

A LETTER OF MARCUS ANTONIUS KAPPUS TO EUSEBIUS FRANCISCUS KINO (SONORA IN 1690)

Tomaž Nabergoj

INTRODUCTION

The life and work of the Slovene Jesuit, Marcus Antonius Kappus (1657-1717) who, three centuries ago, worked as a missionary in Sonora, north-west Mexico, has, in recent years, been the subject of several short studies in Slovenia. In this journal, Professor Janez Stanonik has, so far, published five letters which Kappus sent home to his relatives and friends, and one letter which he sent to his friend in Vienna,¹ as well as a study on the collection of poems (276 chronograms) in Latin, which Kappus published in Mexico City, in 1708, entitled *IHS. Enthusiasmus sive solemnes ludi poetici*.²

Prompted by the above publications, the author of this paper spent a month in Sonora while journeying in Mexico in 1991. In *Archivo General de la Nación* (the general Mexican archives) in Mexico City, he happened to find another letter written by Marcus Antonius Kappus. The letter comprises two A4 pages and is kept in *Archivo Histórico de la Hacienda, legajo 279, expediente 19*.³ This, hitherto unpublished document, was written by Kappus on 25th November 1690, in Cucurpe, and is addressed to Eusebius Franciscus Kino, his superior. Chronologically, it is one of his earliest preserved letters. Among those so far published, as far as we know, it is the only one preserved in original. At the same time this is Kappus' second earliest preserved letter written in Sonora. The first he wrote in Cucurpe, on 30th April 1689, to his aunt Francisca Adlmann in Škofja Loka, Slovenia. However, it is only preserved in transcription.⁴

¹ Janez Stanonik: Letters of Marcus Antonius Kappus from Colonial America, Part I, *Acta Neophilologica XIX* (1986), 33-57; Part II, *Acta Neophilologica XX* (1987), 25-38; Part III, *Acta Neophilologica XXI* (1988), 3-9; Part IV, *Acta Neophilologica XXII* (1989), 39-50; Part V, *Acta Neophilologica XXIII* (1990), 27-37; Part VI, *Acta Neophilologica XXX* (1997), 43-57.

² Janez Stanonik: Marcus Antonius Kappus: The First Slovenia-born Poet in America, *Acta Neophilologica XVIII* (1995), 59-68.

³ Cf. Esperanza Rodríguez de Lebrija, *Índice Analítico de la Guía del Archivo Histórico de la Hacienda, México 1975*, s.v. Kappus, Marcos Antonio.

⁴ I am greatly indebted to Prof. Dr. Janez Stanonik for his encouragement and advice in publishing, and for the data on some documents in *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu* in Rome, to Prof. Dr. Milan Holc who sent me copies of some documents in the mentioned archives in Rome, to Dr. Irene Mislej who first introduced me to Kappus, and to Mr Pavel Fajdiga and Mrs Nubia Zrimec for their assistance in

Recent and very important book by Bernd Hausberger, on Jesuits from Middle Europe in the colonial Mexico, deals with 89 missionaries, among them Marcus Antonius Kappus.⁵ Based on extensive research in Mexican and European archives it covers, besides some general historical topics, in a form of a catalogue, short biographies and, as much complete as it was possible, bibliographies of the missionaries. It brings more detailed though not completed data on bibliography of Kappus, as well. Hausberger quotes 40 documents written by Kappus (indeed there are 39 because one document was written by Juan de San Martín), including the letter which we present in this article.⁶ On the other hand, Kino's bibliography of 118 units includes not a single writing to Kappus. Hence the letter that Kappus wrote to Kino on 25th November 1690 is the only one from the correspondence, which must have been constant between the two, that is preserved in original. It is also the only one preserved completely.

We could count altogether 59 or 60 documents written by Kappus, mostly unpublished. They were written in Latin, German and Spanish. 39 of them are quoted by Hausberger (26 letters, seven *memorias*, two commentaries, one report, one collection of poems, one document on accounts, and one document entitled *Professio quatuor votorum*). One damaged document and without date, written to Juan de San Martín, is kept in *Archivo Histórico de la Provincia Mexicana de la Compañía de Jesús* in Mexico City.⁷ Four letters are kept in the Ljubljana archives and were published for the first time by Prof. Stanonik. Two of these Kappus wrote in colloquial German to his relatives in Carniola and two in Latin to his friends at home. One letter in Latin he sent to his friend in Vienna and was published in 1707, in German review *Nova litteraria Germaniae aliorumque Europae regnorum anni MDCCVII collecta*.⁸ Several of Kappus' letters – twelve or thirteen – were mentioned and/or partly quoted by Kino in his famous chronicle *Favores Celestiales*.⁹ Unluckily none of them exists in original nor in copy.¹⁰ In another

translating from Spanish. I am also thankful to Mr and Mrs Andrej and Catherine Turk who translated the paper from Slovene into English.

⁵ Bernd Hausberger: *Jesuiten aus Mitteleuropa im kolonialen Mexiko. Eine Bio-Bibliographie*, Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur der Iberischen und Iberoamerikanischen Länder. Estudios sobre historia y cultura de los países ibéricos e iberoamericanos, Band/Volumen 2, Wien, München 1995. Cf. a review by Matevž Košir in *Arhivi XX*, Ljubljana 1997, pp. 278-279.

⁶ Hausberger, op. cit., pp. 195-197.

⁷ *Diccionario Bio-Bibliográfico de la Compañía de Jesús en México. Por el P. Francisco Zambrano, S. J. (Hasta el tomo XI). Por el P. José Gutiérrez Casillas, S. J. (Desde el tomo XII). 16 tomos*, Editorial JUS, S.A. México, México 1960-1978, Vol. XV, p. 811, no. 12 ("Doc. por catalogar, 1713").

⁸ Janez Stanonik: Letters of Marcus Antonius Kappus from Colonial America, Part VI, *Acta Neophilologica XXX* (1997), pp. 43-57.

⁹ Sergio Calderón Valdés (Ed.): *Eusebio Francisco Kino: Crónica de la Pimería Alta. Favores Celestiales*, Hermosillo 1985. Kappus sent to Kino eleven or twelve letters (op. cit., Parte I. / Libro 4. / Capítulo II. / in further citations, only numbers are quoted in the same order/, I. / 7. / II., II. / 1. / III., II. / 1. / VI., II. / 1. / XII., II. / 2. / IV., II. / 4. / XIII., III. / 4. / VII., III. / 4. / VIII., IV. / 1. / I., IV. / 2. / IX.), and one was received by Juan María Salvatierra (op. cit., II. / 1. / XIV.). The question of eleven or twelve letters to Kino arises due to two dates mentioned in *Favores Celestiales*, IV. / 2. / IX.: "... Kappus, en 4 y 21 de octubre, me escribió lo siguiente..." On the other hand, Kino mentions one message which he sent to Kappus, together with some blue sea shells given from the Indians near the river Colorado (op. cit., II. / 1. / XII.).

¹⁰ Cf. Hausberger, op. cit., p. 218, note 436.

place Kino also mentions two letters written by Kappus to two Spanish generals and regarding a revolt by the Pima tribe in 1695.¹¹

The existence of Kappus' book of Latin poems, however, is only known from some bibliographic references, and has, due to its unavailability, not yet been a subject of literary and historical analysis.¹² We searched for it in vain in *Biblioteca Nacional* and in *Anexo de la Biblioteca Nacional* in Mexico City, where there is much unclassified material. There was no trace of the text either there or in the *Archivo General*.¹³ Even researchers at the UNISON University in Hermosillo, who, within the context of a special project entitled *Documentación escrita en latín del Noroeste de México*,¹⁴ had been collecting written Latin sources from Northwest Mexico, knew nothing about this particular Kappus' work. In European and, especially, Mexican archives, there is, undoubtedly, some documentary material which deserves further systematic study of such interesting topics as the personality, missionary activity and literary work of Marcus Antonius Kappus.

Kappus was born on 12th April 1657 in Kamna Gorica (near Radovljica in Northwest Slovenia), to a wealthy and renowned family which possessed an iron foundry and an iron mine.¹⁵ He obtained his basic education in the schools run by the Jesuits. In 1676, he entered the Jesuit order in Vienna, and taught Latin in Jesuit Colleges in Ljubljana (1679), Leoben (1680-81) and Zagreb (1682). He studied theology in Graz (1683) and Milan (1684-85), and was ordained priest.

It is very interesting that he, likewise Kino, applied already in 1685 to go to the "Chinese missions" first. There is a letter preserved in the archives of the Jesuit Society in Rome which Kappus wrote to the Father General Carolus de Noyelle in Milan, on 7th August 1685.¹⁶ He had offered his services to go to China in the beginning of that year. But as he heard from the Father of "Assistencia Germanica", that there was a free way to West Indies and that there were Fathers from Austrian part ("ex Austriacae coronae ditionibus") looked for, and as there was no free way to China, he volunteered to go for that expedition. He also does not consider an obstacle the fact that he would be ordained priest only in next September (1686). Nevertheless, Kappus always remained interested in China and for years exchanged post with two missionaries there, Pedro van Hame and Engelberto Fridelli, as we can see from the letter he wrote to Juan de San Martín on 24th January 1716.¹⁷

11 Cf. Janez Stanonik, Letters of Marcus Antonius Kappus from Colonial America I, *Acta Neophilologica XIX* (1986), p. 43.

12 In the book *Naši na tujih tleh (Our People in Foreign Lands)*, *Antologija književnosti Slovencev v severni Ameriki (Anthology of the Slovene Literature in North America)*, Ljubljana 1982, edited by Jerneja Petrič, on the page 412, stands written: "Today it is extremely rare, the only known copy is in private ownership in the USA."

13 *Catálogo de obras manuscritas en latín de la Biblioteca Nacional de México*, México 1975 (by Jesús Ihmoff Cabrera), makes no reference to Kappus.

14 A similar project, called Neolatín, is carried out at the UNAM University in Mexico City.

15 Hausberger, op. cit., p. 194, states that Kappus was born in Laibach/Ljubljana, however, in the note 375 he cites three authors who give Steinbüchel/Kamna Gorica as Kappus birthplace. The publications by Prof. Stanonik are not known to him.

16 Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome, Fondo gesuitico 755 (Indipetæ scatola 24), fol. 354. The letter itself was not accessible to us, only the abstract (thanks to the kind help of Prof. Milan Holc).

17 Hausberger, op. cit., p. 82 and note 131.

In 1687 Kappus left for the "Indian missions", that is, to America. He embarked at the Spanish port of Cádiz, together with other 22 missionaries, destined for Mexico, the Philippines and Marian Islands.¹⁸ At the time, he was thirty and, in the list of passengers, described as "tall, slender, fair-haired and blue-eyed".¹⁹

The geographical and political position of Sonora had been of strategic importance to Spain ever since Cortés' discovery of California in 1533 through to the formation of the independent Mexican state. In the 19th Century wars, Mexico lost to the United States of America many of its northern territories which were previously Spanish (from Alta California, Nevada, Arizona and Nuevo México, to Texas). Sonora was a region bordering with that of uncivilised tribes, such as the Yuma, Papago and Apache, and at the same time a rich mining ground and a base to support the desert and barren Baja California which was also a starting point for the maritime routes towards the Spanish Philippines and the Far East. The western coasts of North America were of special interest to other imperialist forces as well, especially the English, the French and the Russians. Francis Drake came near to San Francisco Bay as early as 1579, whereas James Cook, after the discovery of Hawaii in 1778, actually reached the American coast while searching for a passage to the Atlantic. Eight years later, the French La Perouse lost his life in shipwreck somewhere along the Californian coast, however, he succeeded in sending home his discoveries beforehand. The Russians came through from Alaska even earlier. In 1741, for example, they established a settlement, a few miles north of San Francisco. This historical framework explains the interests of the Spanish Crown in the colonisation of Northwest Mexico which were intertwined with those of the Catholic Church, following the christianisation of the natives and the general expansion of European Christian culture.

At the beginning of the 16th century several Indian peoples and communities lived on the territory of Sonora. The most significant were the Papago, Pima, Opata, Seri, Yaqui, Mayo on the border with Sinaloa (not to be confused with the famous Maya from Central America), and Tarahumara who lived in their neighbourhood, in the mountainous Sierra Madre Occidental, in today's Mexican state of Chihuahua. These peoples engaged in primitive agriculture, gathering, hunting and fishing, and were semi-nomadic with poorly developed means of production and social relations. Here, conditions were quite different from those in Mesoamerica, where societies had very complex structures and were incomparably more developed in all areas of life. Because of this, the traditional type of conquest would have been

¹⁸ Hausberger, op. cit., p. 375, mentions that there were 24 Jesuits and quotes a document *Reseña de 24 jesuitas*, dated 8th July 1686 (correct: 1687), Sevilla, from *Archivo General de Indias*, in Sevilla, C. C. 5550. But cf. Kappus' letter of 10th July 1687 which he sent from Canary Islands to the Jesuit Mihael Dell Potae in Ljubljana and was published in: Janez Stanonik, Letters of Marcus Antonius Kappus from Colonial America II, *Acta Neophilologica XX* (1987), pp. 25-38.

¹⁹ "alto, delgado, de pelo rubio, ojos azules". Cf. note 7, *ibid.*, p. 810. Cf. also Janez Stanonik, Letters of Marcus Antonius Kappus from Colonial America I, *Acta Neophilologica XIX* (1986), p. 35, who quotes "... de pelo rubio..." ("with red hair"). Cf. besides Hausberger, op. cit., p. 376, who from *Reseña de 24 jesuitas* quotes: "alto, delgado, blanco, pelo rubio". It was not possible for us to check the sources. In Mexico City, Kappus was assigned to Sonora in the extreme Northwest Mexico, for missionary work with Kino. In Kappus' own words, the two were "the last ones in this part of the Indies".

useless in the Northwest. Besides, the local tribes offered strong resistance to the conquistadors. The situation only changed with the advent of the Jesuits to Mexico in 1572 and their resolution to pacify and christianise the Northwest. To this end the Jesuits, who first came to Sonora in the late 1620s, established a system of missions in the form of self-sufficient farming enterprises. Such a lifestyle, whereby the Indians had to live together in permanent settlements (*reducciones*), enabled supervision and organisation of an internal governing structure and military defence against rebellious tribes. Furthermore, it allowed for the introduction of new economic activities in connection with the newly settled Spanish miners, landlords, military and merchants. These activities were accompanied by an equally important task of evangelisation and the uprooting of Indian beliefs, concepts and traditions.

As a missionary, Kappus worked almost exclusively among the Opatá Indians, most of whom lived in central Sonora. Only occasionally, during his excursions, did he visit Seri and Pima Indians who inhabited western and north-western parts. His first appointment, in 1688, was Cucurpe mission where he remained until around the year 1696. In 1694 he was made *padre rector* of the newly founded Nuestra Señora de los Dolores rectorate. Within the Jesuit system of missions, a rectorate was an administrative body which supervised the activities of several neighbouring missions (seven, in the above case). Rectorates were directly subordinate to the Jesuit Province and the Father Provincial with the seat in Mexico City. Kappus served as rector of a college in Mátape from about 1696 to 1704, when he was moved to the Arivechi mission for a year, and as vice-rector after his return.²⁰ In 1707 he was appointed rector of his San Francisco Borja mission district with the seat in Arivechi for the usual three-year period (such functions were temporary and passed from one mission to another). In 1715 Kappus occupied the highest post in the hierarchy of the Jesuit order in Sonora, that of *padre visitador*, i.e. the supervisor of all missions in Sonora. He died on 30th November 1717. The circumstances of his death, however, are unknown to us. The place of his death is not mentioned by any document, although by some authors obviously supposed to be Mátape.²¹

Kappus played an important role in assisting Eusebius Franciscus Kino (1645-1711) who came to Sonora in 1687 and founded a new mission in Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. Kino, Tyrolean by origin, was the most important missionary in Sonora in his time. His zealous missionary work strongly influenced the political, military and economic affairs in the region. His first commission in Mexico, where he came in 1681, was as royal cartographer on the expeditions to Baja California which were led by the Admiral Isidro Atondo y Antillón. In only three years, between 1683 and 1685, Kino drew up eight maps of Baja California,

²⁰ The mention of the vice-rector is unclear. In *Favores Celestiales*, IV. / 2. / IX., Kino quotes the letter from 4th and 21st October 1705, which Kappus wrote to him, as "padre rector de Matape". Immediately after Kino writes that the letter was sent to him by Kappus, "padre vicerrector".

²¹ Cf. Hausberger, op. cit., p. 194. In *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu*, in Rome, *Historia Societatis*, fasc. 50, fol. 101, there is a register of the deceased missionaries for the year 1718; for Kappus, it does not specify the place of his death: "P. Marcus Anton. Kappus, in Miss. Sonore, 30 /Nov./, Mexic."

mainly of its southern parts. By 1710 he had drawn up as much as 31 maps, of which 28 present Baja California and Pimería.²² As the conquest and Christianisation came to a temporary halt, he began his activity in Pimería Alta province, Sonora, on the territory of Pima Indians, of which he said: "these lands and fertile valleys of Pimería would be of support to the scarce and barren lands of California".²³ He set the foundations for the colonisation of Arizona and Alta California and, after several research expeditions, proved that Baja California was a peninsula and not an island as it was hitherto believed.²⁴ Kappus, who helped him in this on various occasions, especially on the 1694 expedition from central Sonora to the Bay of California, was the first to report on these discoveries to Central Europe. Kino's new map of Sonora and Bay of California of 1701, which was dedicated to Kappus, the latter sent to Vienna to his friend Philippus Alberth and was published, together with Kappus letter, in Hamburg and Leipzig in 1707, in German review *Nova litteraria Germaniae aliorumque Europae regnorum anni MDCCVII collecta*.²⁵

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The contacts between Kappus and Kino were often in written form due to the requirements and the nature of missionary work. Being an official document, the letter published here in terms of its contents and, especially the author's intention, differs in parts from the hitherto published letters, which were Kappus' private letters sent home. In the latter he also describes the situation in the area and in his mission, however, with the topics selected and narrated by him. In his letter to Kino, on the other hand, he quotes precise data on the number of Indians and the economic situation in his mission, which his Father Provincial in Mexico City wanted to have available. Bernd Hausberger in the bibliography of Kappus cites the title of the document: "Padrón del partido de Cucurpe, enviado al P. Rect. Eusebio Francisco Kino", *padrón* meaning a "list".²⁶

The letter is written in Spanish, with addition of a few Latin words: *intelligendo utrumq3 Sexum* (considering both sexes) on page 1, verse 10. In the beginning there is a customary salute in Latin, abbreviated as *P. C. (Pax Christi)*.

The letter is written in a legible and comprehensive way. Only at one place did Kappus confuse the Spanish syntax and did not complete the last sentence on the left half of the page two: *aunqu3 las famosas milpas*, which is a subordinate clause. In the first line, at the left half of the page two, however, he corrected his own error by changing the word *matarían* (a conditional mood) into *matáren* (a

²² *Favores Celestiales*, Introducción, p. 9-11.

²³ *Favores Celestiales*, I. / 2. / II.

²⁴ Cf. also: Albrecht Classen: Padre Eusebio Kino – ein österreichisch-italienischer Missionar aus Tirol in Sonora/Mexiko und Arizona, *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 105. Band, Heft 3-4, Wien, München 1997, pp. 441-466.

²⁵ Cf. Prof. Stanoniks article quoted in note no. 8.

²⁶ Hausberger, op. cit., p. 195. However, we did not notice any title of the document; obviously it is not the title written by the authors hand but instead a notice made later in the archives?! *Diccionario Bio-Bibliográfico de la Compañía de Jesús en México*, México 1960-1978, Vol. XV, p. 811, does not mention this document.

subjunctive mood). Three words, *leones*, *serreras*, and *Reales*, which are explained in another place, have been left untranslated. The abbreviations are customary and quoted here in the same order as they appear in the text. They are as follows: Pre. (Padre); Ror. (Rector); Franco. (Francisco); P. C. (Pax Christi); q3 (que); Sos. (Santos); ordes. (ordenes); Ra. (Reverencia); VRa. (Vuestra Reverencia); utrumq3 (utrumque); pa. (para); aunq3 (aunque); particularmte. (particularmente); porq3 (porque); No. (Nuestro); Sor. (Señor); gde. (garde); Ssos. (Santísimos); Sacrfos. (Sacrificios); humildte. (humildemente); a. (años); mor. (menor); Anto. (Antonio).

In our endeavour to throw light on this brief document we have used primarily the following sources and literature²⁷: The first are four letters that Kappus wrote home from Cucurpe and Mátape. The second source is the already mentioned Kino's chronicle, *Favores Celestiales*, in which Kino described the important events which took place in Sonora between 1687 and 1706, in particular focusing on his missionary activity among the Pima Indians and the expeditions to Arizona and California. The third source is *El Rudo Ensayo*, a work by the missionary Juan Nentuig from 1764, which deals with the natural environment of Sonora, the local Indian tribes, and important historic events, such as the attacks by hostile Indians and the defence of missions, as well as various diseases and natural remedies.²⁸ Finally, as an example of "holy experiment" by the Jesuits, let us mention an extensive work by another Tyrolean, missionary Antonius Sepp, who worked among the Guaraní Indians in today's Argentina in the years between 1691 and 1733.²⁹ The circumstances there were in many aspects similar to those in Sonora, especially with regards to the organisation of missions. This is no surprise, given that the "apostolic activity" of Kino, Kappus and Sepp was subjected to the decisions and actions of their superiors, that is the procurators and the General of the Jesuit order in Rome.

One should first look at the historical context in which the document was written and then at the three mutually interconnected topics that it touches upon: the economic, demographic and social circumstances.

Marcus Antonius Kappus writes to the Rector Eusebius Franciscus Kino at the request of the Father Provincial. At the time, a new Jesuit leadership was appointed for a three-year period (1690-1692) in the province which comprised the whole of Mexico. The new Provincial, Ambrosio Oddón, appointed Juan María Salvatierra as the Visitor (*padre visitador*) of the missions in Sonora and Sinaloa, and Kino as the rector of San Francisco Javier de Sonora rectorate.³⁰ The missions lying east and south-east of this rectorate were under the jurisdiction of Los Santos

27 Unluckily the relevant sources and literature were available only in a small quantity to the author.

28 Juan Nentuig: *El Rudo Ensayo. Descripción Geográfica, Natural y Curiosa de la Provincia de Sonora, año de 1764*, Introducción, apéndice, notas e índice, por Margarita Nolasco Armas, Teresa Martínez Peñalosa y América Flores, INAH, Proyectos especiales 58, Colección científica, Etnología, México 1977.

29 Antonio Sepp S. J.: *Relación de viaje a las misiones jesuíticas*, Tomo I, Buenos Aires 1971; *Continuación de las labores apostólicas*, Tomo II, Buenos Aires 1973; *Jardín de flores paracuaro*, Tomo III, Buenos Aires 1974; (Edición crítica de las obras del padre Antonio Sepp S. J., misionero en la Argentina desde 1691 hasta 1733, a cargo de Werner Hoffmann).

30 *Favores Celestiales*, I. / 2. / 1.

Mártires de Japón and San Francisco Borja rectorates. Kappus was then working in the Cucurpe mission, in Kino's rectorate, administering Cucurpe, Tuape³¹ and Opodepe villages as well as Saracachi and Meresichi, the two pertaining estates. His letter to Kino fulfilled the request of the new Provincial who, after "having heard so many things in favour and against this Pimería, sent there the Father Visitor, Juan María Salvatierra, to examine the situation". Salvatierra visited the Nuestra Señora de los Dolores mission on 24th December 1690, where Kino briefed him on the missions in his rectorate, including the one in Cucurpe run by Kappus.³² Two similar documents written by Kino in Dolores on 16th November 1690 exist in the same archives and they refer obviously to the same matter: "Padrón de la misión de Cocóspera", written "in the absence of Father Juan Castillo", and "Memoria de la gente y lo temporal del pueblo de Nuestra Señora de los Dolores".³³

Along the San Miguel river, where the settlements administered by Kappus were located, there is some fertile soil but very little rain, especially in the dry season. In 1689, Kappus wrote to his aunt that, after the winter rain in January, "not a single drop of water falls from the sky" and that "in the month of May, and in June, there is a very great heat which would be unbearable in July and August, had it not been moderated by the almost daily falling of heavy showers".³⁴ This is no wonder, considering that in these dry and even desert parts, there can be as many as 360 sunny days and temperatures in the summer sometimes reach 48 degrees Celsius.³⁵ The surrounding hills are usually covered with low and prickly vegetation. The main economic activities of the Indians in the *reducciones* were stockbreeding and the cultivation of land. In Kappus' mission, cattle and small livestock (goats, sheep and pigs) were mainly bred, but also mules and horses. Cattle were very important to the communities for food, transport and herding (horses for the cowherd) as well as other activities, such as tanning and the production of soap and tallow for tallow lamps.³⁶

Stockbreeding in Sonora, was not only of vital importance to individual settlements, but also played an important role in the Jesuit missionary system as a whole, in the formation of new *reducciones* and in the mutual help between missions. A good example of such solidarity was a collection of cattle and provisions in the summer 1700, requested by Juan María Salvatierra, rector of the Loreto Concho mission in south-eastern California, who had been expecting aid from Mexico for 14 months, and was therefore in need of "all sorts of goods, chocolate, tobacco etc." From several missions Kino succeeded in collecting some 700 heads of cattle and other animals which were then sent to the collecting points in Mátape and Hiaqui (Yaqui in southern Sonora). From the Hiaqui estate, the meat,

31 Kappus writes *Toape*, whereas in the paper the usual form *Tuape* is used.

32 *Favores Celestiales*, I. / 2. / I.

33 Hausberger, op. cit., p. 214, nos. 78 and 79.

34 Janez Stanonik: Letters of Marcus Antonius Kappus from Colonial America I, *Acta Neophilologica* XIX (1986), p. 55.

35 Albrecht Classen: Padre Eusebio Kino, op. cit., p. 454.

36 With regards to livestock trade, Nentuig (*El Rudo Ensayo*, paragraph 50) remarked that, in the peaceful times, before the attacks of Apache and Seri Indians, a lot of livestock had been sent from Mátape to Mexico City and that the mules from Sonora had always been the most appreciated of all.

tallow, lard and - if required and weather allowing - cattle, were supposed to be shipped to California. On this point, Kappus, the then rector in Mátape, wrote a letter to Salvatierra in Spring 1700, confirming that he had received from Kino 10 consignments of goods for the Californian missions. Out of the 300 heads of cattle offered by Kino, 200 were reserved for California and 100 for future missionaries in Pimería.³⁷

Such data explain the successful activity and expansion of the Jesuit missions. Thanks to a constant exchange of goods, stock and even Indians³⁸, they could overcome adversities and dangers, such as droughts, epidemics and attacks by hostile tribes, protect individual missions and ensure the economic foundation for the establishment of new settlements. In several places in his chronicle, Kino points out that, in the newly founded settlements, the Indians who awaited the coming of new missionaries had livestock ready for them. Kino himself provided the four Jesuits, who came to Pimería in 1701, with more than 700 heads of cattle, and had another 3500 heads ensured for new missions.³⁹ Such conditions were also important for the successful operation of missions elsewhere in America. We have already mentioned Antonius Sepp in Argentina, whose report on the founding of a *reducción* is the most detailed of all the literature on the Jesuit missions. To this end, a sufficiently large herd of stock had to be provided.⁴⁰

In view of the above we can understand why Kappus gives Kino a detailed report on the number and species of the livestock reared and used by his Indians. Apart from cattle and their young in general, many of which were killed by *leones* (probably referring to pumas or wild cats),⁴¹ Kappus makes special mention of horses (those domesticated and those for the cowherd), stallions, bridled and harnessed mules, bridled and riding hinnies, and *serreras*.⁴² On the other hand, Kappus' information on crop cultivation is scant. He only briefly mentions that the grain and corn crops were sufficient, not only to meet basic needs but also to buy "some clothing for the cowherd, muleteers, cattlemen, attendants and others who serve both in the church and in the house".⁴³ Nevertheless, in the letter to his aunt he does point out with delight what and how much is produced in the fields, the two gardens and a small vineyard, by Indians whom he praises as "very devoted to work, especially to agriculture". He does not forget to add that the fields, due to their location in valleys between hills and the dry climate, can only be cultivated thanks to irrigation.⁴⁴ In a letter from 1690, Kappus mentions the problem of

³⁷ *Favores Celestiales*, II. / 1. / XIII, XIV.

³⁸ Eg. "good servants and muleteers" for a research expedition; cf. *Favores Celestiales*, II. / 2. / 1.

³⁹ *Favores Celestiales*, II. / 2. / 1.

⁴⁰ Cf. note 30: *ibid.*, Tomo II, chapters XIII, XXIV, XXIX, XXXI, XXXII.

⁴¹ According to Nentuig, the word *león*, or, in the Opata language, *naidoguat*, does not mean a lion or, let alone, a leopard as some have wrongly assumed. "It is almost as big as a one-year old calf, however, it is so vile and without courage that not only it does not offer resistance but cries and moans when persecuted by men. It is, nevertheless, big and strong enough to cause damage and kill livestock..." Cf. *El Rudo Ensayo*, paragraph 53.

⁴² The meaning of this word could not be found, however, it probably denotes beasts of burden (mules?) intended for work in the mountains (sierra).

⁴³ "House" (*Casa*) means the missionaries residence; the same refers to "household needs" (*el gasto de Casa*).

irrigation arising from the lack of water, making sowing impossible on otherwise excellent fields.

The other reason preventing all fields from being sown was the shortage of manpower. In a few years many people died, especially in Cucurpe, from diseases that, according to Kappus, were caused by an unhealthy marshland climate. In a letter to his friend in Ljubljana, Joannes Gregorius Thalnitscher, written in Cucurpe on 20th January 1691, Kappus complained about fever which he had to endure every year, especially in the Autumn. Apart from this, he had bouts of tertian fever which could last for months and rendered him bed-bound.⁴⁵ This must have been an enormous strain on a young missionary who, as a *padre*, had so many pressing obligations and responsibilities. He did, however, comfort himself with a philosophical interpretation, that "these are, indeed, the legitimate royalties of this changeable life." Kappus' successor in Sonora, Jesuit Juan Nentuig believed, on the contrary, that the diseases were caused by contaminated water, rather than by unhealthy climate or air.⁴⁶

Kappus does not specify what caused the death of so many people in Tuape in 1690. Smallpox was especially fatal for the Indians who were also dying of fever and malaria. Kappus mentions two of such victims in his letter to Kino from 4th and 21st October 1705.⁴⁷ Nentuig, in his chronicle, lists as many as 57 different diseases as well as 134 species of plants, 5 species of animals and 6 types of minerals that can be used in medical treatment. With regards to smallpox, he writes that, fortunately, it only rarely occurs, and that the people consider the Seri arrow and the Apache spear as the most lethal epidemics.⁴⁸

It is difficult to establish with accuracy to what extent the Indian population was affected by diseases. In the Northwest, numbers dropped greatly in the 16th and 17th centuries - according to some estimates as much as by 94% - which was, regardless of the exact figures, a general and the most negative consequence of the Spanish conquest. According to the data in the literature (Carl Sauer, 1935), in Sonora at the time of the first contact with the Spanish, there were around 60,000 Opata (that is 1.5 inhabitants per square kilometre), 5,000 Seri, 30,000 Pima Alto, 25,000 Pima Bajo, 35,000 Yaqui and 25,000 Mayo Indians. "According to present-day estimations" there were around 30,000 Indians living in the region which Kino chose for his missionary activity and "comprised approximately a quarter of to-days Sonora/Mexico and a quarter of to-days Arizona".⁴⁹ Kino states in his chronicle that there were some 17,000 Pima Indians at the beginning of the 18th century.⁵⁰ Another source, however, states that there were 6,902 Indians in the missions in Sonora (the data by Alegre, 1959). During the 17th century the numbers

⁴⁴ Janez Stanonik: Letters of Marcus Antonius Kappus from Colonial America I, *Acta Neophilologica* XIX (1986), p. 55.

⁴⁵ Janez Stanonik: Letters of Marcus Antonius Kappus from Colonial America V, *Acta Neophilologica* XXIII (1990), p. 36.

⁴⁶ *El Rudo Ensayo*, paragraph 47.

⁴⁷ *Favores Celestiales*, IV. / 2. / IX.

⁴⁸ *El Rudo Ensayo*, paragraph 46.

⁴⁹ Albrecht Classen: Padre Eusebio Kino, op. cit., p. 453.

⁵⁰ *Favores Celestiales*, II. / 1. / V.

of Indians who lived in the missions recovered, as a result of the evangelisation carried out by the Jesuits. But even these suffered from epidemics, and the missionary chronicles from the 17th century frequently speak of the fear that the Indians had of destructive diseases. These caused them to flee from the missions and even their own territories. The Jesuits acknowledged that epidemics were a major obstacle to evangelisation because the Indians believed that, with the missionaries, contagious diseases arrived as well.⁵¹

Little comparable data was available to us on the population of Sonora at that time. According to one source (Alegre, 1959) in 1672 there were 130 people in Cucurpe, 270 in Tuape and 200 in Opodepe. According to another (John Francis Bannon, 1939), however, there were 120 families (329 people) in Cucurpe, 106 families (340 people) in Tuape, and 95 families (320 people) in Opodepe, in 1678.⁵² As we can see, in his letter to Kino from 1690, Kappus quotes 258 persons in Cucurpe, 372 in Tuape, and 282 in Opodepe (together with Meresichi).

In this letter Kappus mentions another reason preventing people from working in the fields. Due to the "permanent seals", many are bound to work in the mines and, therefore, have insufficient time and strength for land cultivation activities. Unfortunately, the writer does not specify the number, but only says: "in numbers disproportionate to the village population". Nevertheless, the problem is a very interesting one, as it sheds light on the relationship between the Jesuits and the local colonial authorities while underlining the importance of mining in the economy of Sonora.

Being rich in ores, especially gold and silver, Sonora attracted the Spaniards very early. In the vicinity of the mines they built their settlements (*reales*), and around these, estates and farms (*haciendas* and *ranchos*) on which Indians were mainly used as the work force. In the neighbouring Tarahumara territory, those Indians who were not baptised or did not live in the missions, were forced to work as slaves in mines, while the few who had accepted Christianity (4% according to one source), had to work as hired labour.⁵³ It is known that ore was exploited in Sonora, in the second half of the 17th century. In Mátape, there were two mines as well as an estate for the exploitation of mercury. There were even some black slaves who worked in the mines.⁵⁴ In his letter to brother Janez, dated 20th June 1699, Kappus mentioned "two large mountains of magnetic ore which is as little valued as the iron and copper ore because the Spaniards pay attention to the silver mines only".⁵⁵ Interesting insight into these circumstances is given in a letter of Father Basilio de Molina to the General Procurator Juan de Iturberroaga, dated Mátape, 9th November 1709. We can see that Kappus, due to reorganization of his

51 Cf. Sergio Ortega Noriega, El sistema de misiones jesuíticas, 1591-1699, *Historia General de Sonora*, Tomo II, Hermosillo 1985, pp. 37-75.

52 Cf. Janez Stanonik, Letters of Marcus Antonius Kappus from Colonial America I, *Acta Neophilologica XIX* (1986), p. 36.

53 Cf. Janez Stanonik, Letters of Marcus Antonius Kappus from Colonial America III, *Acta Neophilologica XXI* (1988), p. 4.

54 Cf. note 52: *ibidem*.

55 Cf. Janez Stanonik, Letters of Marcus Antonius Kappus from Colonial America IV, *Acta Neophilologica XXII* (1989), p. 48.

"colegio incohado" in Mátape, was instructed to sell black slaves, installations for smelting of silver ore, and the majority of mules.⁵⁶

The plentitude of ore is illustrated by Nentuig's account from 1764, according to which there were 22 Spanish settlements along the mines (including 5 military posts) while a further 48 were abandoned, mostly as a result of the attacks by the Seri and Apache Indians.⁵⁷

In Kappus' missionary area, north-east of Cucurpe, there were rich fields of gold and silver. Near Saracachi, where the Spanish lived, there was also an estate with Indians.⁵⁸ Opodepe too was a *real* settlement with a pertaining village of indigenes.⁵⁹ These were constantly exploited by the local Spanish authorities on the basis of certain documents with seals given by higher authorities in the province or sub-kingdom. This must have caused conflicts, such as the one amply described by Kino in his chronicle.

Before his departure to Sonora, Kino obtained support for the missionary work from the authorities in Guadalajara, where the seat of the *Real Audiencia* was. A royal provision guaranteed that those Indians who converted to Christianity could not be taken into forced labour under the seals for five years after their conversion.⁶⁰ On 14th May 1686, King Charles II issued a decree (*Real cédula*) which he sent to the vice-king of the New Spain (*Nueva Espana*), and the presidents and judges of the *Audiencias Reales* in Mexico City, Guadalajara and Guatemala, as well as to the governors of the *Nueva Vizcaya*. The decree demanded that the resettlement and converting of the pagan indigenes be carried out with as gentle and effective means as possible, and that the converts be exempt from paying taxes or serve on estates or in mines for twenty years after conversion.⁶¹

But Kino soon had to face the straight-forward resistance and mistrust by some Indians. Those from the Nuestra Señora de los Remedios settlement rejected the christianisation as well as the missionary in the year 1687.⁶² Among other things they reproached the missionaries that watering-places got dry because of too many heads of cattle being driven up by them. The latter, according to Indians, ordered them to work and sow for churches so much that the Indians could not sow their own fields. And they deceived the Indians with false promises, even Kino who did not bring the letter or *real cédula* to protect the Indians from exploitation; otherwise he would have shown it to the Spaniards in Bacanuche... Kino proves in his chronicle that such falsehoods and rebel words were spread precisely by those Spaniards. He himself, together with *padre visitador*, showed the documents (*real*

⁵⁶ Hausberger, op. cit., pp. 194-195 and note 380.

⁵⁷ *El Rudo Ensayo*, paragraph 344.

⁵⁸ Cf. for Saracachi (*Zaracatzi*), also *El Rudo Ensayo*, paragraph 342.

⁵⁹ Cf. *Favores Celestiales*, I. / I. / V.

⁶⁰ *Favores Celestiales*, I. / I. / V.: "una real provisión para que en cinco años no se sacase el trabajo con sellos naturales algunos adonde yo entrase a su conversión".

⁶¹ *Favores Celestiales*, I. / I. / II.: "... que, desde luego, se trate de su reducción y conversión por los medios más suaves y eficaces que se pueden disponer y discurrir... ofreciéndoles de mi parte a todos los que nuevamente se fueren convirtiendo que hasta pasados los primeros veinte años de su reducción no se les obligará a tributar ni a servir en haciendas o minas, por ser ésta una de las cosas porque ruegan su conversión".

⁶² *Favores Celestiales*, I. / I. / VI.

provisión and *real cédula*) to the lieutenant (*alcalde mayor*) in the Spanish settlement Real de San Juan.⁶³ Then he and the *justicias* from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores went to Bacanuche to show the documents to the officer (*teniente*) who was *capitán* Cevallos, and gradually this problem was settled.⁶⁴

The events from 1687 not only illustrate the difficulties a missionary had to face in his attempts to convert the Indians and persuade them to change their old way of life, but also the fragility of the relationship between the Jesuits and the local colonial authorities. The former wanted to be as much independent as possible in their "holy experiment" so they opposed to those kinds of economic activities by the Spaniards which deducted Indians from the missions. Such exploitation was being abandoned in Sonora after the year 1697.⁶⁵ A similar example, regarding Kappus, is mentioned for the year 1715. Kappus as *padre visitador* tried to assume measures against cowherds of Spaniards who had been devastating the fields of Indians from Oposura and Cúcumas and against whom the missionary of these Indians Daniel Januske had been fighting for years.⁶⁶

From the beginning Kino constantly endeavoured to obtain from the highest authorities the financial support for the new missionaries in Pimería, Arizona and California. In 1708, he wrote to King Philip V that some 50 missionaries were needed in the newly conquered areas. Kino himself baptised about 4,500 souls in California, and could have baptised another 12,000 or 15,000, had the baptisms not been compelled to stop due to the shortage of missionaries. It was mainly to this end that he wrote the *Favores Celestiales* chronicle, which concludes with a letter, written in 1705, by the newly appointed Jesuit General, Miguel Angel Tamburini. In his letter the General praises Kino for his achievements and points out the need of the Company to owe a special thankfulness to the "Divine Majesty" because he uses the Jesuits as instruments of his glory. Tamburini also briefly mentions *contradicciones* which prevent sending new missionaries, referring to the bad political and economic situation in Europe due to the War for Spanish Succession, and concludes: "However, we trust with great confidence in the loving Divine Providence, who, in these times of struggle, has wished to reveal to us these new peoples and so many souls who walk dispersed, outside of their flock, not that we may witness their ruin, but in order to give us the means and the strength to draw them down from their mountains and bring them into villages and churches..."⁶⁷

Opata Indians no longer exist today, however, historical sources, toponyms and surnames bear witness to them. One example is to be given here: certain Concepción C. Sinohui was buried as a Christian in 1900 in the graveyard in Cucurpe (meaning in Opata: the place where the dove sang). Her surname was Opata, while her first name was Christian (English: conception). She must have been among the last of her tribe who still spoke the old language. Carl S. Lumholtz (1851-1921), the Norwegian explorer and photographer, who at the end of the 19th

63 *Favores Celestiales*, I. / 1. / III.

64 *Favores Celestiales*, I. / 1. / VI.

65 Cf. note 52, *ibid.*

66 Hausberger, *op. cit.*, p. 195 and note 381.

67 Translated from *Favores Celestiales*, V. / 4. / XVI.

century visited Sonora, quoted Dr Aleš Hrdlička (1869-1943), the American anthropologist of Czech origin, that the pure Opata language was still spoken west of the Sonora river and north of Ures, for example in Tuape.⁶⁸ Lumholtz also says that the Opata Indians "are now civilized. They have lost their language, religion, and traditions, dress like the Mexicans, and in appearance are in no way distinguishable from the labouring class of Mexico with which they are thoroughly merged through frequent intermarriages".⁶⁹ Still, in the graveyard in the Arivechi village, where Kappus spent his final missionary years, one can occasionally see a glass of water on a grave. It has been put there to quench the thirst of the deceased. A small trace of an ancient rite which the centuries after the coming of the Spanish have been unable to erase.

The author of these lines who, following the footsteps of Marcus Antonius Kappus in Sonora, visited Cucurpe, Mátape and Arivechi, uses this occasion to express his warmest thanks to his Mexican friends, especially to the families of Mr Juan de Dios Véjar Mendoza and Mrs María Cristina Véjar from Mátape (Villa Pesqueira) and their daughters Concepción, Marta, Isabel, Nereida, Marguerita and Loreto, as well as the family of Mr Alfonso, Mrs Hortensia and Noé López from Hermosillo. The author is still accompanied by their *Adiós! Que el Dios te bendiga!* - one of the indelible, permanent seals of the "Ancient World" to the country which is rooted in the tribes, by some historical coincidence called Indians.

THE TEXT

Mi Pre. Ror. Eusebio Franco.

Kino

P. C.

He visto lo q3 manda nuestro Pre. Provincial y, á cumplir Sus Sos. ordes. de Su Ra. le remito áVra. Razon del numero de Almas destos tres Pueblos Cucurpe, Toape, y Opodepe q3 administro, y de las dos estancias pertenecientes á este Partido, Saracachi y Meresichi, y delo temporal q3 Se halla en el Partido.

El Pueblo de Cucurpe cuenta entre chicos y grandes, intelligiendo utrumq3 Sexum 258

El Pueblo de Toape 372

Pueblo de Opodepe con la estancia q3 llaman Meresichi 282

La estancia de Saracachi 54

Por todo ay Almas 966

Todos estos tres Pueblos tienen Sus manadas y en las dos Estancias ay Sincó manadas, las quales dieran notable aprouecho al Partido, Si por otra parte no matáren tantas Crias los Leones cada año. más cada Pueblo tiene Su ganado menór Cucurpe tiene 283 Cabeças:

⁶⁸ C. Lumholtz: Unknown Mexico. Explorations in the Sierra Madre and Other Regions, 1890-1898, Vol. I, New York 1987, p. XIX.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 10.

Toape 309:

Opodepe 387:

En la estancia de Saracachi ay 1285 Cabeças del ganado mayor sin las Crias deste año: Caballos mansos pa. los Vaqueros 131: Potros 41: mulas y machos de falsa rienda 16: y Serreras 22: mulas de recua 35, con 4 machos de Silla.

En la estancia de Meresichi há 219 Cabeças del ganado mayor, y 10 Caballos mansos. Todos tres Pueblos tienen Sus milpas así de trigo como de Mayz y se coge, gracias á Diós, cada año tanto bastimento q3 basta pa. el gasto de Casa y pa. los trabajos y faenas delos yndios y Siempre Sobra algo pa. comprár alguna ropa pa. los Vaqueros, Arrieros, Sabaneros, pages y otros Servientes así dela yglesia como de Casa: aunq3 las famosas milpas q3 huuo ante pocos años así en Cucurpe como Toape ya no Se pueden Sembrár por falta de agua, q3 por principios de Abril Se Seca y no se puede hechár la assequia: tan poco, aunq3 huuiere agua, Se pudiesen Sembrár por falta de gente, q3 en pocos años Se murió muchisima, particularmte. en Cucurpe q3 es temple muy enemigo á la Salud, Quisá por una laguna grande q3 está á baxo del Pueblo; tan bien en Toape morieron este año muchos, y por Solo el mes de Setiembre y Ottubre enterramos 29 del dicho Pueblo: y fuera deso ay los eternos Sellos con q3 Se Sacan los yndios al trabajo delas minas delos Reales y con numero excessivo á la proporcion delos pueblos, y Sucede no solo q3 apenas descansan estos pobres, sino q3 muchos dellos pierden varias vezes sus Siembras de Mayz porq3 no Se les da Sosiego en ninguna parte del año. No. Sor. lo remedie y me gde. áVRa. en cuyos Ssos. Sacrfos: y oraciones muy humildte. me encomiendo. Cucurpe y Noviembre 25 de 90 a.

mor. Siervo y Subdito de VRa.

Marcos Anto. Kappus.

TRANSLATION

My Father Rector Eusebio Francisco Kino

Peace in Christ!

In consideration of our Father Provincial's mandate and observing His Reverence's holy orders, I hereby submit to Your Reverence the information on the number of souls in the three villages administered by me, namely Cucurpe, Toape and Opodepe, and in the two estates which pertain to this district, namely Saracachi and Meresichi, as well as on the property situated in the district. Cucurpe village, considering children and adults of both sexes, counts 258 souls.

Toape village 372.

Opodepe village with the pertaining estate called Meresichi 282.

Saracachi estate 54.

966 souls in total.

All three villages have their own herds and on both estates there are five herds which would be of great benefit were many of the young not killed by *leones* every year. Moreover, each village has its small cattle.

Cucurpe has 283 heads,

Toape 309,

Opodepe 387.

On the Saracachi estate there are 1285 heads of cattle, excluding this year's offspring, 131 domesticated horses for the cowherd, 41 stallions, 16 bridled mules and hinnies and 22 *serreras*. 35 harnessed mules with 4 riding hinnies. On the Meresichi estate there are 219 heads of cattle and 10 domesticated horses. All three villages have their own wheat and corn fields, and, thanks be to God, every year a sufficient crop is harvested to cover the household needs and pay labour and hired Indian labour, and there are always some crops left over for the purchase of some clothing for the cowherd, muleteers, cattlemen, attendants and others who serve both in the church and in the house. Nevertheless, on the fine fields - as they used to be just a few years ago in both Cucurpe and Toape - sowing is no longer possible due to the shortage of water which dries up at the beginning of April, making irrigation impossible; and more so, even if there was water, sowing would not be feasible for the lack of people, many of whom died in recent years, especially in Cucurpe where the climate is very hostile to health, probably as a consequence of a vast swamp lying at the foot of the village; in Toape, as well, many villagers died this year, and in the months of September and October alone we buried 29 people from the above village. Besides, there are permanent seals under which the Indians are taken to work in the mines of the *Reales*, in numbers disproportionate to the village population. It happens that these unfortunates not only hardly have time for rest, but many of them often miss the season for sowing corn, as they are not granted rest in any part of the year. May Our Lord help in this matter, and may He protect Your Reverence, to whose holiest mass offerings and prayers I most humbly commend myself. Cucurpe, 25th November, year (16)90.

Your Reverence's humble servant and subject, Marcos Antonio Kappus