

EL SERMÓN NOVOHISPANO
COMO TEXTO DE CULTURA
OCHO ESTUDIOS

EDS.
BLANCA LÓPEZ DE MARISCAL
Y
NANCY JOE DYER



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SERMONS OF COLONIAL NEW SPAIN AND THEIR
WOMEN PRINTERS, A FAMILY BUSINESS¹

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Early development of printing in late medieval Spain and its spread to its New World colonies in 1539 foreshadows and parallels the development and global diffusion of information processing technology at the end of the twentieth century. Both innovative print and electronic media have empowered and enriched the early adaptors who negotiated the trials of Scilla and Charybdis to lay groundwork for massive social, religious, political and physical change. In their business plans they forged social liaisons which ultimately shaped modalities of communication and quality of human culture. Scholars of print history have looked hard at its attractive and engaging artifacts, their products and the impact of their content on the changing world, but until recently have overlooked the complex and individual social dimensions of the denizens of

¹ Seed money for seeking funding for this project was provided by Dr. Victor Arizpe, Head, and later in the publication phase, by Dr. Larry Mitchell, Head, Department of Hispanic Studies, Texas A&M University. A grant for this work was provided initially by assistance from a joint inter-institutional grant from CONACYT and the Vice President of Research at Texas A&M University. My enthusiastic and energetic collaborator on the grant projects has been Dr. Blanca López of ITESM. Dr. Gregory Cuellar, former curator of the Mexican Incunables Collection, also formed part of the team. I wish to thank doctoral student researchers, Emily Graves and Travis Sorenson prepared the description of the catalog, and the spreadsheets, and expertise of our Mexican collaborators at ITESM. Unless otherwise specified, all sermons quoted in this study are located in the Cushing Rare Books Collection of Mexican Incunables at Texas A&M University. Useful information from non-sermon imprints and from invaluable works found in the Biblioteca Cervantina may be found in footnotes.

their domains. The social dynamics which were impacted by and which, in part, influenced print history have remained institutional and patriarchal almost to the close of the millennium².

The private, individual and professional lives of Spanish men and women who devoted their intellectual and physical energy into the selection, edition, printing, production, marketing and sales of the print materials have remained glossed over until the closing decades of the past century. Clive Griffin's masterful research uncovered rich archival keys to understanding the rise and decline of the Cromberger printing dynasty of Seville³. He has brought to light the life of Bridget Maldonado, the young widow of Jacome Cromberger, who supported nine children while operating the family press and expediting the sponsorship of Juan Pablos's introduction of the printing press into Mexico⁴. Griffin has also mined archives in Spain and Mexico to uncover the names and faces of the vibrant multinational Spanish community of journeymen-printers and their women who shaped the intellectual formation of their sometimes subversive co-workers⁵.

Women have always played a major role in the printing industry as capable co-workers and managers, often donning this professional mantel at the early death of a spouse or and inheritance from relatives. Too often the male printers perished early from the physical and emotional stress of back-breaking physical labor and difficulty retaining qualified workers; from the struggles with heavy equipment and noxious ingredients in the ink; from the mental and emotional stress of financial pressure and the constant editorial intrusions by Inquisitorial oversight and review. Frequently, a printer's assistant would step up and marry the widow, a mutually advantageous arrangement⁶. In Spain at the turn of the 15th century Meinhart Ungut left his press to his young son and widow, Comincia Blanquis, who within a short time gave birth to a son by her husband's former assistant, Jacobo Cromberger. Such liaisons, once precipitated by dangers and stress brought on by the new industry, over time were established as normative in order for widows and offspring to con-

² See Norton, 1977 and 1978.

³ Clive Griffin, 1988.

⁴ Clive Griffin, 1993.

⁵ Griffin, 2005.

⁶ Griffin, 1988, p. 25.

tinue the family business to survive. The introduction of the printing press in Mexico, initiated by the collaboration of Mexican Archbishop Zumárraga and by Jacobo's son, Juan, continued the pattern. At his untimely death, Juan passed the management of the press and resources to his wife Brígida, who managed the New World press and enterprises, a transition carefully studied by Griffin (1988, 1993).

The history of women printers in New Spain follows the long and rich tradition. Whereas they may have begun as attentive observers and assistants to their husbands, fathers or grandfathers, later as heirs and widows, some through interest, necessity and opportunism assumed leadership and directly controlled successful presses which survived for over four decades. Other matriarchs enjoyed shorter professional careers with the press, but through careful stewardship of printing resources and political connections they enabled their offspring to continue the family business far into subsequent generations. A recent burst of high quality research on Mexican print history has brought to light the lives and works of a number of women, the unifying theme of this present article prefacing catalogs of sermon inventories. The most remarkable contribution is a conference, «Las Otras Letras: mujeres impresoras en la Biblioteca Palafoxiana» March–November, 2008, which displays representative objects of printing from European origins through the Colonial period. For example, the archival research from Ken Ward's fundamental investigation into the Benavides-Calderón-Rivera dynasty in first half of the 1700's, forthcoming in the proceedings, is used extensively in the last part of this study⁷.

The Cushing Collection of sermons from New Spain, actively acquired beginning in 2004, is central to Texas A&M's ongoing, growing collection of Mexican incunables and other colonial printings⁸.

⁷ Ken Ward, «¿Quién diablos es María? La imprenta de los herederos de la viuda de Miguel de Rivera». Manuscript copy quoted with permission of author, his typescript pagination.

⁸ The Cushing Collection's earliest Mexican incunables include two books printed by Juan Pablos, both authored by Fray Alonso de la Veracruz: *Speculum coniugionum æditum per R. P. F. Illephosum a Vera Crucem institute hæremitanum sancti Augustini, atrium ac a sacre theologie doctorem cathedraque primaria in indyta Mexicana academia moderatorem. Aedibus ioannis pauli brissensis a.d. 1556. Idibus augusti.* (Mexico, 1556) and *Phisica, speculation ædita per R.P.F. Alphosum a Vera*

Ranging in size from major books down to single sheets of simple contract templates, the total corpus of about 2200 colonial-era Mexican pieces includes rules, constitutions, manuals; church government; doctrine; general religion; indulgences; the virgin de Guadalupe; saints' lives; novenas; military history; independence; newspapers; foreigner guides; literature; law and government; pastoral letters and sermons. The corpus of sermons printed in New

Cruce, Augustinianæ familie Provintialem, atrium & sacæ Doctorem (México, 1557). The press of Antonio de Espinosa is represented in three works: a *Summa de los Sacramentos* by the Bartolomé de Ledesma, *Reverendi Patris Fratris Bartholomæ à Ledesma ordinis Prædicatorum et sacæ Theologiæ professoris de septem nouæ legis sacramentis Summarium*. (México, 1566); a list of privileges from Pius v's *Tabula priuilegionum, quæ sanctissimus Papa pius quintus, concessit fratribus mendicantibus: in bulla confirmationis, & nouæ, concessionis priuilegionum, ordinum mendicantium* (México, 1567). The third work from the Espinosa press appeared following his death, «En casa de Antonio de Spinosa» *Vocabulario en lengua castellana y mexicana, compuesto por el muy reverendo Padre Fray Alonso de Molina, de la Orden del bienaventurado nuestro Padre sanct Francisco* (México, 1571). Pedro Ocharte, who in 1562 married Juan Pablos's daughter María de Figueroa, is represented in the Texas A&M's Cushing Collection by three books. The January 24, 1568, edition of Fray Benito Hernández's description of the Tepuzculula dialecto (Pilling [1280], 253), *Doctrina cristiana en lengua mixteca* (México, En casa de Pedro de Ocharte, 1568) corresponds to his early printings. With the death of María de Figueroa, Ocharte married María de Sansoric who helped him during his Inquisitorial period, and could have helped publish the revisionist *Estatutos generales de Barcelona, para la familia Cismontana, de la orden de nuestro seráfico Padre S. Francisco...* (México 1585). Following Ocharte's death in 1592, his son Melchior, published under the footing of «En el Convento de Sanctiago Tlatilulco por M. Ocharte» issuing a trilingual confessional manual, *Advertencias para los confesores de los naturales: compuestas por el padre fray Joan Baptista, de la Orden del seráfico padre sanct Francisco, lector de teología y guardián del convento de Sanctiago Tlatilulco, de la provincia de Sancto Evangelio* (México, 1600). Mexico's fourth printer, Antonio de Ricardo, reprinted Manuel Álvar's, *De constructione, octopartium orationis* (México, 1579, originally printed in Venice, 1571). To round out available pieces for the study of Mexican print history about twenty pieces of brief ephemera complete the samples in the collection, items such as bills of payment (México, Pedro Ocharte, 1582) and power of attorney (Pedro Balli, 1599). Also for purpose of consultation and comparison in print history are included a Jacobo Cromberger printing is included with the collection, Francesco Petrarca's *De los remedios contra próspera y aduersa Fortuna* (Sevilla, 1513) and a Juan Cromberger, *La historia general de las Indias* by Gonzalo Hernández de Oviedo y Valdés (Sevilla, 1535).

Spain during the XVI-XIX centuries reaches 224 pieces⁹ and over 40% of these sermons share a striking feature: they were produced by families of printing dynasties where significant roles were exercised by women.

This article examines a subset of related sermons from two complementary perspectives, the sermon as physical artifact, that is, print history, and as un-mined treasures of historical and political import which lay open fresh views about social, religious, intellectual, political and economic history during colonial of New Spain. A sermon's physical appearance, its provenance and trajectory of fonts, watermarks, illuminated capitol letters artistic decisions testify to the skill and quality of the craft upheld by its printer. As a corollary, the intellectual content or subject matter of an individual sermon, gauged by the selection and orientation of its author and the content of the homily, the quality of its front end material such as approval, dedicatee and right to print attest to its value to the political, social, religious positions advocated, characterizing the historic, political and economic moment in which the sermon was crafted. When considered together, the interplay of the material and intellectual features of this corpus renders the printed sermon as a vital source of study of the social, political, economic and artistic history of Colonial Mexico and the Southwest.

The subset of Mexican colonial printed sermons represents a small, random sample of thousands of sermons archived in Mexico, Europe and the United States¹⁰. As intended by the editors of the sermon catalogs of the Biblioteca Cervantina and Texas A&M Cushing Collection, the joint resource expands opportunities for further research in this field. This snapshot of sermons in the Cushing Collection, related by their single criterion of having been produced directly or indirectly by women printers in New Spain in the Colonial period and their offspring, provides a glimpses of Mexican

⁹ Of the 224 sermons counted in the inventory, 15 of the 99 are duplicates in a factitious collection which are included in the calculation.

¹⁰ Other notable North American institutions with holdings in Mexican Colonial sermons include the University of California, Berkeley; University of San Francisco Sutro Collection; Indiana University Lilly Library; Hispanic Society of America; Tulane University Middle American Center; Brown University John Carter Brown Library; and the Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas at Austin.

culture, society, history, religion, commerce and industry and defines the importance of women in the development and transmission of history. The following study of the print artifacts of the Calderón-Benavides-Rivera dynasty offers glimpse into four generations of women who impacted the representation Colonial New Spain and contributed to its economic and sociocultural history.

GENERATION I. PAULA BENAVIDES (1609-1684), PRINTER (1641-1684)
AND WIDOW OF BERNARDO DE CALDERÓN

Paula Benavides, one of the first generation of women printers represented in the Cushing Collection, was a Creole, married at the age of twenty in 1629 to Bernardo de Calderón in Mexico City where she was born¹¹. Her spouse, a native of Alcalá de Henares, began his career in New Spain as a bookseller, like many future printers who later moved into the production sector¹². Perhaps a key to insure his family's long business success was his close ties to the Inquisition and successive privileges in printing. Bernardo was cleared of the accusation of selling books without license in 1631, and shortly later received government privilege to print and sell educational tracts in both large and small format, sure successes in the colonies¹³.

Widowed toward the end of 1640, Paula supported six surviving children, five of whom received the holy office¹⁴. Just as she was a successful printer, she was a successful single parent. Her first son, Antonio, showed a precocious interest in the book industry and later became a distinguished priest, lawyer, and founder of the

¹¹ Ana Cecilia Montiel Ontiveros and Luz del Carmen Beltrán Cabrera, 2006, pp. 105-106. This definitive study draws from Inquisitorial and other archival records and is the source of much primary information about this dynasty.

¹² Although the Cushing Library does not own printings by Bernardo Calderón, Monterrey Tec owns two sermons, both preached by Juan Rodríguez de León, a 1639 *Panegírico agosto, castellano latino al serenísimo Infante Cardenal don Fernando de Austria*, and a 1640 *Oración fúnebre a las honras y pompa funeral augusta que hizo la nobilísima ciudad de México, su virey y capitán general de la Nueva España, conde de Salvatierra, al serenísimo señor don Baltazar Carlos de Austria*.

¹³ Montiel and Beltrán, 2006, p. 107.

¹⁴ Martínez Leal, 2002, p. 11.

Congregación de San Felipe de Neri. At age 25 he successfully defended his mother in an Inquisitorial proceeding¹⁵.

Within one month of her husband's death she received Inquisitorial approval and a few months later she vehemently and successfully defended in court her rights against the incursion into her rightful territory by two competing printers who sought to corner her into a limited market printing only educational materials in native Indian languages¹⁶. In 1652 the Count of Alba de Aliste granted her privileges which enabled her to continue the legacy¹⁷ and for 43 years (1641-1684) she oversaw the press, publishing as the «viuda de Bernardo Calderón» over 300 titles¹⁸. Paula outlived one of her earlier unsuccessful plaintiffs who at his demise had published only a third of that output. All but one of their children either died or, because of their vows to religious service, did not assume active roles in directing operation of the presses; only María enthusiastically pursued the family industry. Although there are no sermons printed by doña Paula housed in the Cushing Collection, her work under the name «viuda de Bernardo de Calderón» is represented by exemplars of other genres¹⁹. These works contain impressive illuminations and woodcuts and witness to her artistic sensibilities and care in preparation, and as an entrepreneurial matriarch who was a success in the printing business. Paula delivered the family business to the next generation in with style, as attested by the imprints of her heirs as «herederas de la viuda de Bernardo Calderón».

¹⁵ Montiel and Beltrán, 2006, p. 107.

¹⁶ Montiel and Beltrán, 2006, pp. 108-109.

¹⁷ Martínez Leal, 2002, p. 11.

¹⁸ Montiel and Beltrán (2006, pp. 109-110) cite 298 works, based on the Toribio Medina inventory. See José Toribio Medina, 1989. Without doubt the sermon inventory requires further study. The Biblioteca Cervantina has five sermons printed as the «viuda de Bernardo Calderón» including a printing of a sermon preached by Fray Andrés de Almanza in the convento de N. P. S. Agustín de México (1646); two preached by Fray Juan de la Torre y Castro: a 1655 «Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, en la calle de San Agustín» on the perpetual dedication to the Empress of Heaven; a 1656 sermon printed at the Real Convento de Santo Domingo de Guzmán; a 1660 sermon by Fray Francisco de Torres also preached in the Real Convento; a 1662 «viuda de Bernardo Calderón en la calle de San Agustín» about the S. Felipe Neri.

¹⁹ These holding in the Cushing include Tomás González's 1646 *Summa totius theoriae per patrem Thomam Gonzalez*, and the 679 *Indulgencias y gracias* by Paul v.

GENERATION 2. A. DIEGO DE CALDERÓN BENAVIDES

Paula's death in 1684 led to the transmission of her legacy to two children, to María, the first daughter, and to Diego, the third son who as a lay clergy apparently did not participate as fully in the bookselling and printing businesses. As an affiliate of the church, the latter was probably involved in gathering materials and writing an important, now lost, diary or history of Mexico beginning with the conquest. A «Licenciado Diego de Calderón Benavides» is acknowledged by Antonio de Robles, a member of the Church's ruling oligarchy (*presbítero*) and member of the College of San Pedro in Mexico, as the source and inspiration of over half his four collected volumes of unpublished historiographic documents materials gathered in the period 1665-1703 which related to early colonial history²⁰. The Robles collection of documents which derived from Diego's historiographic writings were located in the library of the S. Felipe de Neri²¹, the church founded by Antonio de Calderón, Paula Benavides first son, and brother to Diego de Calderón Benavides and María, the daughter and the only one to marry, who provided the continuity and bridge the printing dynasty for future generations.

GENERATION 2. B. MARÍA DE BENAVIDES (1685-1700) AND JUAN RIVERA

María de Benavides, as the older of two daughters of Bernardo Calderón and Paula Benavides, in 1647 married Juan Rivera, son of another female book merchant and printer, Juana Venegas, and of

²⁰ «Dice el mismo Robles en el prólogo a su tomo de diario, que intentaba escribir este desde la conquista, para lo que tenía recogido, a costa de mucha diligencia y gastos, los materiales necesarios, informándose también de personas ancianas y fidedignas, y aunque no parece que llegase a realizar este proyecto, presumo que los cuatro tomos de documentos y noticias son los que él había recogido para emprender esta obra. En el mismo prólogo declara que casi la mitad de lo contenido en su diario, lo había tomado del que llevó el Lic. Diego de Calderón Benavides, añadiendo muchas cosas y quitando otras, protestando de la verdad de todo cuanto asiento» (Alamán, 1873, p. 93). Hubert Howe Bancroft also mentions that Robles followed Lic. Diego de Calderón Benavides' diary, «having taken more than half from that of Diego de Calderón Benavides, suppressing some of its details and making some additions» (Bancroft, 1883, p. 509).

²¹ Bancroft, 1883, p. 509.

Diego de Rivera, an associate of Bernardo Calderón²². Rivera himself was already by 1677 an established merchant and importer of European books, and by 1684, a printer²³. The Cushing Collection contains one sermon printed by Juan in 1683, *Sermón del gloriosísimo príncipe de la Iglesia San Pedro*, identified as printed on his family's press, «Con licencia. En México: Por Juan de Ribera, Impresor de Libros en el Empedradillo». This handsome printing shows at the binding edge its single watermark, two circles, probably of three (fol. 2). The crisp acanthus-decorated block upper case illuminated initials are an «M» (2.6 x 2.7, fol. 1r); «A» (2.6 x 2.5 cm, fol. 7r); the «H» (2.6 x 2.7 cm, fol. 4) is more elaborate because the acanthus wraps around the center bar of the letter and flowers are added to the acanthus background. These letters appear only in the front end sermon approval documentation. A secondary set of small unembellished block initials is used within the body of the sermon: «H» (.8 x 1 cm, fol. 9v), «O» (.9 x 1 cm, fol. 14r) and «M» 1.4 cm x 1 cm; fol. 11v). The concluding rubric and note o.s.c.s.m.c.r. is 10.5 cm x 4.7 cm. (fol. 17v). This abbreviation which is used throughout stands for *Order Sacra Congregatio Sanctae Matrix Catholica Apostolica et Romanae*, indicates the privileges claimed by the family. The sermon is dated June 16, 1683, when the Archbishop was presented his mantle, «día en que recibió el palio el Ilustrísimo y Reverendísimo Señor D. Francisco de Aguiar y Cejas, Arzobispo de México». It was preached by Isidro Sariñana y Cuenca. For establishing the trajectory of printing style and fonts in the Ribera-Calderón family, this work, which was printed two years before Rivera's death, is invaluable.

Juan also functioned as an active business associate of his mother-in-law, Paula Benavides, who upon her death, would transfer to him and her daughter María the family businesses, book selling and printing. As second generation and double legacy printers, Juan and María Rivera assumed operation of the presses, identifying their output by reference to its founding partners, the patriarch by name and the matriarch by marital standing, «Herederos de la viuda de Bernardo Calderón». No sermon titles from that early, joint opera-

²² Montiel y Beltrán, 2006, p. 111.

²³ Martínez Leal, 2002, p. 10.

tion of the press (1684-1685) by the Ribera couple appears in the Cushing inventory²⁴.

María and her offspring, however, were thrust further into the printing business by the sudden death of Juan Rivera in June, 1685²⁵. She continued to print there on her inherited press under the same name as she had initiated using with her late husband, «herederos de la viuda de Bernardo Calderón» a practice continued until 1700. One important sermon from that period located in the Cushing Collection is Juan Millán de Poblete's 1693 *Patrocinio de María santísima discurrido propio y especial para la católica Monarquía Española, en día de la fiesta de este título. En la S. Iglesia Catedral Metropolitana de México*, Herederos de la viuda de Bernardo Calderón, 1693. Of 13 folio booklet, the first five folios deal with composed of approvals; eight folios deal with sermon content. The sermon is uniquely formatted in two divided columns per page, with indexing. Underwritten by D. Andrés Ortiz de Covarrubias, an Inquisitor and cousin of the author, it was printed by the «herederos de la viuda de Bernardo Calderón» on high quality paper carrying a watermark of three stacked circles, the top one clearly containing an «S» and the other two, indistinguishable design. As a print artifact it is simple, with only two uppercase elaborated block initials in the same font, both fairly large (2.7 cm sq.) with acanthus background; the two others are not illuminated and smaller, a «P» (1.2 cm sq., fol. 4r) and an «A» 1 (.8 cm x 1.7 cm, fol. 5v).

The audience for this sermon provides an invaluable context for its content, heavily political in weight dealing with the topic of the «Nación Española» the religion of Spain and its representation in the colony. The frontispiece of the sermon reveals that it was preached for the highest political and military figure in New Spain at that time, «El excelentísimo Sr. conde de Galve, virrey de esta Nueva España con los señores de su Real Audiencia». Gaspar de la Cerda Sandoval Silva y Mendoza, 8th count of Galve, served as viceroy of New Spain from November 20, 1688, to February 26, 1696. As the royal representative in New Spain, from early in his service the viceroy was heavily involved in securing the northern colonial

²⁴ In January 2013, approximately 2200 newly-acquired incunables and other colonial-era imprints from New Spain are being cataloged.

²⁵ Garone Gravier, 2008, p. 4.

frontiers, including protecting the colony of Santa Fe, New Mexico, from French incursions. Whereas his public face was staunchly nationalistic, his private was quite tender. In 1690-1691, Galve had become protector of three French orphans from the wreck of La Salle's failed colonization of Matagorda Bay, Texas. By the time the children had been rescued by the Spanish, they were fluent in the native Indian dialects and bore facial tattoos to prove the authenticity of their experience. They were brought from the Texas to the Viceroy in Mexico by the expeditions of Alonso de León (1690) and Domingo Terán de los Ríos (1691). The count took them in and provided them work in his home; before he retired back to Spain, he placed them in the military service of New Spain. This sermon delivered precisely describes in code on one hand, an audience dedicated to the martial success of New Spain on behalf of the Spanish throne.

In addition to this work, María de Calderón Ribera assumed operation of the newly-inherited Ribera press on the Calle de Empedradillo between 1685 and 1700, identifying that affiliation by her status as «Herederos de la viuda de Bernardo Calderón Ribera» and «María Benavides, viuda de Juan Rivera. En el Empedradillo». Although no sermon from her early operation of the Ribera press is represented in the Cushing Collection, other genres are plentiful and useful tools in studying the print tradition of this period of her leadership of the inherited presses²⁶.

²⁶ The Cushing Collection's six non-sermons from the years of 1689 to 1699 corroborate María de Benavides simultaneous management of both presses. These non-sermon publications indicating her widowed status and recognizing her husband's press, under the heading as «Doña María de Benavides, viuda de Juan de Ribera» include a 1689 work by Clemente de Ledesma, *Vida espiritual de la seráfica tercera orden*, a 208 page book with one woodcut. In 1696 María printed *Silbos con que el pastor divino avisa a todos los sacerdotes, padres, y ministros de su iglesia...* as «Doña María de Benavides, viuda de Juan de Ribera» a plain book of 118 pages without woodcuts. In 1697 she released a *Manual de administrar los santos sacramentos de la Eucaristía y Estrema unción y oficiar los entierros según el uso y observación del Sagrado de la Santa Iglesia Metropolitana desta Ciudad de México*, and adds her own name as «doña María de Benavides, viuda de Juan de Ribera» 130 pp. and 1 woodcut. In 1699 she published an *Exaltación de la divina misericordia en la milagrosa renovación de la soberana imagen de Cristo Señor N. crucificado* by Dr. Alberto Velasco, 67 pp., again with the printers mark «Doña María de Benavides, viuda de Juan de Ribera». During the same period, non-sermon publications were published under the press she inherited from her family, a

María's professional association with the family craft appears in the colophon of a sermon immediately after her husband's death in 1685 and continued until 1700. On his death, María de Benavides made a clear distinction between works printed in her family's press on Calle San Agustín and those printed in her inherited shop on the Calle Empedredillo where she claimed her own identity, using her own name and social status as «María Benavides, viuda de Juan Rivera» an obviously meaningful gesture which foreshadows her long-term interests on behalf of her children²⁷. With her ties to the inheritance from her maternal side at the Calle de San Agustín, the year following his death she identifies the separate publishing house located at the business address of her husband's family press, quietly declares her fundamental role in the management and probable economic and physical consolidation of hers and her husband's family printing interests. Her high level of her social, political and religious connections in 1691 is underscored in a series of sermons published as «Doña María de Benavides Viuda de Juan de Ribera». Clearly this was a valued prestigious printing appropriate for disseminating the work of eight different homilists. It was delivered by Antonio de la Trinidad, an intellectually elitist and illuminated presbyter²⁸. Future generations were to benefit from the consolidation of the two families of printers and booksellers, the Calderón-Benavides clan operating in the calle San Agustín and the Ribera family in the calle Empedradillo²⁹. María, like her mother, Paula de

substantial 140 page book from 1691 with the printers mark «herederos de la viuda de Bernardo Calderón», *Epítome de la vida del glorioso San Cayetano*, written by P. don Manuel Calascibetta. It contains eight woodcuts and one metal engraving. Perhaps the best example of simultaneous publication is that in the same year of 1699 she published under the name «Dona María de Benavides» a 413 page book by Capitán Don Antonio Carrasco de Retortillo, *Despenador republicano*.

²⁷ Although the Cushing library does not contain a sermon from this specific period, an 1686 exemplar located in the Biblioteca Cervantina shows she signed a sermon by Juan Martínez de la Parra as «Doña María de Benavides, Viuda de Juan de Ribera. En el Empedradillo».

²⁸ The 1691 sermon series by «doña María de Benavides, Viuda de Juan de Ribera» housed in the Biblioteca Cervantina, is *Liceo de relieves en recordación panegírica, de misceláneos elogios que ocho singulares sermones de otros ocho particulares predicadores doctos hizo y dijo el P. predicador Fr. Antonio de la Trinidad*.

²⁹ Poot Herrera, 2008, p. 312.

Benavides, raised offspring which assumed and continued the family businesses; upon her demise the press was transmitted to her sons Miguel and Francisco. Through them yet another generation of printers will continue because a widow served as the medium of transmission of the family business.

GENERATION 3. A. FRANCISCO DE RIVERA (PRINTER 1703-1731) AND JUANA DE LEON Y MESA (PRINTER 1731-1747)

María de Calderón's son, Francisco de Rivera Calderón, was a bookseller and printer in the Calle San Agustín which was family inheritance from the maternal Calderón-Benavides side³⁰. He printed from June, 1703, until his death in 1731 and produced texts in native languages, some of which appear to be reprints of earlier work, although he inherited the Calderón privilege to print religious matter³¹.

Francisco printed a sermon by the Augustinian Friar Joaquín de Vayas in 1721, *Sermón panegírico, que en la fiesta anual, que acostumbra celebrar la muy ilustre, opulenta, y leal ciudad de Nuestra Señora de los Zacatecas, en memoria de su conquista, a la natividad gloriosa de la Santísima Virgen María Nuestra Señora, día ocho de septiembre en que tremola el militar pendón de sus armas predicó en la iglesia parroquial el R. P. Fr. Joaquín de Vayas*, a resident of the convent in Zacatecas. It is dedicated to Fr. Nicolas de Quixas, the ex-provincial teacher in that city who had edited R. P. M. Fr. Diego Basalenque's *Arte de la lengua tarasca*. This 1721 book contains the title page, 8 pages of front matter, 30 pages of sermon and an index. The illuminated upper case, mostly acanthus-filled block letters are notable. In the dedication are an «S» (2.6 cm. sq., fol. 1r), a smaller «S» (2 cm. sq. fol. 10r), and a similarly larger «E» (2.6 cm. fol. 8r) which lacks some of the acanthus, more like feathering. Also there are non-illuminated very small capitols

³⁰ Poot Herrera, 2008, p. 311.

³¹ Among Francisco de Rivera Calderón's non-sermon printings held in the Cushing Collection are a 1708 confessional by Andrés de Borda, *Práctica de confesores de monjas en que explican los cuatro votos de Obediencia, Pobreza, Castidad y Clausura por modo de diálogo*; a revision in 1714 of Diego Basalenque's, (O.S.A. 1577-1651) *Arte de la lengua tarasca / dispuesto con nuevo estilo y dandad*; and P. Fray Manuel Pérez's 1723 *Catecismo romano / traducido en castellano y mexicano por el P. F. Manuel Pérez*. Con licencia, en México por Francisco de Rivera Calderón, 1723. See «Colección de lenguas indígenas».

ranging in size from 1.2 cm. to 1.5 cm, («E» fol. 4r, 5r, 6r; «Q» fol. 4v; «M» fol. 6v) A spectacular allegorical woodcut is explained in the Inquisitor's preface, a festive pendant of old arms, ennobling the Spanish ties to Felipe V. The last folio (fol. 22v) contains, beneath the closing «O.S.C.S.M.E.C.A.R.» and unforgettable woodcut emblem, the illumination of a hermaphrodite siren with his hands on his head. The content of the sermon deals allegorically with Zacatecas's freedom. The college in Zacatecas associated with these works, printed by Rivera Calderón had been approved by royal decree in 1704, began to function under Antonio Margil de Jesús in 1707³². It provided the outreach missionary effort for Texas, beginning with the Domingo Ramón expedition of 1716 and is responsible for establishing missions from Nacogdoches in the northeast to Refugio in the southern Gulf Coast area³³. At present, little is known of Francisco's wife, Juana de León y Mesa, who eventually would succeed him and print under her name simply as «viuda de Francisco de Rivera Calderón» until 1747; she is yet another woman who must emerge from the clouded the history of New Spain. The Cushing has one work printed by Juana de León y Mesa, a doctrinal catechism, but no sermon³⁴. What can be seen, however, is that she also worked from the distinguished Calderón print shop on the Calle San Agustín, and also like her husband, her titles appear to consist in part of reprints.

GENERATION 3. B. MIGUEL DE RIVERA AND GERTRUDIS VERA Y ESCOBAR (PRINTER 1709-1713)

Miguel de Rivera, María de Rivera Calderón's other son, married Gertrudis de Escobar y Vera in 1675 and they raised 11

³² «College of Nuestra Señora de Zacatecas».

³³ A non-sermon printed by Francisco, *Novenario de la alabanza en honra de... Sta. Paula* (1715) of multiple interest for its content (Sta. Paula) and its clearly readable watermarks of interest.

³⁴ The Cushing Collection's single work printed by the widow of Francisco is a 1735 doctrinal catechism, Alonso de Molina's classic bilingual treatise *Doctrina cristiana y catecismo en lengua mexicana compuesta por el P. Fr. Alonso de Molina, de la orden del glorioso seráfico padre San Francisco, corregida fielmente por su original*. Año de 1735. Reimpresa en México por la Viuda de Francisco de Rivera Calderón en la Calle de S. Agustín. For more information, see Joaquín García Icazbalceta, 1970.

children³⁵. At the time of her death in 1714, only four children were alive: María Francisca de Rivera, widow of Francisco de Guerra y Pacho; two sons who were secular clergymen, Bachiller Gabriel de Rivera and don Manuel de Rivera; and the unmarried doña María³⁶.

Upon the death of his mother, Miguel, who had worked previously with the family press, assumed the operation of the family's printing concern in 1701, at least for a brief period before his death the following year. Printing under the name «Miguel de Ribera en el Empedradillo, año de 1702» the sermon was delivered by Dr. D. Juan de Arriola Rico as *Sermón funeral, que en las honras que celebró a su prelado el Ilmo. y Rmo. Señor mo. D. Fr. Felipe Galindo y Chávez del Orden de predicadores, del Consejo de su Majestad, y obispo de Guadalajara, el venerable deán y cabildo de la Santa Iglesia Catedral de dicha ciudad predicó el Dr. D. Juan de Arriola Rico*. The exemplar is printed in quarto on paper having at least three watermarks, one showing two circles (fol. 1), one with a non-intelligible mark in the center, and the other is an orb with a cross above it (fol. 2). Traces of a more elaborate larger watermark appear with an oval and a cross in the center and tracings of what could be two lions or double eagles facing outward. One illuminated initial is an acanthus-filled block «A» (2.6cm x 2.5 cm, fol. 1r) in poor condition and another faintly printed reproduction (fol. 7r). In smaller font slightly under 1 cm are «Q» (fol. 11r), «A» (fols. 12r, 13v) and «O» (fols. 15-17). The work is artistically distinctive for the large, detailed family heraldic block woodcut of the Galindo Chavez coat of arms showing his European heritage through the lions and castles, and the overarching hat and tassels of the Dominicans. The shield is divided in quadrants of hearts, boats and castles, and on the right, subdivided into conch of Santiago and lions, and the subdivided quadrant above has a mystical symbol and a castle. Among those mentioned in the frontispiece are the dedicatees, Don Juan de Ortega Montañés, archbishop, governor and general captain of the inquisition and Diego de Estrada Galindo, of Puebla, arbiter of wills and testaments. It celebrates the life of the Dominican missionary Galindo y Chavez, consecrated in 1695, who founded the diocesan seminary and li-

³⁵ Martínez Leal, 2002, p. 12.

³⁶ Ken Ward, «¿Quién diablos es María?», p. 1.

brary in Guadalajara. The Dominican father made two trips across the Monclova the Monclova valley to Coahuila and the Texas borderlands for pastoral care in 1700³⁷.

Miguel's untimely early death propelled his widow Gertrudis Vera y Escobar into further active participation in the printing business. Alongside her was their daughter, María de Rivera Calderón y Benavides, who, as we shall soon see, inherited talent and business acumen from her great-grandmother, Paula, her grandmother María and mother Gertrudis, and directed the family press to new heights of excellence.

Gertrudis Vera y Escobar's printing is represented in the Cushing Collection in three sermons printed by under the mark «La viuda de Miguel de Rivera» dated 1709 (two) and 1713. Both provide insight into historically and politically significant currents in New Spain, especially relative to its European ties. A sermon printed in 1709, classified as a panegyric, was preached by Lorenzo Antonio Gonzáles de la Sancha at the funeral of bishop Manuel de Escalante Colombres y Mendoza, entitled *Resurrección panegírica en exequias del Ilustrísimo Señor Doctor Don Manuel de Escalante Colombres y Mendoza, Obispo que fue de Guadiana y Valladolid* was preached in the «catedral de la Santa Iglesia de la Santa Trinidad de esta Corte de México». The sermon was dedicated to «Joseph Sarmiento de Valladares, caballero del Orden de Santiago, Duque de Atrisco, Conde de Montezuma y de Tula, Visconde de Yulcan y Presidente del Consejo Real de las Indias». In text the impressively large shield of heraldry (9.5 cm x 11cm; fol. 2) depicts relatively simple design, the four quadrants containing are 13 spots, a column, two oxen and a checkerboard. At the top of the shield a crown and a horseman leap across it; surrounding are five flags on the sides. The approval declaration contains this prayer and reference: «Guarde Dios a Vuestra Excelencia para columna de Europa, e torre gloriosa e inmortal» (fol. 13v). A large stylized double eagle rubric (9.5 cm x 6.5 cm, fol. 13v) is used as page filler and appears below the final page and «O.S.C.S.M.E.C.A.R.» as well throughout the book (fols. 3r, 50v; 13v). Clear suggestions of the high profile this sermon and its sophisticated critical apparatus is the numeration of folios and numbered notes which correspond with the marginal index. The watermark

³⁷ *Catholic Encyclopedia*, s. v. «Felipe Galindo y Chávez».

has the same large center oval with a cross in the center, surrounded by the stylized figure, probably a double eagle on both sides of the centerpiece. Here we can see that the top of the watermark is a mitre (fols. 7-8, interior margin), remarkably large and impressive, similar to that in the 1715 *Novenario a Sta. Paula*. The upper case initials are grand, a «N» (6.5 cm., fol. 1r) with points on some ends and light acanthus background marking; a different «C» (4.4 cm. sq., fol. 5r) is smaller in scale and elaboration.

«La viuda de Miguel de Ribera Calderón en el Empedradillo» published an extremely important sermon from 1709 by Antonio de Escoto, *Sermón de hacimiento de gracias, que al feliz nacimiento de nuestro príncipe Luis Felipe, y dichoso parto de nuestra augustísima reina Doña María Luisa Gabriela Manuela de Saboya a los 25 de agosto del año pasado de 1707 predicó el R. P. Fray Antonio de Escoto*. It was the sermon of thanksgiving for the birth of Luis Philip, first son of Philip V, the first Borbon king of Spain and his first wife, Mary Louise of Savoy. Louis reigned briefly upon the abdication of this father, but died later in the year. His work had a superior style of printing, and other appropriate signs its royal privilege and importance. The entire work is foliated and indexed. A large rubric appears below the title abbreviation «O.S.C.S.M.E.C.A.R.» (9.5 cm x 6.2 cm., fol. 11); a standard central feature in it is the double eagle. In the capital letters, one lightly filled «V» (3.4 cm. sq. fol. 7r) and an unembellished «Q» (3.4 cm. sq., fol. 10r) are the only block woodcuts of note. The unembellished «L» (fol. 1r) is very deteriorated. A European appearing paper is watermarked heavily: a half moon (2.4 cm., fol. 12); two (of three) circles and marked «LB» (fol. 6); marked «PEC» (fol. 10); marked «CYP» (fol. 16). This publication was printed in 1709, more than a year after it was preached, as indicated in the title, «25 de agosto del año pasado». In spite of the audience, and importance, the title page is marred by curious typographical errors («Antionio» «Fietas»).

One of the last sermons Gertrudis printed was Alfonso Mariano del Río's *Sermón del nombre de la Venerable Tercera Orden de Penitencia de N.P.S. Francisco de la Ciudad de México de su patrono, y titular el cristianísimo monarca San Luis Nono, Rey de Francia*, on Pentecost, 1713, about Louis IX of France before the Franciscan terciaries in Mexico. It sets up Louis as a model of the French monarch as the «Príncipe católico cristiano, ejemplar, virtuoso, singularmente magnánime y

humilde». The approvals are clever and learned, an etymological play on the interpretation of each of the names of the preacher, the Alfonsine theme, the Marian theme, and the play on «río» as water in its Biblical contexts. The first folio of text contains an impressive emblem (9.5cm. x 7.5 cm., fol. 2) of the family in France, divided in two parts, dice on the right and on the left, a central «X» subdividing two chambers, Castilla above and Leon below. It is characterized by wide margins and indexes, but unfortunately, the Cushing exemplar is clearly over pressed. The familiar watermark seen elsewhere, that is, the oval in the center with the mitred hat above and the stylized double eagles on the side, appears twice in the front end, and twice in the body; in another watermark, where two circles are visible, «DC» (fol. 5) appears in the second circle and the «A» (fol. 11) in the first circle. Illuminated initials in this work are remarkable and beautiful, illuminated upper case «F», «S.» and «A» (1.8 cm. x 2.2cm) have a delicate motif of flowers in a woven basket.

This demonstrating the close and continuing alliance between the church, the state and the Calderón-Benavides family, which extended back two generations. Gertrudis' offspring, as we shall see, will continue that relationship forward for another three decades through her daughter, María de Rivera Calderón y Benavides.

GENERATION 4. «HEREDEROS DE LA VIUDA DE MIGUEL DE CALDERÓN» AND DOÑA MARÍA DE RIVERA (PRINTER 1722-1755), «EN CASA DE DOÑA MARÍA DE RIVERA»

Following the death of Gertrudis, the press continued under the direction of family members as silent partners as «herederos de la viuda de Miguel de Calderón». María Francesca, along with her son Jacinto de Guerra, administered the press until 1722 (Ward, p. 2). The notarial documents cited by Ward indicate that the younger María (Candelaria), accepted the more significant role at that time, assisted by the nephew, Jacinto. In this period, the press in Calle Empedradillo produced more than 200 printings and the *Gacetas de México* (Ward, p.4). From 1722 onward, we glimpse confidence, innovation, an appreciation of beauty and good political connections to be the hallmark of the family, before it assents to the market's economic pressure and change in taste of the editorship.

In a 1715, a sermon by Ángel Maldonado marks the starting point of the early transition. The title and publication information are «*Oración evangélica del Gran Padre y Patriarca San Francisco de Asís. Predicado en el santo convento de su estrecha observancia de la ciudad de Antequera, por el Ilustrísimo y Reverendísimo Señor maestro Don Fray Ángel Maldonado, obispo de la Santa Iglesia Catedral de México. Con licencia, en México por los Herederos de la Viuda de Miguel de Ribera de Calderón, en el Empedradillo, Año 1716*». Among the dedications of this impressive credit are «Sr. D. Fernando de Noroña Alencastre y Silva, Duque y capitán General de esta Nueva España y presidente de la Real Audiencia en México». This book, printed on the ancient Ribera press, represents the highest quality of design and composition, including the heraldic shield, numerous watermarks and extraordinary woodcut initials. A heraldic shield in a large woodcut (fol. 2r) is topped off with a crown; the left half of the shield is divided into an «X» with a column with the top supporting a castle, and below a lion. The right half is undivided but appears to contain five dice, each showing five spots.

Because the Cushing exemplar has a loose sheet (fols. 1-2), one can see an entire watermark in the fold: at the top the oval cross and the double eagle or lion; circles containing the double «P» (the first facing with backwards), and one blank circle. In the remainder of the book, the watermarks represent a partial design: the oval with a cross outlined and what appears to be double eagle or lion facing outward; and two other circles about 2 cm in diameter (fols. 1, 7, 11, 12, 15, 20). Inside the circles may be blank or containing letters «LB», «DC», «D», «U» and «Π». What appears to be a bishop's hat is partially visible (fol. 3), and the partial oval with a lions or eagles (fols. 10, 16, 17). The half moon (fol. 9, 2.4cm) is the same as the 1797 Escoto (1707). The woodcut capital letters in the body of the sermon provide stunning and memorable contrast with those of the front end approvals. While the «A» of «Aprobación» (fol.1r) is a standard acanthus style, a stunning «P» (fols. 3r, 7), «Q» (fol. 1r.), and «H» (fol. 5r) are artistic jewels. Once more the artful, delicate and whimsical elaborations of capital letters set against a background of flowers and foliage growing from a woven basket; each letter has a different style and weave. On fol. 1 of the approvals, the watermark, the illuminated «Q» and the woodcut shield occur.

Juan de Torres's 1716 *Sermón panegírico en glorias de la Señora Santa Ana, fiesta que en el Convento de San Juan Bautista de Metepec, celebró el día 26 julio de este año de 1716*, printed under a «licencia de los superiores en México por los Herederos de la viuda de Miguel de Calderón en Empedradillo», is another sermon in the Cushing Collection from this period of the press. It is the only one preached in Metepec known to be printed in the Colonial era. The coat of arms on the heraldic shield (fol. 2), explained in the approval, has three bands of gold on a blue field identifying that the family descended from the kings of Castile. The five fingers dripping blood are a reminder of the Batallas of Las Navas de Tolosa where Garci Fernández was cut and bleeding and that his valor would be recorded forever on the seal of the decisive battle of the Reconquest. The sermon is indexed lightly, foliation printed on each page and the initials in the front end material are unembellished. However, in the body of the sermon the «M» (fol. 2) is beautifully but not densely elaborated with the flower, foliage and buds in bas relief, a 2.7 cm square placed behind the letter. The last folio is a large double eagle rubric (8 cm x 4.5 cm) and «O.S.C.S.M.E.C.A.R» above it. Numerous watermarks appear on the rather poor quality paper. Circles or double circles 2 cm in diameter appear on fols. 1, 7, 11, 12, 15 and 20; letters and symbols appear inside the circles, «L», «O», «»)). A partial bishop's hat is clearly visible (fol. 3), and the oval with an inset cross and outward facing lions or eagles (fols. 10, 16, 17).

Following her sister's death in 1722, the press of the *herederos* released Luis de La Peña's 1724, *La paz y justicia abrazadas en el señor general D. Joseph de Orio y Zubiarte, difunto, siendo actual corregidor por su Majestad, de la Villa de San Felipe de Chiguagua*. Four years later in 1528, it is not surprising, given the family's connection with the church and tradition of printing sermons, that she printed a book on with the *ars predicandi* written by Martín de Velasco, *Arte de sermones para saber hacerlos y predicarlos*, printed under the seal of the «Herederos de la viuda de Miguel de Rivera».

Just as her grandmother Paula, assaulted with legal attacks by business competitors within weeks of assuming the operation of the press, within weeks of accepting the operation of the press María Candelaria was served a legal grievance in 1727 by Joseph Bernardo de Hogal, a newcomer to Mexico, but a formidable force (Ward, pp. 7-11). He was succeeded in receiving the title recognizing his

privilege as Impresor Mayor de la Ciudad, but after 1727 he does not use it, probably because María prevailed. Hogal reprinted many of her works between 1726 and 1736, often merely changing from octavo to sixteenth (Ward, p. 14).

This must not have easy time of transition, judging by a 1731 a sermon by Juan Alvarado on the death of Don Buenaventura de Pedina y Picazo. The printers mark is «Imprenta Real del Superior Gobierno de los herederos de Miguel de Rivera, en Empedradillo». When her sister's son and her helper, Jacinto, died in 1732, the shop from this moment reflects the personal style and direction of María alone (Ward, p. 2). She emerges as a force in printing, who at first, perhaps under the sister and her son's guidance, embraced artistic design and colorful illuminations and detail, but shortly to reject them in favor of large scale editorial projects with less flair and continuity, more cerebral editing but less imaginative composition. Her own name alone, «La Imprenta Doña María de Rivera», is not found until 1733, recurring in 1748, 1749, 1750. The earliest title in Cushing Library that series is *El ladrón más diestro del espíritu religioso y el gran Patriarca San Felipe Neri. Panegírico, que su propio día, y tercero de la Fiesta de Pentecostés, predicó el Doc. D. Juan Joseph de Eguiara y Eguren*. Eguiara y Eguren's 1733 sermon on S. Felipe Neri, delivered in the Congregación Oratorio of that church, aligns with the Calderón-Benavides family's alliances and loyalties. After all, doña María's great uncle, Antonio Calderón de Benavides, who had successfully defended her great grandmother in Inquisitorial Mexico, had founded the chapel where it was preached³⁸.

This period of mass production reflects the major shift with emphases on reprints of best-selling authors of sermons, large collections of the sermons, well-prepared from the reader's technical standpoint with indexes and tables. The Cushing Collection has three of these substantial volumes representing two collections. In 1738 under the name «La imprenta Real del Superior Gobierno y del Nuevo Rezado, de Doña María de Rivera en el Empedradillo», María printed a collection of fourteen sermons written by José Villa Sánchez. Four were delivered in Mexico and ten in Puebla, all between 1724 and 1735. For example, one of these best sellers was a canonization, *Sermón del gloriosísimo patriarca San Joseph, predicado en el*

³⁸ Montiel and Beltrán, 2006, p. 110.

convento de Señoras Religiosas Carmelitas Descalzas de la Ciudad de Puebla. The readership was learned and more interested in the sermon than the appearance of the book; illuminated capitols are lacking in the 413 pages. One large engraving (8 cm x 10 cm) reflects the style of sermons printed two decades earlier, a woven basket of more European than native American style, containing native New World fruit, and one engraving cherubs is a space filler.

Nearly a decade later in 1747 Doña María also reprinted another collection of 16 sermons by Andrés de Arce y Miranda, *Sermones varios de don Andrés de Arce y Miranda.* The intended users of this 435-page volume would have appreciated the carefully articulated parts and critical apparatus. The front end list of *errata*, an index with titles of sermons with a nice engraving is balanced by a back end of two scholarly appendices, an alphabetical 19-page glossary of people and places «de las cosas más notables» and an 18-page alphabetical index to sacred texts cited in the margins. This level of professional editing was not been seen in any earlier sermon printed on the Calle Empedradillo press. The rubrics are large (11cm x 5.5cm) with the double eagle within the space filler (p. 54), and copper plate engraving replaces woodcuts. Clearly, what was gained in the availability of a useful text was lacking or lost in aesthetics and quality of printing.

The last sermon in the Cushing collection that María printed was the Joseph Paredes 1750, Marian themed, *La luz de la luz. Sermón de la Madre Santísima que la Compañía de Jesús de la Ciudad de Mérida. Día 20 de mayo 1749.* It was published under the name «En la Imprenta del Nuevo Rezado, de Doña María de Ribera, en el Empedradillo, Año Santo de 1750». It has light indexing, no woodcut and no artistic capitol letter. On the other hand it displays a nearly perfect watermark on folios 1-2, a series of three circles (2.5 cm) «CS» in the center. A unique watermark appears to contain a word³⁹. The front end material consists of 18 pages of approval, dedication, and license received over a two month period, and sermon text of 27 pages; on the last page it is stamped with the Latin acronym, «O.S.C.S.M.E.C.A.R.». It is dedicated to D. Filiberto de Ongay of Ychmul in the Yucatán, a knight of the Order of Santiago. Appropriately, the sermon contains

³⁹ The conjectured letters of this watermark are «B.A.L.N.O. (?E). (?O). (?I). T. E. (fol. 5).

a barbed warning against the «herejes» because «no son dignos de ver a Dios en la Gloria los que no lo creyeron en la peregrinación» (p. 15). On the matter of good work and faith, he cites Saint James: «Dice Santiago, nada aprovecha hacer alarde de la fe; si no halla obras, la fe no podrá coronarlo de gloria» (p. 16). Clearly, the content of the dedication is suited to the experiences and expectations of the dedicatee. The body of the sermon is no longer allegorical but more of a medieval «miracle» of the Virgen Mary. The conversion of an infamous woman who had lost a scandalous lover and hence, lived a virtuous life, takes a bad turn on her death bed. The devil persuaded her not to turn to God, as she descends into the brink of Hades full of lost hope and blasphemy, but the Virgen Mary again appears to make her ask for pardon, administers the sacrament and revives her faith and charity. This narrative marks a serious theme treated in a different, non-allegorical manner, a sigh of changing tastes.

María de Rivera Calderón y Benavides's death in 1750 is certain, but absolute testimony is lacking about her naming of heirs. The executors carried out a transfer of her enterprise to Licenciado José de Jáuregui y Barrio, a clerical printer. Montiel and Beltrán have proven from Inquisitorial records that a book reprinted by Jáuregui had been first printed under the privilege of our spinster printer⁴⁰. In review, as of 1722, María emerges as an active printer of educational tracts with privilege to print under the name of «Superior Gobierno» later adding «imprensa del Nuevo Rezado» plus her name. Unique to the profession, as a *femme sole* she continued a 32-year career in the printing industry in New Spain and made the transition from to modern mass printing, riding out the changes in taste for religious narrative.

CONCLUSION

What can we learn from the Cushing Collection's holdings of sermons published by the Benavides-Calderón-Rivera dynasty? How do both the content of these small artifacts and their physical traits such as fonts and paper complement history of cultures in contact and the saga of New Spain? How do the women of New Spain rise from the status of the societal fringe widows to majority

⁴⁰ Montiel and Beltrán, 2006, p. 113.

status and control of an industry? Paula Benavides, a Creole, relied both on her Spanish husband's printing privileges, and her first-born son's status as barrister and in church leader to outlast her competitor's challenge. Her surviving children provided through her sons a strong connection to the church with its privileges and a daughter to provide an heir. Second generation printer of sermons María de Benavides was the wife and widow of a printer, Juan Rivera, and in her own right a distinguished printer. Among other marks of accomplishment is that she operated from two editorial shops, the one from her mother on the Calle Agustín and the all-important press on Calle Empedradillo which she inherited from her husband and passed each of them on to her sons. The importance of her work was the impressive dedications to the Archbishops and counts who would figure in the exploration of Texas. In these works we see a physical trait, a watermark of circles and stacked circles which would appear for nearly sixty years, suggesting that privileges carried access to a fairly good quality European paper supply, or that she was closely affiliated with the manufacture of the material in New Spain. The embellished upper case letters shows a sensitivity to art and *mise en page*. Her double legacy was two sons, Francisco, husband of Juana de León y Mesa and Miguel, husband of Gertrudis Vera y Escobar; all four of them developed the craft of printing.

Francisco continued to publish notable heraldic designs of coats of arms included in sermons, such as the hermaphrodite siren; his widow Juana, upon inheriting from him the press Calle San Agustín in 1731, but apparently leaned towards reprints and prosaic layout. On the other hand, Miguel retained both the acanthus-filled block letters and elaborate woodcuts known to exist on the Calle Empedradillo, passed on his death to Gertrudis who would use them as a trademark of the house. In her sermons, she coordinated watermark and woodcuts on the title page, a good indicator of her talent and craft. The «woven basket» motif of floral initials and the *mise en page* remain a high point in the history of Mexican print.

Gertrudis's offspring, first as the «herederos de la viuda de Miguel de Calderón» and the «Imprenta Real del Superior Gobierno de los herederos de Miguel de Rivera en Empedradillo» and later as «En Casa de Doña María de Rivera» gradually shifted away from the craft seen earlier, favoring mass market and larger collections of

utilitarian material. In the anthologies and reprints, stripped to their commercial bare essentials with respect to paper, fonts, illuminated capitols, layout, and content, the printing dynasty came to a close as a family industry. María's lack of heirs led in part to the end of over a century-long tradition of admirable women involved in raising a family and printing. A *femme sole*, María reached economic and market success, but her death closed the book on the remarkable saga of four generations of women printers and their offspring who formed the backbone and shaped of New Spain. The sale of the press to Jáuregui begins another story.

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C o l e c c i ó n B a t i h o j a



Este libro es el resultado de un proyecto de investigación apoyado con fondos de Texas A&M University (TAMU) en los Estados Unidos y el Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología (CONACYT) de México. En él han participado dos equipos de investigadores, uno de TAMU dirigido por Nancy Joe Dyer y el otro por Blanca López de Mariscal del Tecnológico de Monterrey en México. Ambas instituciones cuentan con bibliotecas que albergan colecciones extraordinarias de libros antiguos y raros: la Biblioteca Cushing y la Biblioteca Cervantina. Las colecciones de sermones de estas universidades resultan de especial interés porque a través de ellas podemos destacar la importancia de estas piezas oratorias como 'texto de cultura', y analizar su contenido como documento histórico. En ellos descubrimos una parte de los valores religiosos, costumbres y prácticas de vida propias de los novohispanos.

Blanca López de Mariscal es directora del Programa de Maestría y Doctorado en Estudios Humanísticos en el Tecnológico de Monterrey, donde imparte los cursos de Literatura novohispana, Teoría literaria y Hermenéutica. Su área de especialidad es la literatura novohispana con un énfasis especial en los relatos de viaje al Nuevo Mundo.

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