and even to manufacture firearms in the missions themselves, an aspect that has been little analyzed by historiography so far.

Therefore, we consider that the biographical trajectories, both individual and global, of each temporary coadjutor brother of the Society of Jesus constitute essential resources to understand how the Spanish monarchy managed to defend this frontier, even allowing the use of firearms by Guaraní natives. In this sense, the figure of these men with European military experience was pivotal.

⁵⁴ Yun Casalilla, *Marte...*, 562.

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