The Art of Patron Sainthood: St. Teresa, Santiago, and the Early Modern Spanish Empire

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THE ART OF PATRON SAINTHOOD: ST. TERESA, SANTIAGO, AND THE EARLY MODERN SPANISH EMPIRE

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THE ART OF PATRON SAINTHOOD: ST. TERESA, SANTIAGO, AND THE EARLY MODERN SPANISH EMPIRE

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The Art of Patron Sainthood:  
St. Teresa, Santiago, and  
the Early Modern Spanish Empire

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In 1618 and 1626, the Castilian Cortes, supported by the Spanish Crown, named Spaniard St. Teresa of Ávila as Spain’s co-patron saint. This declaration, supported by many cities in the empire, including Ávila, Salamanca, Valladolid, and Mexico City, was still opposed by many who saw this as an insult to the standing patron, St. James, called Santiago in Spanish. Historians have studied this period because it helps explain social, cultural, and political conflicts within the empire. However, the art of this period has not been studied in depth. This thesis examines the artistic production related to the so-called co-patronage, including Spanish altarpieces, engravings, and paintings representing Teresa as co-patron, as well as a series of paintings completed in Mexico celebrating her elevation to sainthood. This study reveals how the visual culture confirmed and challenged arguments for and against Teresa’s elevation on both sides of the Atlantic. This thesis reveals how the artistic production was deeply intertwined with spiritual and political conflicts defining the trajectory of an empire in crisis.
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INTRODUCTION

In 1627, Diego del Escurial, a Discalced Franciscan cleric, wrote this about St. Teresa of Ávila: “We ought to paint [Teresa] with a sword in her hand, shield on her arm, helmet with a crest and plume on her head… Because of the help she is always giving us, because she fights our battles, defends our side and crowns our victories.”\(^1\) Despite del Escurial’s urgings, no paintings of this kind still exist, if, indeed, they ever did. This Spanish cleric wrote these words amid the Copatronazgo debates. This dispute, which raged off and on between 1618 and 1629 in Spain and the Americas, concerned the proposed elevation of St. Teresa of Ávila to co-patron saint of Spain alongside the longstanding patron, St. James the Apostle, called Santiago in Spanish.\(^2\) This period in Spanish history reflected many tensions within the struggling empire, including anxieties about masculinity, the strength of the Catholic faith, and the ability of the patron to protect his, or her, nation state.

The quote above reflects an art historiographical problem: there are few images of this period that reflect the Copatronazgo because the Holy Office of the Inquisition ordered any paraphernalia reflecting Teresa as patron destroyed in both 1618 and 1629. This thesis will


\(^2\) I will refer to St. James as “Santiago” throughout this thesis.
interrogate the few extant images from this period to expand art historical understanding of how visual culture reflected, reinforced, and challenged the arguments of the Copatronazgo debates. I will examine art from both Spain and Mexico in connection to these debates, illustrating how these disputes dialogued with the societal expectations of gendered sainthood.

St. Teresa was born Teresa de Ahumada y Cepeda in Ávila, a small city in central Spain in 1515. Most of what we know about Teresa’s early life comes from her own writings. Her father was a hidalgo, belonging to a lower nobility. Teresa had descended from a family of conversos, or Spanish Jews who had converted to Christianity in the mid-fifteenth century. A perceived blemish on the family, this converso status may have influenced the zealousness of Teresa’s faith. As a child, she and her brother became fascinated by early hagiographies, and even sought to run away from home hoping to become martyrs themselves in North Africa. As she got older, she continued to be faithful, and entered the Carmelite Convent of the Incarnation in Ávila in 1535. A nunnery for well-born women, this convent was neither mendicant nor confined. Her devotion continued to grow upon reading The Third Spiritual Alphabet by Francisco de Osuna, which, through its emphasis on self-denial and prayer, inspired her deeply personal devotion to God. After a severe illness, Teresa found her faith waning, but after seeing a new image of Christ in the convent, she gained renewed enthusiasm for her Catholic faith. Filled with restored devotion, Teresa returned to a dedicated spiritual life, and she began to experience intense supernatural phenomena, including levitations, traces, visions, and raptures. It was during

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4 She does not mention this fact in her many writings, probably because of its negative associations.
this period that she experienced the “Transverberation,” a vision where an angel pierced her heart with an arrow, a physical expression of the ecstatic pain associated with a deep devotion to God. Although she describes this event in her memoirs, it is made most memorable by Gian Lorenzo Bernini’s sculpture in Rome’s Cornaro Chapel.

But it was not only her mystic visions that made her famous throughout Spain—in 1562 she founded the Discalced Carmelite order, which reformed the Carmelite order to focus on a more mendicant lifestyle defined by both eremitic and communal vocations. This new order would wear sandals to reflect their poverty and support themselves with their own labor rather than with the dowries of their wealthy residents. While leading the Discalced Carmelites, and establishing convents all over Spain, Teresa also wrote many texts, including her autobiography, which she finished writing in 1562, and other writings, the most important being The Interior Castle, The Way of Perfection, and the Book of Foundations.

Many, including the Spanish monarchs, proclaimed her as a saint after her death in 1582 because they claimed that her corpse had remained uncorrupted, and even secreted scented oil. She had been a favorite theological writer of King Philip II of Spain who during her life approved the foundation of the Discalced Carmelite Order and after her death collected and preserved her many manuscripts. For the monarch, the miracles attributed to this Spanish woman after her death confirmed Spain as a blessed nation, and the Catholic faith as the correct one. His son Philip III worked hard to ensure her beatification in 1614. And in 1618, Philip III,

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along with the Castilian Cortes, or municipal council, declared her copatron saint of Spain with
Santiago.

Santiago, originally one of Christ’s apostles, was later made famous as the mythological
evangelizer of the Iberian peninsula and the legendary militant knight of the Reconquista, or
Spain’s crusade against Islamic rulers occupying much of the peninsula. Legend said that
Santiago had evangelized the Iberian peninsula in the early years after Christ’s death. Upon his
return to Jerusalem in 44 CE, Herod executed him. But, according to legend, Santiago’s faithful
followers brought his body back to the Iberian peninsula and buried it. Forgotten for centuries,
his remains were rediscovered in Galicia around the year 820, where the bishop Theodemir
certified their existence and set up a chapel to house the relic. The chapel soon grew into a
cathedral, and the bishopric of Santiago de Compostela became increasingly powerful as
medieval pilgrims flocked to pay homage to the apostle. As the Christian kingdoms began to take
ever more territory from the Islamic rulers occupying the southern half of the peninsula, legend
said that Santiago provided miraculous help to the Iberian Christians, most famously at the
probably legendary Battle of Clavijo in 844. Centuries later, chroniclers indicated that Santiago
also protected the Spaniards during their invasion of Indigenous peoples’ land in the Americas.

Santiago’s cult had grown in Spain, but many began to doubt the legitimacy of his myth,
probably stemming from resentment over the government’s imposition of the Santiagan voto, or
tax. Because the tax was designed to support the cathedral, many outside of Galicia began to

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8 Ofelia Rey Castelao, *La historiografía del Voto de Santiago: recopilación crítica de una polémica histórica*,
Monografías de la Universidad de Santiago de Compostela (Santiago de Compostela: Universidad de Santiago de
Compostela, 1985).
begrudge it, leading some to question the veracity of the myth. This questioning of Santiago’s myth coincided with difficulties for the Spanish Crown. The failure of the wars against England and the Low Countries, coinciding with massive inflation, caused some to doubt the strength of the once mighty nation. It was during this period of unrest that those worried about Spain began to look to a new saint that might help her patria—Saint Teresa.

Because Santiago had been Spain’s patron saint since the middle ages, Teresa’s elevation to co-patron, supported by King Phillip III of Spain, was shocking. Although many Spaniards, including Kings Philip III and IV, believed that naming Teresa as copatron would provide spiritual support for their kingdom plagued by war and famine and on the verge of financial collapse, others feared Santiago’s retaliation and doubted Teresa’s ability to perform. Hundreds of Spaniards wrote treatises either supporting or denouncing Teresa as patron saint, leaving behind a large corpus of primary literature dedicated to the debate. Teresa’s supporters, called Teresianos, believed that because she was a “modern,” Spanish saint, that she could better intercede on Spaniards’ behalf because she had intimate knowledge of Spain’s post-Reformation woes. Santiaguistas, or Santiago’s supporters, feared that elevating St. Teresa to Santiago’s coequal would provoke Santiago’s wrath or that he might revoke his protection. Others were concerned that Teresa, as a female saint, would be unable to provide adequate protection for the struggling nation. These debates raged for over a decade. Ultimately, the pope had to settle the dispute. In 1629 he decided in favor of the Santiaguistas as he demoted Teresa from co-patron back to beloved—but lesser—local saint.

There have been several historical studies of the Copatronazgo debates and of the period in general. Notable research by Erin Rowe, Óscar Ignacio Aparicio Ahedo, and Ofelia Rey
Castelao contextualizes the debate within Spain’s political and religious identity crisis happening throughout the seventeenth century.⁹ These scholars note that elevating Teresa challenged not only Santiago’s cult, but also the traditional spiritual narrative about the nation’s founding. Rowe dedicates a chapter of her work to the question of gender and the Copatronazgo, which helped shape the scope and direction of my research, along with work by historians Mary Elizabeth Perry and Elizabeth Lehfeldt.¹⁰ Several art historians have also written about Teresian imagery. For instance, art historian María José Pinilla Martín has written exhaustively about Teresian iconography.¹¹ Her work centers on how Catholics disseminated Teresian imagery throughout Europe in the years after her death, arguing that the images simultaneously reaffirmed and created miraculous events to validate her sainthood. Art historians Christopher Wilson and Antonio Rubial García have discussed Teresian iconography produced in Mexico.¹² Their articles discuss how visual production reflected and contributed to unique understandings of


Teresa’s *Transverberation* — her vision of Christ’s love piercing her heart— and her role as a doctor of the church, respectively. However, no scholars have published on the art of the *Copatronazgo* specifically.13

The explanation for this art historical gap in studying the *Copatronazgo* is probably that the Inquisition ordered that all Spanish citizens should destroy any insignias representing St. Teresa as copatron, once in 1618 and again in 1628. My study will engage with the already robust historical and literary analysis of this period to examine how visual production within the Spanish empire participated in these debates. Because many arguments surrounding Teresa’s role within Spanish Catholic theology were heavily gendered, I will use a feminist reading to reveal how the imagery produced during this period reinforced or challenged early modern ideas about gender. I will show how the artworks from both Spain and Mexico engage with different literary arguments about gender put forth by both saints’ supporters.

By discussing the masculinity and femininity of Santiago and Teresa, I do not mean to express a belief this binary or to argue for its existence in the early modern Spanish context, but to use these analytical categories to understand how people employ gender constructs. I will use Jesse M. Locker’s theoretical framework for examining the work of Artemisia Gentileschi. His work focuses on how others construct the gender and character of “extraordinary” women after their death.14 His analysis, and mine, furthers the idea of the constructed nature of gender and

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13 My colleague Richard Jacques has written about the *Copatronazgo* in relation to Juan Bautista Maino’s *Copatronazgo*, and has graciously shared his research with me. Richard Jacques, “The Anatomy of a Crisis - Juan Bautista Maino’s Copatronazgo and the Struggle for Spanish Identity,” in *Forging Identities*, 2022.

seeks to explore how people in the early modern era used these arguments for political and religious control.

Chapter one of my thesis will examine the five known works that survive that reference Teresa as copatron: one retablo, or altarpiece, two engravings, and two paintings. I will discuss how each work embodied or challenged textual arguments made during the Copatronazgo and how each modality contributed to these visual arguments. Chapter two of my thesis will look more deeply into one of these paintings, *The Copatronazgo*, attributed to Juan Bautista Maíno. I will argue that this painting visually represents a mystical marriage between the two saints, reflecting one of the arguments used to support the joining of these two saints in protection of the nation. This mystical marriage, complicated by complex notions of gender and sexuality, ultimately failed, and so did efforts to support the Copatronazgo. Chapter three of my paper will branch out from Spain to discuss the Copatronazgo debate in Mexico City. With no artworks from Mexico that directly reference the Copatronazgo, I will examine artistic production when these events were raging, specifically at a 1622 of twenty-four paintings by Luis Juárez celebrating Teresa’s life and canonization. These paintings promote Teresa’s spiritual power as a religious woman, thereby reinforcing the spiritual authority that the Mexican Discalced Carmelites nuns had in Mexico City. Through historical and art historical analyses of Juárez’ Teresa series, this chapter will trouble the center/proximity binary and contribute to the study of Latin American painting.

In sum, my thesis examines a subject seldom studied by art historians, touching on issues of gender, empire, and liminality within the art historical canon. The images I will include in my thesis reflect the complex gendered anxieties that plagued Hispanic society. These images
demonstrate the intricacy of the arguments surrounding this female saint, whose very veracity as a sanctified person was essential to Spain’s burgeoning identity as a nation and leader in Catholic theology. My study engages with important historical and literary discourse surrounding the *Copatronazgo* and would be the first art historical study dedicated specifically to this content. This study places the creation and dissemination of images within important discussions of gender, identity politics, and nationalist discourse within the early modern era.
CHAPTER 1

Despite many historical scholarly sources detailing the events of the *Copatronazgo*, there have been no large-scale art historical examinations of the period through its lens. The explanation for this art historical gap is probably that the Holy Office of the Inquisition ordered that all subjects of the Spanish crown should destroy any emblems representing St. Teresa as copatron, once in 1618 and again in 1628. Consequently, art historians only know of five surviving images that directly refer to Santiago and St. Teresa as co-patrons, or to Teresa as patron. These five images, a retablo (or altarpiece), two engravings, and two paintings, all served different functions and promoted St. Teresa’s patronage in different ways. In this chapter I will examine how each work embodied or challenged textual arguments made during the *Copatronazgo* and discuss how each modality contributed to these visual arguments. I argue that the creation of these images supported both personal and political aims. The medium that each patron chose spoke to their specific desires and reasons for supporting the *Copatronazgo*.

**The Retablo: Personal and Political**

The only extant retablo referencing the *Copatronazgo* is in St. Teresa’s chapel in the New Cathedral in Salamanca (Figure 1). When Philip IV reproclaimed Teresa as patron in 1626, the
Bishop of Salamanca immediately approved her patron sainthood. Not everyone in the community was supportive, but one Don Antonio de Almansa y Vera, an ardent Teresiano supporter, commissioned an altarpiece that shows his endorsement. The chapel, called the “chapel of the Saint Mother Teresa de Jesús,” contains a retablo, the Spanish term for an altarpiece, designed by Antonio Paz in 1628. Archival documents indicate that Don Antonio de Almansa y Vera commissioned the sculptor from Valladolid to design almost everything in the chapel, except the two putti and the central statues. Scholars have attributed the paintings to Valentín de Aguilar. The contract does not record the identity of the sculptor of the two main statues and the putti, but scholar J.J. Martín González has attributed them to Paz as well.

The chapel features two sculptures of Santiago and St. Teresa, accompanied by paintings of other saints. Next to St. Teresa are four paintings that reference her role as a religious leader. Surrounding Teresa are two founders of religious orders, fellow Castilian St. Domingo de Guzmán and St. Francis de Assis, joined by images of St. Andrew and St. Blas, both saints invested with religious authority. Next to Santiago are two paintings of “Anthonys:” St. Anthony the Great and St. Anthony of Padua, a gesture towards the name of the chapel’s commissioner. Corinthian columns surround Santiago’s niche, while Teresa’s is decorated in the

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16 The paperwork does not directly state that the chapel is dedicated to the copatronazgo, but the design betrays its true intentions. Casas Hernández, 43.
17 Casas Hernández, 43.
18 Casas Hernández, 51.
19 Unfortunately I do not have higher quality images of these sculptures, but have done the best with the images that I have. All of the observations, unless footnoted, are my own. Casas Hernández, 44; J.J. Martín González, Escultura Barroca Castellana, vol. II (Madrid: Lázaro Galdiano, 1971), 19–34.
20 Casas Hernández, “El Retablo De Santiago y Santa Teresa: La Defensa Del Copatronato Desde La Iglesia Catedral De Salamanca y Su Cabildo.”
Doric style. In this *retablo*, Santiago stands above his female copatron, perhaps related to his status as the higher-ranking saint, as male and as an apostle.

These sculpted portraits include many recognizable iconographic elements from both Teresa and Santiago’s visual corpuses. As for St. Teresa’s sculpted portrait, scholars have pointed out that it differs from Gregorio Fernández’s sculptures of St. Teresa in Ávila and Valencia, because it is not idealized (Figure 2). Fernandez’s portraits show a young Teresa, while this portrait includes Teresa’s moles and wrinkles. These moles were key markers of her physiognomy, first featured in her portrait by Fray Juan de Miseria, thought to be her “true portrait” (Figure 3). Paz’ sculpture draws from common visual imagery that depicts Teresa surprised by the Holy Spirit while writing her many reflections on the gospel. In these images and in the sculpture, the dove provides divine inspiration for her writings, gesturing to her identity as a divinely touched saint. Santiago’s sculpture holds the pilgrim’s staff in his right hand and wears his pilgrim’s hat on his back. He gazes outward, perhaps in thought after reading. He also holds a book, related to his role as a biblical author and evangelizer. This sculpture alludes to Santiago’s role as a pilgrim and an apostle, leaving out the “Matamoros” imagery seen in other depictions of the *Copatronazgo*.

As for looking at the two figures together, scholars have pointed out that Santiago’s polychrome painting starkly contrasts that of his copatron.²¹ Teresa’s brown robe, black habit, and cream mantle emphasize her role as a Discalced Carmelite, presenting her as a humble nun. Santiago, on the other hand, wears rich hues of green and gold on his robe, emphasizing his vital

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²¹ Casas Hernández, 50.
role as founder of Spain. Perhaps the artist or patron chose these colors to distinguish Santiago from Teresa, emphasizing his continued importance to the realm and his role as the original patron.

But the evidence shows that someone changed the composition of this altarpiece from its original arrangement. In Spanish altarpieces it is common to see saints “stacked” on top of one another, giving prominence to the saint higher on the altarpiece. Scholars have suggested that the pillared bases do not match up to their sculpture, indicating that the patron or artist who created this retablo may have intended that Teresa’s sculpture occupy the upper register. According to Casas Hernández:

The base on which [Teresa’s] weight rests does not correspond to the size of the base itself, surpassing it in width and not filling it in length. It is true that the base of the sculpture is quadrangular and does not fit the rectangular shape on which it sits. In contrast, the base of [Santiago’s statue] does fit its shape and measurements. The same happens with Santiago’s sculpture, fits the pedestal’s entire surface. Additionally, the apostle’s base has a more rectangular shape, and is more consistent in size with that of the lower base. To this we must add one more piece of evidence: the holes that exist in Santiago’s arm correspond to the metal piece that supports the image of the Carmelite reformer.22

This provides compelling evidence that Teresa’s statue was originally meant to be at the top register of the retablo.23 If scholars are correct, and Teresa was originally meant to stand in the top register of the retablo, this would emphasize the patron’s views of the importance of the

22Translation by the author: “la peana sobre la que reposa el peso de la Santa no se corresponde con el tamaño de la propia base, sobrepasándola en anchura y no llenándola en largura. Se constata que la base de la hechura es cuadrangular y no se acomoda correctamente a la forma rectangular sobre la que se halla. Por contra, la del piso superior sí que se ajusta a su forma y medidas. Lo mismo ocurre con la que sujet a Santiago, quedando bastante espacio para llenar toda la superficie. A ello se suma que la hechura del apóstol posee una base más cercana a la forma rectangular, más acorde en dimensiones con la del piso inferior. A lo anterior hay que sumar una evidencia más: los orificios que existen en el panel tras la hechura de Santiago al nivel del brazo, los cuales se corresponden con la pieza metálica que apunta la imagen de la reformadora del Carmelo.” Casas Hernández, 52.

23Casas Hernández, 52–53.
Copatronazgo and of Teresa, visually advocating for her as patron. But Santiago’s polychrome and his eventual placement above Teresa, along with primary source evidence, indicates that although the patron Don Antonio advocated for Teresa to serve as copatron with Santiago, he and the artists were careful to emphasize Santiago’s continued role and importance within the realm.

On a larger scale this retablo is a physical manifestation of the geographically characterized debates that took place across the empire during the Copatronazgo. When Philip declared Teresa as copatron, many cities took a side. The city of Santiago, of course, was ardently against naming Teresa as copatron, and campaigned against her, gaining many supporters, including major dioceses such as Toledo, Sevilla, and Granada. However, Ávila, Valladolid, and Salamanca remained loyal to Teresa, despite the Santiaguistas’ best efforts. These cities, especially Ávila, styled themselves as Teresa’s homeland, and scorned those who doubted her abilities as patron. Many of her supporters in these regions, including the Dukes of Alba and the Mendoza family, were her patrons, and continued to be loyal to her and celebrated her feast day both before and after her official sanctification. In Ávila, Valladolid, and Salamanca, there was none of the hostility towards Santiago or his cult that would characterize other supporters of the Copatronazgo elsewhere. Indeed, Ávila, Valladolid, or Salamanca’s support for the female saint did not threaten the Santiago diocese, suggesting it was “natural” that they would want her as their patron. In fact, Santiago did not attempt to recruit these cities to

24 Rowe, Saint and Nation: Santiago, Teresa of Avila, and Plural Identities in Early Modern Spain, 149.
25 Although Teresa was born in Avila, most of her work for the Discalced Carmelites took places in Salamanca and Valladolid. She died in Salamanca, which serves as her final resting place. Rowe, 151.
26 Rowe, 152.
its cause.\textsuperscript{27} It seems that many Spaniards expected the elevation of Teresa’s cult, in these three cities at least.

But on a smaller scale, this retablo is also very personal to its patron. Don Antonio commissioned this chapel for his burial and worked with the cathedral to ensure that the artist completed the commission. The personal nature of this commission was emphasized by his choosing both St. Anthonys as corollary saints to the two copatrons, emphasizing his personal connection to the subject and perhaps accentuating the prestige of his patronage. He chose this subject matter specifically because of his personal devotion to Teresa, and continued loyalty to Santiago.

The medium of polychrome sculpture also made this retablo both personal and social. The prevalence and taste for Spanish polychromed sculpture speaks to the intense devotion of seventeenth-century Catholic Spaniards. For example, when discussing Luisa Roldán’s sculpture of \textit{Jesus of Nazareth}, late seventeenth-century painter and art theoretician Antonio Palomino betrays his affinity for the medium when he reveals that he “lack[ed] the words” to express the “respect and reverence it produced” with its visceral droops of blood and life-like portrayal of Christ.\textsuperscript{28} Indeed, polychrome sculpture, although not entirely unique to Spain, had a hold on Catholic worshippers there. The ability to produce such lifelike representations of holy figures inspired devotion in the seventeenth-century viewer, supplementing his religious imagination and enhancing the corporal nature of sacred worship.

\textsuperscript{27} Rowe, 153.

In this retablo, with Saint Teresa and Santiago standing tall above you, one could imagine the weightiness of their role as protectors. Teresa’s elevation to copatron elevated both the city of Salamanca, and Don Antonio. The choice of the retablo and the medium of polychromed sculpture highlights the intense devotion and commitment of both the patron and the city to her cause, and to the ongoing investment in ensuring Spain’s protection and prosperity.

**The Emblem and the Engraving: Symbols of Strength**

Two distinct engravings have remained from this period, one emblem and one frontispiece. An emblem, unique among images of the *Copatronazgo* because it depicts Teresa as a singular patron, shows a habited Teresa atop the Castilian crown and coat of arms (Figure 4). Scholars know this emblem because it decorates two surviving treatises from the period: one defense of Teresa’s patronage and the other a description of the festivities in her honor. In the printed emblem, a haloed Teresa in three quarters profile stares out at the viewer, hands clasped in prayer. A vibrant halo emanates from her. The Latin inscription, “Protect Me, O Teresa” reflects the textual connection to the treatise and the festivities celebrating Teresa as patron. Distinct from other depictions of the Castilian crown, there is no cross at the top, and the cross can be found instead at Teresa’s neck. The scrolls and intricate design of the crown gesture towards Castille’s nobility, and therefore the nobility of its new and most honored patron.

Along with descriptions of the festivities in her honor, the emblem also decorates a treatise by Don Melchor Alfonso Mogroveio y Escovar, archdeacon of Olmedo, a small town outside of Valladolid, and clergyman in a church in Ávila. The archdeacon wrote a defense of Teresa’s patronage in 1628. This text begins by chiding the Santiago diocese for not supporting Teresa’s patronage, insisting that support of Teresa as patron will not damage Santiago’s cult. He
expresses frustration that Santiago’s church would deny Teresa the patronage, because he knows that it would be a positive boon for Spain and its people. He challenges the idea that Santiago would endanger Spain if the nation elected Teresa as its copatron. He finishes his text with the exultation that it is “convenient” and “natural” that Teresa be the patron because she was “born in Spain,” and indicates that this fact trumps all objections to her fitness as patron.29

Because this image contains a visual component, textual component, and text to accompany it, scholars can consider this image an “early modern emblem.”30 Conventionally, scholars indicate that an “early modern emblem” contains three parts: the inscription (usually in Latin), the image, and the epigram. Scholars believe that Italian Andrea Alciato created the first emblem in his Emblemata liber in 1581, and that the practice took on a life of its own within the early modern collective consciousness. Emblems, according to scholars, were “arguments” in textual and visual form.31 The early modern reader would have been equipped to encounter an emblem, which would present the reader with an unexpected argument through manipulation of text or visual form, thereby endowing the reader with new knowledge. This emblem that features Teresa is technically missing its epigram, but still functions as an emblem because its relationship to the text and function as an image that “argues.”32

29 “Prueuase quan conveniente es sea su compatronata nuestra Santa Madre, por ser natural, y nacida en Espana: Satisfazase a otras objeciones.” Don Melchor Alfonso Mogrovejo y Escovar, Don Melchor Alfonso Mogrovejo y Escovar Arcediano de Olmedo y Canonigo En La Santa Iglesia de Auila, Menor Sieruo y Dewoto de La Santa Madre Teresa de Iesus, En Defensa de Su Patronato (BNM, MS 9140, fols. 191r–225v, 1628), 14R.

30 Scholar Peter Daly is the leading figure in studying early modern emblems. For more reading, see: Peter M. Daly, Emblem Theory (KTO Press, 1979); Peter M. Daly, Companion to Emblem Studies, AMS Studies in the Emblem, No. 20 (New York: AMS Press, 2008); Peter M. Daly, The Emblem in Early Modern Europe: Contributions to the Theory of the Emblem (Farnham, Surrey; Ashgate, 2014).


32 Scholars studying emblems have asserted that although the tripartite emblem is the most recognizable, that emblems were widely recognizable even if missing one of those three parts. Wade.
The designer of this image has altered the familiar Castilian coat of arms to accommodate Teresa’s likeness and a different motto. The Castilian coat of arms often contained the motto “plus ultra,” meaning “further beyond.” But the engraver changed the motto to “Protect Me, O Teresa” to reflect the ethos of the Copatronazgo, reflecting Mogroveio y Escovar’s argument that Teresa was an appropriate patron because she would protect her homeland. Teresa’s nun’s habit emphasizes her capabilities to protect the nation as an important Catholic saint. This emblem that accompanies the text underscores the text’s main purpose: to assure the reader that naming Teresa as patron of Spain was in the best interests of the nation and the people. Indeed, when the Cortes of Castille declared her as copatron they stated that Teresa would be well suited to be Spain’s patron saint, because she was born in Spain, and understood the current problems facing the Spanish nation and Catholic faith, especially the Protestant threat looming in Northern Europe.

Another engraving made in 1618 by Francisco Heylan perhaps originated as an advertisement for a Granadan poetry contest celebrating Teresa’s elevation or served as a frontispiece decorating a treatise supporting Teresa’s patronage (Figure 5). While Erin Rowe asserts that this was an advertisement for a poetry contest, there is no allusion to this contest on the engraving itself. She found it as a loose sheet in the archives of Madrid, and so I suspect that it might have been a frontispiece instead. Rowe, Saint and Nation: Santiago, Teresa of Avila, and Plural Identities in Early Modern Spain.
characteristic of the “Matamoros” manifestation that arose in the twelfth century. In this manifestation of Santiago, which first appeared carved on a tympanum in the Santiago Cathedral (Figure 6), artists depict him as a militant knight, often on horseback. Heylan portrays him similarly here, with a sword resting against his shoulder. Teresa mirrors him on the other side—depicted as a habited and haloed saint, she holds a torch in her hand. The Holy Spirit blesses both saints with its power. This descending dove could reference Pentecost, when Santiago, as an apostle, received the holy Spirit after Christ’s ascension, and Teresa’s Illumination, or one of Teresa’s visions where she was given divine inspiration by the Holy Spirit, represented in art as a dove, which gave her inspiration to write her books and defend the true faith against the Protestant threat (Figure 7). The Holy Spirit in the form of the dove unites the two saints, as they are both given divine favor by contact with the sacred.

In between them, in clear reference to the patronage, sits the coats of arms of Castille. The crown, atop the emblem of the lion and castle, accompanied by the granada, or pomegranate, visually alludes to Castille’s role in the Reconquista. The addition of the pomegranate to the Castilian coat of arms, made by Ferdinand and Isabella after their conquering of the former Muslim controlled state of Granada, linguistically alluded to the city’s invasion by the “Catholic Kings.” This addition to the coat of arms, included in this image, visually argued for Castille’s prominent place within the Spanish nation and in Christendom. More pomegranates decorate the carved architectural column based, emphasizing Spaniards’ roles as Christian crusaders.

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In many ways this image shows Teresa and Santiago as coequal copatrons. First, Heylan gives the two saints equal pictorial weight. Both are massively draped, their large bodies at equal height, and both look blankly outward. Both rest their hands upon the coat of arms, supporting it equally. The inscription indicates that Santiago has a sword, while Teresa defends the faith with fire, presumably with her writings that the Catholic church viewed as defenses against the perceived threat of Protestantism. Heylan shows that both are founders of important Spanish orders—the emblem of the order of Santiago has been carved into the acroterion on Santiago’s side, and the image of the Discalced Carmelite order is crowned in the acroterion near Teresa.

To emphasize their equality, the cartouche at the top of the tympanum refers to Ecclesiastes 4. In this Old Testament book the author indicates that

> Two are better than one because they have a good reward for their toil. For if they fall, one will lift up the other, but woe to one who is alone and falls and does not have another to help. 11 Again, if two lie together, they keep warm, but how can one keep warm alone? 12 And though one might prevail against another, two will withstand one. A threefold cord is not quickly broken.35

This reference within the engraving refers to the idea that Teresa and Santiago would serve Spain better as a pair. Many Santiaguistas were concerned that elevating Teresa would diminish Santiago’s cult, angering the saint and causing more trouble for the Spanish nation. Many Teresiano supporters, including Francisco de Santa Maria, in his Defense of the Patronage, counterargued that elevating Teresa as copatron would only “augment the cult of the apostle’s

sacred sepulcher” because Teresa was a Spaniard, and therefore her salvation, and sainthood, depended on Santiago’s evangelism and conversion.\textsuperscript{36}

Historian Erin Rowe has also argued that the plurality of the patron sainthood echoed the plurality of the kingship. She demonstrated in her 2011 book *Saint and Nation: Santiago, Teresa of Ávila, and Plural Identities in Early Modern Spain* the heavily politicized motives behind elevating Teresa, led by Count Duke Olivares, Philip IV’s principal advisor. Olivares hoped that elevating Teresa would provide a spiritual and rhetorical reset for the kingdom, as she would provide renewed spiritual support for the nation as a “modern” saint who understood Spain’s troubles. Her newness, Rowe argues, would reinforce the reforms Olivares was attempting to push through, and her “co-ruling” with Santiago would validate Olivares’ role as “co-ruler” with Philip IV.\textsuperscript{37} This engraving echoes these ideas, demonstrating the two saints as coequally capable of protecting the nation.

This engraving also visually represents textual arguments surrounding Teresa’s gender. This image shows her as a fierce and powerful protector. When the Catholic Church canonized Teresa, many described her as masculine, saying that she had “[left] behind her weak feminine self, to be considered a robust man and given masculine attributes.” This idea that a faithful woman could be manly dates back as early as Augustine’s *Confessions*, when he describes his mother as “womanly in her dress but virile in her faith.” Many early Christian, medieval, and early modern theologians believed it was possible for women to overcome their bodily and mental weaknesses to become a “manly woman,” distinct in their piety. Many authors portrayed


\textsuperscript{37} Rowe, 105.
Teresa as a spiritual warrior because of her defense of Catholicism against Lutheran heresy. In her own writing Teresa portrayed herself as a mystical soldier sieging a castle in pursuit of union with Christ. Many Teresiano supporters used her status as a “manly woman” to argue for her ability to serve as patron.

In many treatises, theologians argued for Teresa’s fitness as patron because of her capabilities to inspire military strength, something echoed in the engraving. Although the engraving makes it clear that Santiago fights with the sword, the fact that the engraver has chosen to represent Teresa with a flame, a weapon of war, rather than a pen, her regular attribute, speaks to the engraver’s belief in her protective capabilities. This visual allusion is reflected in the text—one early modern author indicated that Teresa should be painted “with a sword in her hand, shield on her arm, helmet with a crest and plume on her head… because she fights our battles, defends our side, and crowns our victories.”38 Practically, many Spaniards also began invoking Teresa’s name in battle, beseeching her protection and intercession, just like her co-patron Santiago. The seventeenth-century historian José de Santa Teresa notes that the victories at the battles of Lepanto, Perpignan, Ambers and Bahía were attributed to her intercession.39

The choice of the flame could also refer to Teresa’s role as spiritual warrior. Santiago remains the literal combatant, holding a sword, ready to engage in literal combat against the Muslims of the Reconquista, or more recently, the Indigenous peoples of the Americas. But Teresa’s weapon is not a sword, but a torch, burning brightly with the truth of the Catholic

38 Diego del Escurial, Sermon Predicado en el Convento de las Carmelitas Descalzas de Madrid, en la Octaua que sus Mageestades hizieron a la Santa Madre Teresa de Iesus, al nueuo título de Patrona de España (Madrid: La Viuda de Alonso Martín, 1627), fol. 16v quoted in Rowe, 115.
39 Rowe, 117.
doctrine. But the text of the engraving emphasizes that this does not make her weak—instead, it is coequal with Santiago’s sword, just as she is coequal as patron. In many ways, it echoes the idea, again, that Teresa was more fit to be a patron for modern Spain. The Reconquista had ended, and although warfare had not, and would not, cease, there were theological fights against Protestants that had to be waged. These battles had spiritual, and therefore everlasting, consequences not only for Spain, but for all of Christendom. Her weapon, therefore, could easily be seen as a coequal device for spiritual warfare.

But although this engraving in some ways advocates for Teresa and Santiago as equal copatrions, in others it argues for Teresa’s supremacy, or at least focuses on her role as patron. The engraved text accompanies this image, asserting that “The sharpest sword of blood and fire burned like a torch… Jacob defends with the sword, and Teresa with fire… [they] will not give way to enemies… Elijah emulated his father by throwing down three flames… as did Teresa.” This engraving makes clear that although Santiago holds equal pictorial weight with Teresa, that the focus of the engraver’s adoration remains on the female saint.

Other imagery, now destroyed, indicates that such militant imagery of Teresa was perhaps more common than previously thought. A description of one of the festivities in 1627 celebrating the Copatronazgo in Cordoba explains that a series of paintings were created to celebrate her feast day and the co-patronage. Bishop Cristóbal de Lobera of Córdoba commissioned two paintings. The first, according to the account “showed Teresa taking a bloodied sword from a hand coming down from the sky. Another pictured Spain as a woman dressed in armor, together with a lion in the habit of Santiago on one side and a bee with a rosary
on the other, and an inscription lauding Spain’s great protection from its two patrons.”\textsuperscript{40} This imagery illustrates the militant imagery associated with Teresa and the Copatronazgo, making the militant imagery of the Heylan engraving probably familiar to early modern Spanish viewers.\textsuperscript{41}

The emblem and the Heylan engraving both served as propaganda for the Copatronazgo, as their printed medium allowed them to circulate widely. Scholars have long considered religious prints in early modern Spain a part of “edifying devotion.”\textsuperscript{42} The advent of the printing press brought devotion more intimately into people’s lives through their cheap and easy circulation of religious images. The first prints thought to be in Spain were religious images of Christ on the Cross, the Virgin and Child, and the Angel Gabriel, found hanging in bedrooms of religious persons in Vich, a small town outside of Barcelona.\textsuperscript{43} The finding of religious prints in dormitory inventories emphasizes the personal nature of the print medium. Since the print could be circulated cheaply, it was often more personal, as people could take them home and look at them privately. These prints, however, sought not only to inspire devotion in its viewer, but also to instruct the viewer on the Catholic Church’s teachings.

In the instance of the Copatronazgo, the two printed images served different functions depending on when and where they were published. The emblem, published to decorate a treatise

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\textsuperscript{40} Rowe, 189.
\textsuperscript{41} While we have no records of the audience’s response to this imagery, the aftermath of the celebrations speaks to the public’s disapproval of his tactics. While initially only promising to hold festivities to honor her feast day, he shifted the celebration to celebrate her patronage. A month later, the bishop’s chapter issued a statement pledging their continued support of Santiago’s sole patronage, disavowing the celebration of Teresa as patron. Rowe, 189.
\textsuperscript{43} Antonio Gallego Gallego, Historia Del Grabado En España (Madrid: Ediciones Catedra, 1979), 183.
printed in a pamphlet, would emphasize the points within that pamphlet. Circulation of pamphlets was common in early modern Spain, and often had emblems or coats of arms to decoratively accompany the text.\textsuperscript{44} The prints, therefore, meant to accompany the text, emphasized its points for the reader.

But the Heylan engraving is one altogether different. If this object was indeed a flyer for the poetry contest, it most likely circulated as a single sheet, which was less common than book engravings, but common enough.\textsuperscript{45} In Granada, Francisco Heylan, the engraver of this image, founded the school for printmakers, and produced at least 142 prints between 1613 and 1633.\textsuperscript{46} The print, an inherently mobile medium, was ideal for advertising this poetry contest, and was created by one of the most respected printers in Granada. It was therefore an ideal medium to publicize a government run support of Teresa’s patronage, as it visually argued for Teresa’s significant role as Spain’s protector.

\textbf{The Paintings: Possible Copies}

Evidence that this print circulated is strong. In the early modern era, it was extremely common for prints to circulate, and then serve as inspiration for sculptures or paintings.\textsuperscript{47} In this case, there are two convincing cases for the adaption of Heylan’s print into the painted medium. A recently restored painting from a town just outside of Córdoba is a clear copy of the Heylan

\textsuperscript{44} Gallego Gallego, 138–39.
\textsuperscript{45} Gallego Gallego, 136.
\textsuperscript{46} Gallego Gallego, 220.
engraving (Figure 8). Little is known about this painting, as no scholarship exists on it.\footnote{The only scholarship on this painting is this blog. “Un Lienzo Sobre Teresa Compatrona de España,” Teresa, de La Rueca a La Pluma (blog), June 18, 2018, https://delaruecaalapluma.com/2018/06/18/un-lienzo-sobre-teresa-compatrona-de-espana/} Originally located in the Royal Sanctuary of María Santísima de Araceli in Lucena, this painting’s patronage and original use remains a mystery. The painter, a less skilled draughtsman than the original engraver, added color to the engraving and simplified the forms, making them stand out and easier to see. The other changes that the painter made were minimal. In the painting, the painter has cropped out some of the space around the edges, eliminating some of the white space that surrounded the architectural structure. The painter also eliminated the sun rays around the dove. This painting demonstrates the wide circulation of the Heylan image, as it made its way from Granada to a small town outside of Cordoba. It is reasonable, therefore, that this engraving would have circulated throughout Spain and even the broader Hispanic world.\footnote{Scholars have evidence that Heylan’s engravings circulated throughout Latin America as well. One of his prints depicting one Apparition of the Virgin served as inspiration for a Cuzco School painter in their depiction of Our Lady of La Salceda in the seventeenth century. A comparison of the print and its conformation can be found here: https://colonialart.org/archives/subjects/virgin-mary/advocations-of-the-virgin/virgen-de-la-salceda#c190a-190b}

But the Cordoban copy of the Heylan engraving was not the only surviving painting that references the Copatronazgo. Another surviving work is the newly acquired painting now in the Spanish Gallery in Bishop Auckland in the United Kingdom, attributed to Fray Juan Bautista Maíno (Figure 9). In this painting, a bearded, sword and sigil bearing Santiago stands on a pilar and firmly grasps the coat of arms of Castille and Leon. Next to him, a starkly white faced and young Teresa gazes peacefully up at the Holy Spirit, represented by a dove. Teresa holds a pen and a large book, emphasizing her role as theologian. Her role as the founder of the Discalced Carmelites is emphasized by her nun’s habit. And as testament to the favor she receives, she
wears the necklace the Virgin bestowed on her in one of her visions. As she stares up expectantly at the dove, Santiago stares, perhaps expectantly, at her.

Leticia Gómez, leading scholar on Fray Juan Bautista Maíno, has attributed this painting to the seventeenth-century priest.\(^5\) Given the subject matter of this painting, this attribution makes sense. Maíno, originally from Italy, became the young Prince Philip IV’s drawing instructor in 1619. After Philip became king in 1621, and his princely drawing lessons ceased, Maíno continued to receive a pension from the king for two hundred ducats a year, indicating that he continued to be in the king’s service and good favor. Gomez speculated that the Count Duke Olivares, the king’s favorite advisor, may have commissioned this painting to show his support for the king’s Teresiano cause. Some have posited that Maíno might have reproduced the composition and figural placement from the Heylan engraving. If this is true, Maíno made a few key changes that I will highlight here because they are relevant to my analysis. Since the engraving circulated, with the extant copy ending up in the libraries of Madrid, perhaps the painter, then living at court, could have seen the engraving and used it as inspiration for his commissioned work.

Indeed, the painter could have taken a lot of inspiration from the Heylan engraving due to the compositional similarities. The overall composition remains the same, especially in regard to Santiago—Santiago stands on the right-hand side, holding a sword and grasping the coat of arms, with the habited Teresa on the left-hand side. Santiago’s feet are positioned similarly as in the engraving, his left foot pointed towards the viewer supporting his weight, while his right foot is

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\(^5\) Leticia Ruiz Gómez, “‘Santiago y Santa Teresa de Jesús, Patrones de Castilla y León c. 1627-1628.,”” in Obras Maestras de La Colección Valdés, ed. Amaya Alzaga Ruiz, María Pilar Silva Maroto, and Javier Novo (Bilbao: Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao, 2020), 100.
slightly angled in a contrapposto stance. The dove representing the Holy Spirit is similarly foreshortened, and the triangular sun rays emanate from the top of the painting. But there are also many differences, some seemingly innocuous and compositional. The painter has removed the architectural background that grounds the engraving, setting the scene instead in a heavenly space occupied not only by Santiago and St. Teresa, but also by eleven putti. Two of these putti hold up the coat of arms, sitting on an architectural structure on which the two saints stand.

Philip IV was an avid collector of paintings, and inspired others in his social circle, including the Count Duke Olivares, to commission and collect artworks as well.51 As stated above, Leticia Gómez believes Philip IV, the Count Duke Olivares, or someone close to them commissioned this painting to show their ardent support of the patronage. For this patron, whoever they might be, this painting ingratiated the king. First, commissioning Maíno, a favorite of the king whom Philip viewed as one of the foremost tastemakers at the Spanish court, would have been seen as a nod to the king’s taste.52 Second, the subject matter supported the Copatronazgo, which both Philip and Duke Olivares were both personally and professionally committed to. Olivares’ defense of the Copatronazgo would have endeared oneself to the king, using this painting as a political bargaining chip towards getting the king’s favor. Philip himself was skilled at using artwork as political propaganda, later creating a Hall of Realms which extolled his virtues as a ruler and positioned the Spanish empire as the most powerful and

52 Brown and Elliott explain that Maíno and fellow Italian painter Giovanni Battista Crescenzi “commanded attention because they were familiar with recent artistic developments in Italy, the country to which Spain looked for leadership in painting.” Brown and Elliott, 45.
important Catholic sovereignty on earth. This painting would similarly push forth Philip’s agenda, making visual the protection that Teresa could provide Spain and the Spanish crown.

**Conclusion**

These five images demonstrate the different impact of the divergent mediums used to express support of the Copatronazgo. The retablo, an inherently public medium, also expressed private and geographical support of the patronage, emphasizing their devotion of Teresa through the visceral medium of polychrome sculpture. The emblem allowed authors to emphasize their textual arguments, visually arguing for Teresa’s ability to serve and protect the nation. The engraving dialogued with different arguments about Teresa as copatron, serving as a visual accompaniment to the poetry contest held in her honor or treatises written in her defense. The painting allowed its patron to show his support for the Copatronazgo, dedicating himself or herself to the King and his advisor.

We can imagine that these images did not stand alone in the early modern period. The presence of these images in three separate mediums suggests the possibility of a large corpus of images, now lost to history. If not for the Inquisition’s iconoclastic mandate, scholars today may have countless images to compare that would have clarified the psychology of the Copatronazgo, providing scholars with more personal and political impulses related to the Spanish saint’s ability to protect the nation.

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53 Brown and Elliott, 148.
CHAPTER 2

The recently unearthed painting of Santiago and Teresa as copatrons, purchased by the Spanish Gallery in Bishop Auckland in the United Kingdom, depicts a rare scene (Figure 9). This painting joins a small corpus, discussed in the chapter above, of images that reference the Copatronazgo debates, and presumably the Inquisition intended that it be destroyed in the 1630s. But it has survived. This painting presents Teresa as a young woman, stripped of militant imagery, to present her as a softened, and less threatening, version of herself. This chapter will explore the idea that this painting represented a “mystic marriage” between the two saints, a common argument about the efficacy of their copatronage. It will examine the textual, historical, gendered, and sexual implications of such a marriage, and ultimately argue that Maíno painted this image with the conscious or subconscious idea of representing it as a mystic marriage to appeal to the opponents of the copatronazgo, highlighting the gendered tensions implicit and explicit within the political debate. This painting is an exemplary case study for investigating the core issues related to the Copatronazgo debates and their manifestation in visual representation.

As stated in the introduction, Spain’s changing political landscape, its worsening financial prospects, threats from foreign powers, and its internal anxieties spurred the interest in a new, Spanish patron to protect the nation. Knowing all these factors, Teresa’s supporters
worked in two ways to fashion Teresa as the perfect patron for Spain. The first group focused on Teresa as a strong, masculine protector, perhaps embodied visually by the Heylan engraving and the Loboa paintings produced for Teresa’s festival. For this group, she was still female, but this did not negate her spiritual strength. The second group “leaned in” to Teresa’s femininity, arguing that traditional feminine traits, such as piety, loyalty, and compassion, were key to strengthening the nation against its military and spiritual enemies.

Still, many Santiaguistas continued to cite her gender as the chief reason that Teresa could not be Spain’s patron. They rejected outright claims that Teresa could be considered a warrior and balked at putting a woman in position of leadership. Scholar Erin Rowe explains that “nearly every denunciation of Teresa’s elevation involved a corresponding assertion of women’s unworthiness” tied to the prevailing view of feminine sexual and constitutional weakness. Not only would being patron be bad for Spain, but many thinkers suggested that patron sainthood would insult and degrade Teresa’s saintly memory. They believed that patronage would insult and degrade Teresa, as it would be unfitting for a Catholic woman to take on such a public role.

Therefore, Teresianos began to use the partnership between Teresa and Santiago to counter claims that femininity equaled weakness, fashioning Teresa and Santiago’s union as a “perfect” marriage. The supporters of this idea indicated that Teresa would help Santiago, just as Eve was given to Adam as a “helper.” Bishop Cristóbal de Lobera asserted that “God did not give Adam another man as a helper, but a woman, and he did not say that he gave her in order to

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54 Rowe, Saint and Nation: Santiago, Teresa of Avila, and Plural Identities in Early Modern Spain, 112.
55 Rowe, 127.
56 To see a much broader discussion of the outrage Santiagustias felt at portraying Teresa as masculine, see Rowe, 128.
multiply humankind, but in order to help him.”

Many Teresianos drew on a reading of Genesis to support the Copatronazgo, invoking God’s observation in Genesis 2:18 that it was “not good that the man should be alone.” In many Teresiano’s opinions, “mystical marriage” between the two patrons would not only strengthen Spain’s protection by these two saints, but also would temper fears about Teresa’s patronage because she was supervised by her mystical “husband,” Santiago.

The union between Teresa and Santiago, of course, would not be a legal, or physical marriage, but a mystical one. A mystical marriage usually refers to Christ’s union with the soul of one of his believers. In a mystical marriage, faith transforms the soul of the believer, and binds it to Christ eternally. Mystical marriage could refer to the bond that Christ has with all his devotee, but in most cases this mystical marriage required a complete devotion of one’s life to Christ—being in spiritual union with him through holy vows.

Teresa herself espoused the view that she was in a “mystical marriage” to Christ in the follow up to her autobiography, Spiritual Relations, published from 1560 to 1582. In chapter thirty-five she writes of a revelation that she had when she was confessing to St. John of the Cross, her confessor. She states that Christ came to her in a vision:

“He revealed Himself to me, in an imaginary vision, most interiorly, as on other occasions, and He gave me His right hand, saying to me: "Behold this nail. It is a sign that from to-day onward thou shalt be My bride. Until now, thou hadst not merited this; but henceforward thou shalt regard My honour not only as that of thy

57 Cristóbal de Lobera, Justa Cosa a Sido Eligir Por Patrona de Espan’a, y Admitir Por Tal, a Santa Teresa de Jesus, y En Ello No Se Hizo Perjuyzio Alguno al Patronato de Sen’or Santiago Apostol y Patron de Espan’a (MS 9140, fols. 92r–98v, 1628), 4v.
Creator and King and God but as that of My very bride. My honour is thine, and thine, Mine.”

Teresa gave possibility to the idea that through spiritual exercises, one could become a bride of Christ. Indeed, this is a theme throughout her works. The marriage between Teresa and Christ approximated the romantic relationships familiar to her, spurred on by her teenage interest in chivalric novels. In one of her most famous treatises, *Interior Castle*, the bold heroine scales the castle in search of this divine love that would lead to completion and wholeness. Teresa sees mystical marriage as the zenith of her spiritual journey but emphasizes the romantic and heroic nature of her view of mystic marriage.

It may seem somewhat odd to a contemporary reader that Teresa—a bride of Christ—could also be married to Santiago. But Teresa was Santiago’s spouse in a much earthlier sense—she was, in many of her supporters’ eyes, the Eve to Santiago’s Adam. She was still “spiritually” married to Christ, as all devout nuns are. The union with Santiago was not a romantic one, but a practical one.

Therefore, authors began to paint a picture of Teresa and Santiago as the “ultimate gendered pair,” arguing that their strengths would complement one another, providing for full protection of the Spanish nation. Authors drew on Renaissance notions of complementarity, including the ideas of the ideas of the sword and the pen, and the

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masculine and the feminine to assert that Teresa’s femininity would be an asset, rather than a detractor, to her protection of the Spanish nation. For instance, Diego del Escurial, a Teresiano, used spiritual arguments to claim that the two saints, one representing the masculine sword, the other the gentle pen, mirrored the love of Christ, which came first in the form of fear, then of love.  

And many of Teresa’s defenders drew on precedent to support their view that Santiago and Teresa would serve better as a pair. Hortensio Félix Paravicino, royal preacher to Phillip III, wrote about male and female pairings, comparing the successful pairing of Santiago and Teresa to the collaboration between Christ and the Virgin Mary. He explains that just as Adam and Eve failed the world, Christ and the Virgin redeemed it. Similarly, just as Florinda and Rodrigo destroyed Spain, losing it to “cruel ignominy,” Santiago and Teresa would redeem Spain, bringing it out of its shame. Paravicino here draws parallels between the apocryphal couple whose relationship supposedly resulted in the Christian Visigothic kingdom’s fall to the Umayyads in 711 and the two paired patron saints.

Indeed, on a large scale, marriage was seen as a protecting factor, especially when a woman led the nation. A historical and literary accompaniment to this visual linkage of

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64 Rowe, 122.
65 Hortensio Félix Paravicino y Arteaga, Oracion evangelica del maestro Fray Hortensio Felix Paravicino ... al patronato de España, de la Santa Madre Teresa de Iesus ... en febrero de 1628 (En Madrid: por Iuan Gonçalez, 1628), 35.
66 Although Rodrigo was a historical figure, his possibly non-consensual sexual relationship with one of the daughters or wife of his vassals, Florinda, that resulted in the vassal’s betrayal is probably fictional. For more on Florinda, see Patricia E. Grieve, The Eve of Spain: Myths of Origins in the History of Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Conflict (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 53–57.
67 Marriage was, above all, social, and rather than being based on love or sexual draw between the betrothed, was based on making connections and exchanging property. Jesús M. Usunáriz, Silvana Seidel Menchi, and Emlyn Eisenach, “Marriage and Love in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Spain,” in Marriage in Europe, 1400-1800 (University of Toronto Press, 2016), 207, https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3138/j.ctv1005bw3.12.
Santiago and St. Teresa was the marriage of Isabel and Ferdinand. The Catholic Kings also ruled as a pair, and many argued that Isabel’s “womanly weaknesses” could be tempered by the presence of her husband as co-ruler. In 1468 the Augustinian friar Martín de Córdoba wrote an advice manual for Isabel on marriage called Jardin de las nobles doncellas. A twist on the genre designed to give princes advice on how to rule, this manual sought to assuage the doubts of people who questioned Isabel’s capability of ruling. While this treatise did favor Isabel as a ruler over her brother Enrique, it also assures its readers that her husband, eventually Ferdinand of Aragon, will temper any “womanly” impulses that she might have whilst queen of Spain. Isabel’s success when accompanied by her husband Ferdinand’s watchful eye would have comforted detractors who worried about Teresa’s womanly impulses running amok.

There was even a foil to this scenario related to Teresa’s campaigns against Protestantism. Francisco Morovelli de Puebla, a Teresiano writer, wrote about the positioning of Teresa against the Virgin Queen of England. Teresa would play a key part in fulfilling Spain’s vital role as a defender of the true faith by intellectually battling against Protestant influence. One Teresiano Basilio Ponce de León wrote:

“‘When Queen Elizabeth of England lost all fear of God and the world and declared herself head of the Church, destroying temples and persecuting the faithful, God raised up our holy Teresa of Jesus… Just as God placed holy ancient Elias in the world during the time of an evil Jezebel in order that he could face her and oppose her fury; in these times, this daughter of Elias was sent to us from divine providence in order to oppose the ferocity of Elizabeth, and to repair the harm she has caused.’”

68 Lehfeldt, “Ruling Sexuality: The Political Legitimacy of Isabel of Castile.”
69 Basilio Ponce de León, “Sermon Predicado Por.... El Dia de La Santa Madre Teresa de Iesus, Enn El Monaserio de Las Descalzas Caremilitas de Toledo, a 5 de Octubre de 1620,” in Sermones de La Purissima Concepcion de La Virgen, y de La S M Teresa de Iesus, y Del Santo F. Thomas de Villanueva (Salamanca: Antonio Ramirez, 1620), 23.
Ponce de León fashions Teresa as an antidote to Protestantism, and her Catholic femininity unlike Elizabeth’s Protestant obstinacy. Elizabeth, unmarried and unaccompanied, rules alone, mistaken in her foolish pursuit of the Protestant religion. On the other hand, Teresa, like Isabel, accompanies her co-patron, Santiago, who leads the way in protecting the nation. Just as Isabel was positioned against Elizabeth, and their merits compared, one can see how Teresa would also be positioned against the errant queen, and some would take comfort in her accompaniment by Santiago.

All these ideas are embedded in Maíno’s painting. I argue that Maíno intentionally painted this image to resemble a “mystical marriage” between the two saints. Maíno’s portrayal of her as “married” to Santiago in this image would make Teresa more palatable as copatron. I also argue that the patron of this painting commissioned it to endear themselves to Philip IV, by supporting a cause dear to him.

Some have posited that Maíno might have reproduced the composition and figural placement from the Heylan engraving, discussed in Chapter One (Figure 5). If this is true, Maíno made a few key changes that I will highlight here again because they are relevant to our gendered analysis and comparison. To begin with, he alters the placement of Teresa's hands. While Santiago maintains his hand position, grasping the emblem and lifting a sword high, Teresa now holds a book and a pen, rather than clutching the coat of arms and holding a torch. Additionally, she no longer looks directly at the viewer but looks away towards the dove. Second, in the painting, no banner proclaims "sangre y fuego" or "blood and fire" between the

two saints. Instead, Maíno replaces the militant imagery associated with the phrase "sangre y fuego" with a background of swirling clouds that almost touch each other. In the Heylan engraving, Teresa is depicted as strong, supporting the coat of arms and holding a torch equally, emphasizing her unwavering spiritual connection to Christ. But in the Maíno image, Santiago retains his strength and solidity, holding the sword and the emblem, while Maíno has softened and feminized Teresa.

Not only has her gaze and positioning been softened, but so has her physiognomy. Maíno portrays her as youthful and clear faced—but this was not the Teresa that was most widely known to the public. Maíno’s painting is notable among images of Teresa because it does not represent her “true portrait.” In Spain, images of Teresa began with her supposed “true portrait” painted by Fray Juan de Miseria.71 This true portrait, created by the friar in 1576, was created in the convent of San Jose de Sevilla (Figure 3).72 This portrait was painted a few years before Teresa’s death, and is the only known portrait of her painted while she was alive. This image depicts a habited Teresa, hands clasped in prayer, looking upward towards the heavens. A dove swoops down to provide divine inspiration, while a ribboned inscription indicates that Teresa will “sing the mercies of the Lord forever.” Her habit and the inscription attest to her piety and devotion, while the cartouche attests to the validity of the “true portrait” by specifying the painting’s date and the name of the painter.

71 Alfonso Pérez Sánchez first proposed this idea, coining the term “trampantojos lo divino” or divine trompe l’oeil in 1992. Many scholars have argued that paintings of religiously powerful statues in Latin America were “true portraits” because the painters faithfully represented the likeness of the statute to transfer its power. Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez, Trampantojos “a lo divino” (Vitoria-Gasteiz: Ephialte, 1992).

72 For a detailed discussion of the painting and subsequent dissemination of Fray Juan de Miseria’s portrait, see Pinilla Martín, Imagen e Imágenes de Santa Teresa de Jesús Entre 1576 y 1700: Origen, Evolución y Clasificación de Su Iconografía, 31–60.
As for Teresa’s “true” appearance, this portrait would set the standard for how she was portrayed. Presumably, as this portrait was created from life, this portrait does represent what she may have looked like. Her large brown eyes look slightly upward, wizened by the bags and crow’s feet surrounding her eyes. Her chin sags slightly, showing her age, and the moles around her tight-lipped mouth and on her nose are characteristic of later portraits. The coloring of the portrait is flat and matte—this, along with the nun’s habit that dominates most of the portrait, contributes to the friar’s attestation of the sober character of his subject. This portrait set forth much of the iconography for later portraits. The moles on her mouth would signify her physiognomic individuality, but her nun’s habit would exclusively identify her as the founder of the Discalced Carmelite order. The representation of the Holy Spirit as a dove was a common feature in many depictions of Teresa, and it often appeared in her portraits, serving to confirm her status as a Catholic mystic. The portrait of Teresa was widely circulated across Europe through engravings produced by Adriaen Collaert and Cornelius Galle. Their set of twenty-four engravings of Teresa’s life, including her portrait, was distributed throughout the Catholic world. Their 1613 engraving (Figure 10) portrayed Teresa with the same physiognomic features set forth by the earlier painter, including the moles around her mouth and nose, bags under the eyes, and noticeable wrinkles in her face. The engraving also maintained the iconographic elements set forth by Fray Miseria, including the Carmelite habit and the dove. The engravers, however, added more ornament to their copy of this “true portrait,” including a cross on Calvary rock, Carmelite insignia, and architectural and decorative elements, with two putti holding up her portrait.

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73 Pinilla Martín, 42.
Other notable portraits would adhere to the physiognomic and iconographic elements set forth in this portrait. Indeed, scholar Maria Jose Pinilla Martín has argued that most works adhered to the standard set by Fray Miseria.74 One such portrait, painted by staunch Teresiano supporter Francisco Pacheco, derives his Teresian composition directly from the saint’s true portrait, with the same positioning and physiognomy (Figure 11).75 As mentioned in the introduction, Antonio Paz’s sculpture for Teresa’s chapel in Salamanca reflects Teresa as an older woman, with her characteristic moles.

As time progressed, other themes crept into Teresa’s iconography. Some variations of her portrait included the same physiognomy and habit, but changed her hand position from prayer to writing, including the 1615 portrait by Peter Paul Rubens (Figure 12). Other variations in painting before 1614 included scenes from Teresa’s life, including the Christ Child gifting St. Teresa a cross and the Virgin giving her a collar and a mantle.76 After her canonization, in 1622, representations of Teresa increased, especially ones that emphasized her holiness through depictions of her Transverberation and saintly miracles.77

Most of her portraits adhered to her physiognomy as it was when her true portrait was painted at age sixty-one, wrinkles and all. But in the Spanish Gallery portrait, Teresa is young, with no wrinkles, and, most importantly, no moles around her mouth, a key identifier of St.

74 Pinilla Martín, 63.
75 Pacheco wrote his own defense of Teresa’s patronage. It is also not surprising he would choose to paint her likeness after her true portrait, as he wrote his own books on the importance and power of true portraits. Francisco Pacheco, En Fabor de Santa Teresa de Jesus, vol. 85–4–2 (BCC, 1628); Francisco Pachecho, Libro de descripción de verdaderos retratos de ilustres y memorables varones (Sevilla: Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1985).
76 Pinilla Martín, Imagen e Imágenes de Santa Teresa de Jesús Entre 1576 y 1700 : Origen, Evolución y Clasificación de Su Iconografía, 70–72.
77 Pinilla Martín, 142.
Teresa that had become emblematic of all of her “true portraits.” Maíno might have eliminated her moles and wrinkles simply because he believed that her Carmelite robes were enough to identify her because she was the only Carmelite saint until Italian saint Maria Maddalena de Pazzi’s canonization in 1669.\(^78\) And this could be the case, because a person looking at the Maíno image would recognize her as Teresa because of her robes, her collar, her pen, and the way she looks upward at the dove. But since Maíno was known as an excellent portrait painter and was highly sought after because of his ability to convey a ‘true likeness,” it is notable, that here he paints Teresa young and without any blemishes, emphasizing her beauty rather than her role as “doctor of a church” or “founder of an order.” Additionally, Maíno defied recommendations made by Francisco Pacheco that recommended that painters commemorate their holy subjects by portraying them naturalistically rather than idealistically.\(^79\)

I argue that Maíno’s elision of her characteristic features was purposeful, and by doing so, Maíno took a side in the gendered Copatronazgo debate discussed above. Rather than relying on imagery that would depict Teresa as strong and independent, he relied on imagery that would have connected her to her femininity, choosing to pair her as a feminine counterpart to Santiago’s masculine and militant strength. Yes, she holds a pen, but her glowing face and doe-like eyes depict her as a blushing young bride, alluding to the imagery of Teresa and Santiago as the “perfect gendered pair.”


\(^{79}\) Tanya J. Tiffany, Diego Velázquez’s Early Paintings and the Culture of Seventeenth-Century Seville (Penn State Press, 2012), 51.
In the Maíno painting, Santiago and Teresa resemble a groom and his young bride, resembling other depictions of mystical marriage. In Zurbarán’s 1645 portrayal of the mystical marriage of St. Catherine of Sienna, the mystical bride holds her hand outward gently presenting it to Christ, who holds out a ring (Figure 13). Christ and Catherine, along with the Virgin who presides over the union, are surrounded by mystical clouds. Catherine does not look at Christ as he gives her the ring, and that, along with the clouds, reflects the mystical nature of the union and the event’s status as representing one of Catherine’s visions. In the Maíno painting, Teresa holds her hand out towards Santiago in a similar way that Catherine’s hand is positioned next to Christ’s. The two female saints, both virgins and theological writers, are here portrayed as young and beautiful brides, but both hold a book, representing their similar pious writings and dedication to the word of God. Both marriages are flanked by clouds, representing their mystical nature and the sanctity of the subjects.

But it is not only Teresa’s femininity that is on display, but also Santiago’s masculinity. Masculinity was a key concern of the Spanish in the early modern period, as many believed that it was the failure of masculinity that led to Spain’s decline and military losses. Scholar Sidney Donnell has argued that Spain had a feminized self-image in the sixteenth century, indicating that their economic and military “impotency” was caused by a loss of the heroic masculine ideal created and reinforced by the militaristic impulses of the Reconquista. 80 Scholar Elizabeth Lehfeldt argues that masculinity was seen as an antidote to Spain’s woes in the seventeenth century, indicating that Dominican

preacher Francisco de León lamented that there were no men in Spain, and all he saw were “men converted into women.”81 He regrets that there are no “captains, nor soldiers, nor money, nor honorable occupations…” indicating that for him, masculinity is tied up in traditional notions of militaristic conquering and labor. Lehfeldt argues that many seventeenth-century men pointed to the former successes of Spain, especially the military victories of the Reconquista, and wanted to recreate those masculine standards to reproduce similar results in their wars against England, France, and in the Low Countries.

Santiago, then, would serve as the ideal for the seventeenth-century man, and Maíno depicts him as such in this painting. Although Santiago has his characteristic pilgrim’s shell, he is not depicted as a pilgrim, as he does not carry his hat, his staff, or his satchel. Instead, this manifestation of Santiago much more resembles the Matamoros manifestation of the Apostle, with his sword in his hand and the emblem of the Order of Santiago emblazoned in blood red on his chest. Unlike in the Heylan engraving, his sword does not rest on his shoulder, but he instead holds it aloft, ready to strike if necessary. Santiago, therefore, serves as a perfect protector not only for Spain, but for Teresa as well, illustrating how the two would work together to ensure that Spain prospered in the face of its military and spiritual enemies.

Santiago’s appearance also speaks to his masculinity and fitness to serve as Spain’s protector and Teresa’s perfect husband. Santiago appears much younger in the Maíno painting than he does in the Heylan engraving. Although he is still bearded with

81 Lehfeldt, “Ideal Men,” 463.
shoulder length hair, Maino’s Santiago’s dark brown, glossy hair emphasizes his youth and health. Like a proper Spanish man, Santiago is dressed soberly, with no trace of gilding or brocading, emphasizing his commitment to his Catholic faith and protecting the nation.82

This was not the last time that the image of Teresa would be set against a man to argue for the man’s supremacy. In early engravings of Teresa and her confessor, Saint John of the Cross, Teresa and John are presented as equals, with Teresa boldly serving as a spiritual leader as she founds the Discalced Carmelite order. In one frontispiece from 1638, Teresa and John are presented as coequals in the Carmelite order, both serving as pillars upholding the order, and both equal recipients of the Holy Spirit’s inspiration (Figure 14).83 In other early engravings, Teresa appears as the leader of the pair, authoritatively guiding St. John both spiritually and practically (Figure 15). But in later engravings, John is portrayed as her leader and spiritual guide. In one book published in Seville in 1703 on the life of St. John of the Cross, the engraver depicts Teresa three times. One engraving depicts Teresa receiving confession from St. John of the Cross (Figure 16). In the image, as he begins to reflect, a heavenly force lifts both of their bodies in ecstasy. As they are lifted, the engraving shows St. John slightly higher than Teresa, implying that he serves as a conduit for spiritual insight and divine intercession.84 This comparison illustrates that similarly to Maino’s image of Teresa and Santiago, later in the century Teresa is softened when depicted with men. While it was acceptable to

82 Lehfeldt, 471.
84 Wilson, 159.
show her as an independent actor when she was on her own, when she was with a man it became increasingly important to temper her agency.

Teresa herself understood her role as a woman and worked actively to combat it. Although her successors and supporters suggested that she had a “manly soul,” Teresa herself understood the importance of playing upon feminine stereotypes to achieve her purpose. Although behaving in ways that men might view as subversive, including preaching and engaging in theological writing, Teresa also “embrace[d] stereotypes of female ignorance, timidity, or physical weakness [and] disassociated herself from the double-edged myth of woman as seducible/seductive.”85 Indeed, Teresa often degraded herself and her own gender, indicating that “in the case of a poor little woman like myself, weak and with hardly any fortitude, it seems to me fitting that God lead me with gifts… so that I might be able to suffer some trials He has desired me to bear. But servants of God, men of prominence, learning, and high intelligence… when they don't have devotion, they shouldn't weary themselves.”86 She argued for women’s role in the church, while also downgrading it, in order to walk the line between subversion and compliance, navigating her way within a masculine sphere. Indeed, Teresa herself understood the importance of playing the feminine role to accomplish her goal, something that Maíno also understood when painting her.

Maíno shows Teresa as a softened, feminine counterpart to Santiago’s masculine strength. He replaced the torch with the pen, signifying that her feminine qualities would

86 Weber, 37.
complement, but not threaten, Santiago’s masculine role as protector. By removing Teresa’s masculine qualities from the Heylan engraving and her true portrait, Maíno consciously assuages fears that elevation to copatron might degrade Teresa and endanger the Spanish nation. Her pen, therefore, serves as a symbol, signifying that she can still protect the nation from the Protestant threat, while leaving the “real fighting” to the men. He removes Santiago’s identifiers as a pilgrim, leaving him all the signifiers of his Matamoros manifestation, emphasizing his continued role as militant protector. Together, the two represent the “ultimate gendered pair” whose complementary attributes will protect the Spanish nation.

But ultimately, the textual, and visual arguments made in favor of the copatronazgo, and the possibility of a “mystical marriage” between the two saints, failed. The idea that a husband and a wife could be coequal was not a convincing argument. Author Reginaldus Vicencius highlighted the absurdity of Santiago, a man, being a woman’s equal, insisting that women could only serve as “helpers,” just as Eve was originally intended to be Adam’s. Ultimately, this visual metaphor failed because of the inherent misogyny that existed within the early modern Spanish religious collective consciousness—Teresa’s patron sainthood would never have been approved, simply because women could never lead men, despite her Spanish origins and Santiago’s apparent failings. The failure of the Copatronazgo highlights the intensity of the gendered arguments surrounding the copatronazgo, and how the visual arguments derived from Maíno were doomed from the beginning.

87 Reginaldo Vicencio and Juan René, Respuesta al papel de don Francisco Morovelli, sobre el patronato de Santa Theresa (Impreso en Malaga : por Iuan Renê, 1628), 19v, http://archive.org/details/A11204204.
CHAPTER 3

Chapters one and two of this thesis have focused on the art of the Copatronazgo debates in Spain itself, mostly in Castille and Andalusia. But Ávila, Salamanca, and Valladolid were not the only cities to wholeheartedly endorse Teresa as patron—Mexico City, the capital of New Spain, immediately confirmed Teresa as its patron saint upon the Castilian Cortes’ mandate in 1618. Although the instant acceptance of Teresa as patron is historically significant, it has not been well studied in English scholarship. This chapter will devote study to the Copatronazgo in Mexico and connect it to twenty-four paintings created by Luis Juárez, a Mexican painter, during this period. Although these paintings do not specifically reference the Copatronazgo, I will examine them within the political and social climate of a city devoted to Teresa’s elevation. To study this period across the Atlantic, art historians must look elsewhere to see how this debate may have manifested in New Spain, as there are no extant works that specifically reference the Copatronazgo in Mexico. I will reconstruct this twenty-four-painting series, now lost, by using extant works attributed to Juárez to discuss the painter’s “copying” of twenty-four European

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88 José de Santa Teresa, Reforma de Los Descalzos de Nuestra Señora Del Carmen, de La Primitiva Obser Vancia, Hecha Por Santa Teresa de Jesús En La Antiquísima Religión Fundada Por El Gran Profeta Elías (Madrid: Julián Paredes, 1684).
89 Thus far, the most comprehensive source on the Copatronazgo in Mexico is an MA thesis by Mario Zuñiga, whose scholarship has made important strides in understanding the Copatronazgo Debates in Mexico. This gap in the historical record is probably due to the Inquisition’s seizing of all documents related to the Copatronazgo, which occurred in 1620. Mario C. Sarmiento Zúñiga, “Teresa de Jesús, Débora En Indias. Promoción y Culto Durante El Proceso de Su Patronato Sobre La Arquidiócesis y La Ciudad de México (1614-1630)” (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2019).
engravings. This will help to illustrate how these paintings conform to the ideas of Teresa’s
gendered legacy in Spain and the colonial territories, but also how they express a unique colonial
identity through innovations in artistic practice. This chapter will not only bring to light further
art associated with the Copatronazgo but will also question canonical ideas about Latin
American art history, reexamining the idea that the “faithful copy” dominated much of early
Latin American painting.

**Historical Background: The Copatronazgo and the Carmelites in Mexico**

Saint Teresa’s works were widely known throughout Mexico after their first printing in 1588, and the nun was seen as a model for secular and religious women alike. Teresa’s
followers, the Discalced Carmelites, arrived in New Spain in 1585, settling in the convent of San
Sebastián Atzacoalco. The order established its presence in Mexico City in 1597 with the
founding the Convent and Church of San Ángel. In 1616, nuns Inés de la Cruz and Mariana de la
Encarnación, with the support of Archbishop Juan Pérez de la Serna, inaugurated the first stand-
alone Carmelite nunnery in Mexico City, San José de México. The archbishop, eager to prove
himself, viewed the foundation of the convent as proof that the Catholic Church in Mexico was
strong, and thus that his viceregal leadership was exemplary. He would go on to found fifteen

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90 Zúñiga, 4.
91 The Carmelites established San José de México after the construction of the previous nunnery, the convent of Jesús María. The order established Jesús María in part to give refuge to daughters of “conquistadors,” or women who did not have a dowry, and therefore could not live secularly. According to the documents, this convent went into decline because of errant nuns, and it was after this decline that the Carmelites founded San José de México. One notable resident of the Discalced Carmelite convent in Mexico City is the famed Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, another female monastic writer, who would inhabit the convent in the latter half of the seventeenth century. Manuel Ramos Medina, *Imagen de santidad en un mundo profano: historia de una fundación* (Universidad Iberoamericana, 1990), 46.
92 Medina, 65.
other religious institutions, proving his leadership and the strength of his bishopric, and his political aspirations.\textsuperscript{93}

Although the archbishop’s patronage was no doubt important for the Carmelites, the nunnery was founded by two women, the aforementioned Inés de la Cruz and Mariana de la Encarnación. Indeed, historical evidence confirms that women, not men, founded most female religious institutions in the early modern period.\textsuperscript{94} Women in Mexico City founded eighteen of the twenty-two convents founded before 1650. This data reflects the agency of religious women during this period. Deep religious belief motivated most religious women in the convents. These women, rather than remaining cloistered and isolated, as the Council of Trent recommended, actively worked to promote their orders, and spread their influence. For the Discalced Carmelites in Mexico City, the assertion of the divine power of Teresa’s sainthood and its continued influence within the order would be important to promote, and the Copatronazgo a convenient way to reinforce these ideas.

After the church beatified Teresa in 1614 the Carmelites organized a five-day celebration in her honor.\textsuperscript{95} These celebrations reflected some sort of tacit endorsement of female leadership. For example, during the celebrations of her beatification, both Juan Pérez de la Serna, Archbishop of Mexico, and Father Luis Vallejo compared Teresa to Deborah, an Old Testament judge and leader of Israel known for her strength during times of crisis. Vallejo called Teresa the

\textsuperscript{93} Medina, 68.
\textsuperscript{95} Zúñiga, “Teresa de Jesús, Débora En Indias. Promoción y Culto Durante El Proceso de Su Patronato Sobre La Arquidiócesis y La Ciudad de México (1614-1630),” 11.
“new Deborah,” linking her to the ancient and powerful prophet, and thereby affirming Teresa’s role as a female spiritual leader.\(^96\) This affirmation of Teresa as a spiritual leader was reflected in the female leadership of the Carmelites, who sought to increase their power and agency within Mexico City.

In 1618, both Mexico City and the nearby city of Puebla de los Ángeles elected Saint Teresa as their patron. Although there is no direct evidence, scholars can presume that Archbishop Pérez de la Serna would have supported her elevation to patron in 1618 because of his political connections with the Carmelite order. That same year the Archbishop ordered that all priests and religious orders receive Teresa as the patron saint of the Mexican province and pray her mass on her feast day. The city celebrated her patronage at the Carmelite convent, decorated splendidly with images of Teresa, which were likely all inspired by her famous portrait by Juan de Miseria.\(^97\)

Historians have debated the reasons behind Mexico City’s election of Teresa as patron but have reached no firm consensus. Teresa’s popularity had grown in the years since her death, and this was reinforced by the reported miracles surrounding her relics.\(^98\) Historian Pierre Ragón asserts that the election “had less to do with any captivation with the Carmelite reformer than

\(^{96}\) This language was not unique to Mexico, as Pope Gregory would also make these comparisons in his speech about her canonization in 1622, and other Spaniards such as Sebastián de San Agustin would use the same language when advocating for her Copatronazgo. Rowe, *Saint and Nation: Santiago, Teresa of Avila, and Plural Identities in Early Modern Spain*, 112; 118.

\(^{97}\) Zúñiga, “Teresa de Jesús, Débora En Indias. Promoción y Culto Durante El Proceso de Su Patronato Sobre La Arquidiócesis y La Ciudad de México (1614-1630).”

\(^{98}\) What of Santiago? Some scholars have argued that because Santiago had a cult following among the Indigenous peoples, as he was seen as their intercessor, that Teresa drew support from the *criollo* and *peninsular* populations. Zúñiga, 67.
with the effectiveness of her order and the political will of the Hapsburgs."99 This suggests two reasons why Mexico City might have elected Teresa as patron. First, the growing power and influence of the Carmelite order in Mexico City might have helped to confirm Teresa's election. Second, the bishop of Mexico City may have wanted to maintain the goodwill of Philip III, and therefore supported Teresa's election.

There is support for this second point in the fact that Mexico City celebrated Teresa's festivities much like the city of Salamanca, suggesting that they may have been trying to imitate the festivities in the city of Teresa's origin, to gain favor with the Crown. Indeed, the archbishop, when discussing the festivities dedicated to Teresa, stated that Mexico City’s devotion to the saint was “equal to the greatest that has been recognized elsewhere” referring to the devotion of the cities of Ávila, Salamanca, and Valladolid.100

Support for the first point, about the Carmelites, is related to the second. The Spanish Crown had worked together with the Discalced Carmelites to institutionalize the order, hoping to make them another evangelizing and political weapon for the Crown.101 The Carmelite order, therefore, would be inclined to support the political elevation of their beloved founder, as it would raise their stature and influence within the community. Although the Inquisition ordered that all documents supporting Teresa’s elevation destroyed in 1620, Mexico City still celebrated

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99 Translation by author “tenía que ver menos con un embeleso cualquiera con la reformadora carmelita, que con la eficacia de su orden y la voluntad política de los Habsburgo” Pierre Ragón, “Los santos patronos de las ciudades del México central (siglos XVI y XVII),” Historia Mexicana, October 1, 2002, 373.
100 Translation by author: “igual a la mayor que en otras partes se ha reconocido.” Zúñiga, “Teresa de Jesús, Débora En Indias. Promoción y Culto Durante El Proceso de Su Patronato Sobre La Arquidiócesis y La Ciudad de México (1614-1630),” 61.
Teresa’s feast day in that same year. The Carmelites asserted that they could celebrate her because “what is prohibited from the Holy Mother Teresa of Jesus is only [my emphasis] her appointment to the Patron of the Kingdoms of Castille and other cities…” In 1622, the issue of the Copatronazgo would arise once more, as the city began celebrating her canonization.

As for the Carmelite convent, newly opened in 1616, it needed decoration in the form of oil paintings, a fashionable medium for decorating a Spanish church. Before Spanish arrival the Mesoamerican peoples had their own traditions of two-dimensional representation, but the Spanish brought the medium, iconography, and techniques of their artistic tradition. At first, only painters from Spain, Flanders, and Italy were allowed to create altarpieces, and the Church had the artisans imported for this purpose. Paintings and prints from the Low Countries made their way to Latin America via Seville and were able to instruct and shape the academic tradition of painting that began in New Spain. As the number of new churches and monasteries increased, the demand for altarpieces grew too great to be filled solely by imported European painters. As a result, Indigenous and criollo painters trained by Europeans began to receive commissions from churches. By the Copatronazgo, almost a century after the Spanish invasion, painting in New Spain had begun to emulate European conventions while also deviating from them. Painters innovated and incorporated their own unique style, resulting in a new and distinct form of art.

Early and mid-twentieth century scholarship on Latin American painting claimed that Latin American painters merely copied the European prints onto canvases, making the arts of Latin America “derivative.” In recent years, however, scholars have examined more critically the

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idea of the copy, and its function within Latin American visual production. Aaron Hyman’s recent publication, *Rubens in Repeat*, endeavors to determine the relationship of the copy to the original. He insists that “any copy or derivation provides some kind of commentary on its original” whether that be aesthetic or related to “pictorial logic or social purpose.” He uses the terms “conforming copy” to describe how artists copied prints, while conforming to the original spirit and most of the composition, but may have altered certain details to suit their own ends. This term helps to address the question of whether a painting is considered "good" based solely on its faithfulness to the original, or if the artist's skill and interpretation in creating the copy should also be considered. Hyman also uses the term “transformational copies” to describe copies that have transformed the original composition while still maintaining some resemblance to the original. I will use both terms when appropriate to describe the paintings made by Juárez when discussing how these paintings could have expressed a uniquely Mexican devotion to Saint Teresa and will argue that many of his paintings served as both “transformational” and “conforming” copies. Juárez's modifications sought to highlight the divine grace bestowed on the female founder of the Carmelites and demonstrating the capability of seventeenth-century nuns to assume positions of political influence in Mexico City.

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104 Hyman, 16.
105 Hyman, 220.
Luis Juárez’s Twenty-Four Painting Commission

The “copyist” in question, Luis Juárez, was born in Mexico around 1585 and died after 1636. He studied under Baltasar de Echave Orio, a Spanish painter of Basque origin, who worked and died in Mexico. Scholars have characterized Juárez’ work as part of the “prosaic” style, characterized by “ecstatic holy figures… portrayed… in an intimate, direct way.” Among the stylistic characteristics that define his work are his representations of saints with blank eyes and ecstatic body language. Along with his commissions for paintings of St. Teresa in Mexico City, Juárez completed a commission for another Carmelite convent in Morelia, depicting St. Michael. He also created a painting for another convent in San Ángel, Mexico City, which depicted the investiture of St. Idelfonsus. It is unsurprising that Juárez was a favorite painter of the Carmelites, as the ecstatic visions of the Carmelite founder found appropriate visual parallel in Juárez’s rapturous style.

A 1989 discovery by Carmen Saucedo Zarco demonstrates the Mexican Carmelites’ early attempts to visually celebrate Teresa’s life. This document illustrates how the Carmelites commissioned Luis Juárez to paint twenty-four “retablos” or altars, for the convent of San José.

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107 Toussaint, Colonial Art in Mexico., 145.

108 Burke, “Mexican Painting of the Renaissance and Counter-Reformation,” 301.

109 Toussaint, Colonial Art in Mexico., 145.
The document reflects his agreement with the prioress of the convent, as well as Joan Martín de Seinfínó and the archbishop of Mexico City, to paint twenty-four canvases reflecting the life of Saint Teresa. These paintings, each with wooden frame to be gilded at the expense of the convent, would completely cover its walls. The dimensions of the paintings were not specified in the document, as they had been confirmed orally between the painter and the prioress. The convent gave Juárez a retainer of one thousand pesos and a deadline of February 1622, with the penalty of paying back the original commission fee if he did not complete the commission on time. Given that he received this commission in September, Juárez would have to create twenty-four canvases in six months.

The document did not explicitly specify the subject matter of the paintings. The document indicates that the “altarpieces are from the history of the life of St. Teresa... according to the sizes, layout, and model that was discussed and communicated with Melchior de Cuéllar...”111 Because there are twenty-four paintings, scholars have assumed that the “model” for these paintings would have been Adriaen Collaert and Cornelis Galle’s widely known engravings. These engravings, published in Antwerp in 1612, contain a series of twenty-four plates, with another frontispiece, which depicted events from Saint Teresa’s life. These prints circulated widely, and artists in both Spain and Latin America often copied them. It would be likely, therefore, that the patrons intended that the painter use these prints as inspiration.

The twenty-four narrated plates tell stories from Teresa’s life. Ana de Jesús, a prioress in Antwerp, Jeronimo Gracián, Teresa’s confessor, and Ana de San Bartolomé chose the scenes for the engravings. They chose many scenes from chapters in her autobiography and from the work of Father Francisco de Ribera, Teresa’s first biographer who published the *Life of Mother Teresa de Jesús* in 1590. The choice of scenes emphasizes the miraculous nature of Teresa’s life and supernatural events rather than on her more “human” aspects. For example, of the twenty-three narrative plates, twenty of them show Teresa performing a miracle or having a supernatural experience, including apparitions of divine beings or run-ins with demons.

The choice of these scenes, made famous by Collaert and Galle’s engravings, would dominate the visual repertoire of Teresian imagery for many years. For example, the main altarpiece in the Convent of the Discalced Carmelite Mothers of Calahorra in Spain (Figure 17) was commissioned and completed soon after Collaert and Gale published these engravings. This altarpiece included altered copies of nine plates in the series. These plates include many of the miraculous events of her life, including her Illumination and Transverberation. This replication illustrates the importance of these engravings and their wide and rapid circulation across the Catholic world.

These paintings commissioned for the Mexican convent could have been part of the church’s decoration, as it was a new church, or part of decoration for an ephemeral festival. The

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112 Pinilla Martín, “Iconografía de Santa Teresa de Jesús,” 135.
113 This altarpiece includes plates six, seven, eight, ten, thirteen, fourteen, sixteen, twenty-two, and twenty-three.
114 The “Illumination of Saint Teresa” refers to her receiving of the Holy Spirit’s wisdom while she wrote. The “Transverberation of Saint Teresa” refers to the moment described in chapter twenty-nine of her Vida, in which she describes having her heart pierced by a burning arrow wielded by an angel. This event is also known as her “ecstasy.”
document that provides the commissioning information does not explicitly state the purpose of these canvases. It specifies that they are to “fill all the white and empty spaces of the church of the aforementioned monastery of St. Joseph, where all the said altarpieces are to be placed…”115 If these paintings were intended to be the church’s decoration, they are probably now lost and scattered because the convent was demolished in 1678 to construct a new church.116 If the commission was intended to be a part of ephemera celebrating Teresa’s canonization, the patron, and the artist, would have intended that these paintings only hang in the church for a short period, explaining their presence in other churches’ storage. Either way, I believe that at least some of these paintings remain extant and will take the rest of this chapter to discuss the probable paintings included in this commission, only speculated until now by scholars, and connect these paintings to the arguments of the *Copatronazgo*.117

I will use stylistic elements, as well as size and each painting’s content, to argue for each painting’s inclusion among the twenty-four commissioned images. To begin, I will discuss the outliers—the paintings of St. Teresa attributed to Juárez that I believe were not part of the 1622 commission. I have omitted these paintings from consideration in the 1622 commission because of their size, subject matter and style.118 The five outliers do not correspond to the Galle and

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115 Translation by author, “con los cuales se hinchen todos los blancos y vacíos de la iglesia del dicho monasterio de San Joseph donde se han de asentar todos los dichos retablos y que por ello se me de y pague por parte del dicho convento dos mil pesos de oro común.” Saucedo Zarco, “El Pintor Luis Juárez: Un Trabajo Para Santa Teresa La Antigua,” 110.
116 Saucedo Zarco, 107.
117 Ruiz Gomar speculates that Figures 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 11 were part of the commission. Due to stylistic elements and the new evidence unearthed by Carmen Saucedo Zarco, I argue for the omittance of 3, 4, 6 due to stylistic elements and no inclusion in the Collaert and Galle engravings. Ruiz Gomar, *El pintor Luis Juárez*, 231.
118 Visual precedent for paintings based off the Galle and Collaert engravings, such as the altarpiece in Calahorra discussed above, indicate that there would not be any other scenes added outside of that visual repertoire added to these commissions.
Collaert engravings, and the people in the paintings have different physiognomies than the paintings I believe to be included in the 1622 commission.

The first three outliers were, I believe, all once part of one altarpiece, the first making up the predella, the second a side panel, and the third one of the interior scenes. These scenes emphasize Teresa’s role as the founder and leader of the Carmelite order. The predella shows a horizontal scene of Teresa preaching to other nuns (Figure 18). Some scholars have speculated that the predella was once almost twice as long, because the nun on the right-hand side looks, awkwardly, to no one, while the three nuns on the other side, including Saint Teresa, make the painting unbalanced on the left. Scholars have concluded, therefore, that the tree might have originally been in the center of the painting. The predella shows St. Teresa looking up at what is perhaps an Iberian or Monterrey pear tree. While paintings of St. Teresa usually fall into a recognizable type reflected in the Galle and Collaert engravings, this painting is unique in its subject matter. However, it refers to Teresa’s use of arboreal metaphors in *The Life of Teresa of Jesús, Interior Castle* and *Conceptions of the Love of God*. In *Interior Castle*, she compares the soul to a tree, reflecting that “a tree planted by the streams of water is fresher and gives more fruit,” implying that the soul flourishes when in the presence of God. In *Conceptions of the Love of God*, she compares the tree to God’s love, which provides sustenance and produces

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119 Ruiz Gomar theorized that these paintings might have once been linked. Ruiz Gomar, *El pintor Luis Juárez*, 210.
120 Manuel Toussaint first attributed this painting to Luis, although it bears the signature of his son José. This attribution was due to similarity in figures from Juárez' other paintings, a notion that Ruiz Gomar seconded in 1989. Scholars have accepted this attribution, although some question why the nineteenth-century restorer would have forged the signature. Marcus B. Burke has theorized that this painting could have been a collaboration between father and son. Manuel Toussaint, “Pinturas Coloniales Mexicanas En Davenport,” *Anales Del IIE*, no. 14 (1946): 29; Ruiz Gomar, *El pintor Luis Juárez*, 211; Burke, *Treasures of Mexican Colonial Painting*, 22.
121 Ruiz Gomar, *El pintor Luis Juárez*, 211.
122 Teresa speaks of the soul as a garden, and mentions trees within it, in Chapter 14 of her autobiography. St. Teresa of Avila, *Complete Works St. Teresa of Avila Vol1*, 87.
beautiful flowers that evidence his divine favor.\textsuperscript{124} One can imagine that Juárez painted this scene to emphasize Teresa’s role as a teacher and a theologian, as she uses wisdom received from the Holy Spirit to guide her fellow nuns. Her shepherd’s crook establishes her role as the founder of the order, a leader of this congregation, and a shepherdess of her religious women.

The side panel that may have accompanied this altarpiece shows Saint Teresa holding up a cross, perhaps to ward away a demon (Figure 19). This could be a different interpretation of the scene shown in Plate 12 of Collaert and Galle’s engravings, as Teresa similarly holds up a cross to ward away demons (Figure 20). In Juárez’ rendition, Saint Teresa is now accompanied by another nun, who also holds out her hand, but with more trepidation. This painting, again, shows Teresa as a leader of her Carmelite order, thus serving as a model for the abbesses in the church for which these paintings were commissioned. She is also shown here as a protector, as she defends the other women in the convent from spiritual and perhaps physical harm.

The third painting also shows Teresa performing spiritual labor for those around her by praying for souls in Purgatory (Figure 21). This panel depicts a story from chapter thirty-one of Teresa’s autobiography, in which she describes a time when she prayed and saw souls released from Purgatory.\textsuperscript{125} This painting on canvas shows Saint Teresa reading her bible as she prays. The bright light of her halo emanates from her being and illuminates her skin as she stares down, contemplating the fate of those for whom she prays. A window in the back fractures space and time for the viewer—just as we see Teresa praying, we can see the fruits of her labor as angels pull naked souls from the torturous flames. These souls, hands clasped in prayer or reaching out

\textsuperscript{124} St. Teresa of Avila, 389; 396; 398.
\textsuperscript{125} St. Teresa of Avila, Complete Works St. Teresa of Avila Voll, 208.
to the angels above, benefit from Teresa’s hard work. The other window, showing a funeral altar, links the earthly scenes of death and funerary rites to the spiritual realm of death and consequences of a sinful life. This panel connects with the other two paintings because it emphasizes how Teresa’s earthly works had heavenly consequences for those both near and far. Probably commissioned for a Carmelite convent, these paintings emphasize Teresa’s earthly responsibilities and achievements, and were meant to inspire similar devotional actions for the nuns viewing these images.

The other outlier that I do not believe accompanies these other three works is an image of *Saint Teresa and St. John of the Cross in the Presence of the Virgin and Child* (Figure 22). Located now in Mexico City Cathedral, this image was probably originally in the Carmelite convent in San Ángel or in Mexico City, as it depicts the two founders of the order. St. John, clothed in white and holding his iconic lily, reaches out for his epithetic cross from the Christ Child who is held by Saint Teresa. Teresa looks down solemnly at the child, perhaps contemplating his future sacrifice. Somewhat uncharacteristically for Juárez, many angels surround the Virgin, crowding the composition. An outlier in Juárez’ works, this composition also does not fit with Galle and Collaert’s engravings.

The last painting I consider an outlier, *St. Teresa’s Vision of Christ Carrying the Cross* (Figure 23), is somewhat puzzling because it resembles the other paintings I believe to be part of the 1622 commission, yet it is not a subject matter represented in the Galle and Collaert engravings. In the image Teresa kneels with her arms outstretched, submitting herself to Christ who appears in front of her. Christ carries the cross, helped by angels, and the viewer, and Teresa, can see the wounds from his crucifixion on his right hand. Clouds surround Christ and
the angels, indicating that they appear from a heavenly realm. On one hand, the painting has many elements associated with the others I will discuss in the next few pages, including the banderole with dialogue and a similar Teresian physiognomy. But on the other hand, this image does not match with any in the print set, especially as for the included text. In this painting, the text says, “If I hadn't created heaven, I would create it for you alone,” phrasing not found in any of the engravings. The other paintings from the commission, discussed below, correspond with their engraving’s pictorial and textual message. This painting could have been included in the 1622 commission, but it would have been a complete “transformational copy,” while the other paintings I believe made up this series lean more towards being “conforming copies.”

I argue here that the paintings that do correspond to these engravings were intended for the convent in 1622. Because we do not have any extant Latin American works that specifically reference the Copatronazgo, to study the Copatronazgo’s trans-Atlantic impact, we must look to the material that we do have from this period. I will be examining these paintings, arguing that they were intended for this commission, and to bolster Teresa’s claims to patron sainthood.

Like the paintings discussed above, which sought to emphasize Teresa’s role as a leader of women, these paintings seek to emphasize the spiritual power of the female Carmelite founder positioning the other Carmelite nuns as similarly situated for spiritual and political prominence. Along with these images, I will use primary source texts supporting Teresa’s patron sainthood to illustrate how Juárez’ Teresian imagery visually recommended Teresa as the perfect Spanish patron saint and therefore consummate representative of the Mexican Carmelite order. One seventeenth-century author suggested that Teresa was a perfect choice to be Spain’s patron saint because she was “a virgin, doctor of the church, founder of an order, Spanish, a knight, an
apostle of Spain like Santiago’s disciples, a teacher of doctrine, a martyr in desire, and an intercessor for every need.”¹²⁶ I will focus on Teresa as martyr, scholar, and founder, as these categories are most evident within the visual archive.

I also argue that the changes made by Juárez reflect key ideas made by proponents of the *Copatronazgo*, demonstrating either Juárez’s, or his patron’s, familiarity with its larger debates. The Collaert and Galle engravings have inspired these six extant paintings, but none of the paintings are “perfect” copies. Instead, they occupy the category of both “transformational” and “conforming” copies. Juárez altered the compositions to fit his own designs and the commissioning nun’s needs.¹²⁷ The changes that Juárez made helped emphasize the divine favor held by the female founder of the Carmelites, and thereby express the seventeenth-century nuns’ suitability for leadership within the colonial city.

The first painting by Juárez both conforms to and deviates from Plate 4 of the Collaert and Gale engravings is *Saint Teresa and her Brother on the Road to Martyrdom* (Figures 24 and 25). This scene depicts one of the only scenes from Teresa’s childhood, when she and her brother Rodrigo ran away from home hoping to be martyred by Muslims in North Africa, narrated in the first chapter of her autobiography.¹²⁸ This particular moment in the story illustrates when her uncle catches the two siblings, sending them back home to Ávila, dashing their martyrological aspirations.

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¹²⁷ Unfortunately, many of these paintings are only available to me in black and white, as many of them are in collections in Mexico that are not digitized. Ruiz Gomar, *El pintor Luis Juárez*.
Juárez has transformed his rendition of this story from the engraving to depict this scene more naturalistically but has also kept the spirit of the composition intact. The uncle, sending the children back home, still dominates the left-hand side of the composition. Teresa, standing in front of her brother, addresses her uncle, showing her leadership. Juárez maintains the sunbeam coming from the clouds, probably to emphasize God’s divine favor on the future saint. But Juárez changed more things than he kept from the engravings. He removes much of the background, including the city of Ávila and most of the trees. By removing the city and the architectural elements, he creates a much wilder background for the image, perhaps increasing the impression of the danger of the activity for the viewer. In the engravings, Teresa and her brother are oversized; although Teresa should be seven years old, she is the same height as the horse, and her face resembles that of an old woman. In Juárez’s depiction, however, he has made both faces more youthful, although retaining the largeness of Rodrigo’s forehead, and added a halo to emphasize Teresa’s new position as a saint. He has also fixed perspectival error from the engraving—the uncle’s horse, although still at the same height as Teresa, is now on a slight incline, explaining to the viewer the similitude of their heights. He has also chosen to portray the uncle frontally rather than from the back. This gives the impression that although he denies her the opportunity to be martyred, he also sends her along her path to found the Discalced Carmelites and to sainthood.

How do these changes in composition and interpretation affect the images’ message about St. Teresa’s life? Juárez decided to emphasize her childhood in this painting, emphasizing Teresa’s lifelong commitment to God and her status as a “martyr in desire.” Teresa was not martyred—a knock against her saintly status—but this painting emphasizes that she did desire to
be a martyr, and if it were not for the interference of her uncle, she may have achieved her martyrish goals. This painting participates in the narrative that Teresa, born in Spain, would be a perfect patron for the nation because she embodied the religious piety so valued by the Spanish people.

The second image that could have been included in the 1622 commission is *The Glorification of Saint Teresa*, which corresponds to plate 11 of Collaert and Galle’s engravings (Figures 26 and 27). Juárez’ painting is now badly damaged, but the modifications made from the print are evident and extensive. Juárez has altered the composition all together, changing it from horizontal to vertical. Teresa now stands below the Trinity, and looks up at Christ, who speaks to her through a banderole. Angels populate the painting, filling the empty space, just as in the engraving. The poses of Christ and God are similar, although their positions within the composition have now reversed, as God occupies the right-hand side of the painting but holds his hand up with the same blessing gesture. Juárez has reproduced Christ’s gesture from the engraving as he showcases his stigmata on his foot. Four paintings that I argue are part of the convent’s program, including the *Glorification of St. Teresa*, feature a banderole of Latin script that accompanies the visual message. In the engraving, the Latin script, held by Christ, implores Teresa to “See daughter, what good sinners deprive themselves of,” referring to the love of God and the ecstasy of communion with him. In Juárez’ damaged painting, the same inscription can just be made out.

Juárez change in Teresa’s positioning elevates her status, and thereby elevates the status of the Carmelite nuns. In the engraving, Teresa kneels in supplication to the divine beings. But Juárez’ composition exalts Teresa, placing her in the position usually inhabited by the Virgin
Mary in depictions of the *Coronation of the Virgin*. Teresa has been elevated to a saintly status, no longer a simple humble servant, but now in a favored position to receive divine favor and guidance. This divine connection was central to the *Copatronazgo* arguments. Many believed that Teresa had a personal connection to her homeland, and that she would use her saintly position to advocate for its well-being. As a divinely favored saint, she could protect Spain from its heretical enemies and be an intercessor for the nation before God.

Another painting I believe was included in the 1622 commission was the *Elevation of Saint Teresa during a Mass*, corresponding with Plate 17 of Collaert and Galle’s engravings (Figures 28 and 29). Scholars found this painting, accompanied by *The Glorification of Saint Teresa*, discussed above, rolled up in the attic of the Church of El Carmen in Mexico City, further supporting my hypothesis that these two paintings once decorated the now demolished Carmelite convent in the city.

In the engravings, Teresa, in ecstasy, has been elevated, lifted on a cloud and surrounded by a beam of bright light. She describes this event, and others like it, in her autobiography.\(^{129}\) Clerics, including the priest and another nun, surround her, looking up at her in awe. Juárez has reversed the composition, placing the priest on the right side, and has situated the event in “real space.” The arch in the background, as well as the statue in the niche, give the viewer the impression that this event occurred in a real church because of the illusory pictorial depth conveyed by the architectural structures. Juárez has also reversed the gestures of the priest and the nun. In the engraving the priests hold his hands in pious prayer, perhaps giving thanks to God.

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\(^{129}\) She describes her mystical experiences in Chapter XX of her autobiography. *St. Teresa of Avila*, 119–29.
for the privilege of seeing this miraculous event, while the nun gestures towards Teresa, perhaps in the act of prostrating herself. In Juárez ’rendition, the nun clasps her hands in thanks, while the priest throws his hands up in surprise, signaling towards Teresa. Perhaps this change was made to balance the composition after Juárez reversed it, or perhaps it was made to emphasize the quiet piety of the Carmelite nuns, who would be looking at the painting inside their convent. This painting emphasizes the miraculous deeds of Teresa, verifying her as a true saint whose miracles are verified and attested to, something that proponents of the Copatronazgo were eager to prove. In this painting the role of the nun has been underlined by Juárez’s altered composition, which supports the idea that these paintings were intended to bolster Teresa’s role as patron saint while also reinforcing the position of the Carmelite nuns within the community.

The next painting, of the Apparition of the Virgin and St. Joseph, corresponds with Plate 14 of the engraving set (Figures 30 and 31).\textsuperscript{130} In this painting, we see the event described by Teresa when the Virgin and St. Joseph appeared to her and gave her a gold necklace and a mantle.\textsuperscript{131} Juárez has eliminated the architectural backdrop of the scene, and places Teresa directly within the heavenly realm for this vision. Juárez has also changed Teresa’s position. Rather than kneeling with her hands clasped in prayer, Teresa kneels and crosses her arms in front of her, another, more dynamic, gesture of gratitude. By cropping the scene, Juárez has created a more dynamic scene, full of swishing angel’s wings and motion. The Virgin and St.

\textsuperscript{130} There are two paintings of this subject attributed to Juárez, and both are very similar. The one that I believe does not belong in this image is currently in Puebla, where there was another Carmelite convent. The other painting at question here is currently at the convent in San Ángel, in a chapel, and as it is cut to fit an altarpiece, like some of the other paintings here. Both are very similar and conform to the engravings. Ruiz Gomar, \textit{El pintor Luis Juárez}, 214.

\textsuperscript{131} St. Teresa describes this scene in Chapter thirty-three of her autobiography. St. Teresa of Avila, \textit{Complete Works St. Teresa of Avila Vol1}, 231.
Joseph, now surrounded by larger angels rather than just putti, occupy the same positions. The Virgin leans down from her heavenly throne to place the necklace upon Teresa’s shoulders, while Joseph holds the cloak up to place on top of it. In the vision, Teresa explains that she could see the Virgin, who looked very young, quite clearly, but that she could not see St. Joseph as well. In the engravings, St. Joseph is older—his beard and long hair evoke that of an Old Testament prophet. But in the painting, Joseph is young, with a shorter beard and brown hair, and his face looks younger.\(^{132}\) St. Joseph was important to Teresa—in many of her writings, she wrote how he served as her protector as she traveled the country establishing monasteries. St. Joseph became popular in the New World, credited with helping Teresa to establish the Carmelites, and therefore instrumental to the establishment of monasteries and evangelism in Mexico. This corresponds with contemporary and later depictions of St. Joseph in Mexico, who is depicted as a paternal, but not elderly, figure with a lily, symbolizing his chastity and faithfulness.\(^{133}\) This painting represents another instance where Teresa’s status as divinely favor is being highlighted. Both the Virgin and St. Joseph, along with Christ and God the Father himself, all appeared to her, again highlighting her status, and thereby the Carmelites’, as legitimate and divinely favored leaders within their communities.


The next scene represented was *Saint Teresa Protecting the Carmelite Order*, which corresponded with Plate 19 of the series (Figures 32 and 33). In Juárez’s painting, the same Latin phrase, which translates to “he planted a Vineyard with his own fruit,” refers to the fruits of Teresa’s labors, the success of the Carmelite order. There are six figures, some of whom are in deep shadow. Compared to the engraving, Teresa has a similar, solemn expression, but her head is tilted the other way. On Teresa’s right-hand side kneel monks of the Carmelite order, and on her left kneel the nuns, the same as in the engraving. Like many of Juárez’ paintings, the architectural background has been cut, and there is a darker background with some allusions to architectural elements. As in the engraving, the religious people look up adoringly at Teresa. Ruiz Gomar believes that because the first nun’s face does not match Juárez’ usually physiognomic conventions, that this may have been a portrait, probably of one of the nuns at the convent for which this image was commissioned. The possibility of this image as a portrait emphasizes how the female patrons of this series positioned themselves within these paintings. They imagined themselves as the descendants of Teresa, the nation’s patroness and protector.

The last painting I believe accompanied these at the Carmelite convent is Teresa’s *Illumination* (Figures 34 and 7). In Juárez’ version, Teresa sits at her desk, looking upward towards a crucifix, lost in thought. She is seemingly unaware of the Holy Spirit who swoops down to provide divine inspiration, and of the angel behind her, harkening its coming. She sits at a table, against a dark background, and out of her mouth a ribbon flows, presumably her prayer, declaring, “The mercies of the Lord I will sing forever.” Teresa’s eyes, characteristically blank in Juárez’ oeuvre, match the pallor of her face. Her right hand holds a quill, poised to write. From the engraving, Juárez has added the angel, and the other elements in the room, including the skull,
representing Teresa’s contemplation of the death of Christ, and perhaps reflecting on her own
desire to be martyred. Juárez has also added a spinning wheel on the floor, which may represent
a dedication to prayer and meditation. Although Juárez has removed many of the decorative
elements in the room, extending the heavenly realm in a “V” shape towards Teresa, he has kept
the squared patterning on the floor, perhaps to establish depth. This painting also emphasizes
Teresa’s divine favor, but also her role as a scholar and theologian. Her theological writings,
seen as a defense against the threat of Protestantism, were part of Teresiano’s support of her role
as copatron.

Although there are problems, the case for these paintings existing as part of the twenty-
four-part series in the Carmelite convent is strong, especially considering their similar sizes and
orientations. And their production in 1622 also fits them in with a time period in which St.
Teresa was being advocated for as patron on both sides of the Atlantic. Juárez made these
paintings more dramatic, focusing not on the narrative, but on the sacred nature of his subject. In
a church, shrouded by dim candlelight, Juárez’ paintings helped stir the hearts of his Carmelite
viewers, urging them to be more like their Carmelite founder and her God.

The alteration of the engravings is important, not only for their display, but also for their
meaning within the social and political context in early seventeenth-century Mexico. Juárez has
emphasized Teresa’s mystical nature, and her status as divinely favored. In the Carmelite
context, he visually elevates their founder to the status of the Virgin, as in the Glorification of
Saint Teresa, thereby improving their own statuses within the community as female leaders,

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134 Adam Jasienski, Praying to Portraits: Audience, Identity, and the Inquisition in the Early Modern Hispanic
validating their own political influence. Those worshipping in the Carmelite convent would have been assured of the efficacy of their mission, as they were part of an order founded not only by a saint, but by the spiritually powerful patron saint of Spain and of Mexico City. The altering of these engravings not only speaks to the creative agency of the painter, but also to the importance of the Mexican Carmelites in the evangelical mission of the Catholic world. During this crucial period for the Carmelites, the elevation of their founder to patron saint would be a significant boost for their order. The commissioning of these paintings, therefore, aimed to reinforce Teresa's status, and to persuade her detractors of her sanctity and suitability to serve and protect the Spanish nation alongside Santiago.

**Conclusion**

Don Juan Pérez de la Serna, the bishop so dedicated to Teresa and the Carmelite’s cause, was enveloped in political conflict beginning around 1625, and his popularity decreased. Perhaps, then, so did Teresa’s popularity, as in 1628, when Philip IV renominated her as Spain’s patron, Mexico City showed less enthusiasm for elevating her. Attendance was not even mandatory at her feast day celebration in 1626. It seemed that interest in her patron sainthood waned when the political tides changed.

The production of Saint Teresa’s image, however, did not cease. Luis Juárez’ great great grandson painted the *Virgin of the Carmen with Saint Teresa and Saint John of the Cross* (Figure 35). The two founders of the Carmelite order are featured kneeling at the Virgin’s feet. Teresa stares, blankly and stoically, up at the Virgin and the angels above, while the male founder, St.

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John stares at his female counterpart. Mole-less but aged, the younger Juárez’ saint Teresa carries the authority and piety of his grandfather’s but is missing some of the fervor characteristic of her writings and of Luis’ renditions. Perhaps the passion for Teresa as patron had diminished, and although she was still beloved, the Mexicans had a different relationship with her than when Don Juan Pérez de la Serna was in power. Devotion to Teresa would be superseded by devotion to St. Joseph and the Virgin of Guadalupe, both of whom came into their own in the context of New World colonial devotion. The paintings of Juárez denote a specific point in time when painting was suited to the intense devotionality of Teresa’s writings, and the post-Tridentine political culture was primed for her veneration. In Mexico, as well as in Spain, this devotion would not be eclipsed, but would wane.
CONCLUSION

Through looking at images relating to the Copatronazgo in both Spain and Mexico, this thesis has highlighted the effects of absence within the art historical narrative. In Spain, the destruction of Teresian imagery has led to a limited understanding of visual expressions of devotion to the saint as patron. Although not completely erased, the Inquisition’s goal of obliterating this period from the memories of the Spanish people has partially succeeded. In Mexico, this erasure was less purposeful, as the convent was destroyed to make room for bigger and better decoration. But this thesis reveals that even through this erasure, by intent, demolition, or time, the narrative continues to prevail. As a final display of devotion, in 1970 Pope Paul VI proclaimed Teresa as the first female Doctor of the Church, recognizing her contributions to centuries of believers. Although not patroness of Spain in name, Teresa continues to be a source of inspiration and devotion for many within the Spanish speaking world. This thesis has shown that this past continues to live on, despite attempts to erase it.
Figure 1: Antonio de Paz and Valentín de Aguilar, *Capilla de Santiago y Santa Teresa*, 1628, polychrome sculpture, La Catedral Nueva, Salamanca.
Figure 2: Gregorio Fernández, *Santa Teresa de Jesús*, 1625, polychrome sculpture, National Sculpture Museum, Valladolid, Spain
Figure 3: Anonymous copy after Juan de la Miseria, *True Likeness of Saint Teresa of Jesus Aged 62*, 1576, oil on canvas.
Figure 4: Unrecorded engraver, Detail for the Frontispiece for 1627 description of the fiestas ordered by King Philip IV (left) and Don Melchor Alfonso’s In Defense of Teresa’s Patronage (right), Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid.
Figure 5: Francisco Heylan, *The Copatronazgo*, 1618, Engraved frontispiece, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid.
Figure 6: Artist Unknown, Santiago Matamoros, mid-11th century- early 12th century, Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, Spain
Figure 7: Print made by Adriaen Collaert after Pieter de Jode I (?) and published by Cornelis Galle, Plate 23, *Teresa’s Illumination*, 1613, engraving. The British Museum.
Figure 8: Artist Unknown, *The Copatronazgo*, c.1618-1630 (?), oil on canvas, House Museum of the Virgin of Araceli in Lucena, Córdoba, Spain
Figure 9: Juan Bautista Maíno, *The Copatronazgo*, 1626, oil on canvas, The Spanish Gallery, Bishop Auckland
Figure 10: Print made by Adriaen Collaert after Pieter de Jode I (?) and published by Cornelis Galle, Plate 2, Portrait of Teresa of Ávila, 1613, engraving, The British Museum.
Figure 11: Francisco Pacheco, *Saint Catherine of Alexandria and Saint Teresa of Jesus*, c. 1638-1640, oil on panel, The Museum of Fine Arts, Seville
Figure 12: Peter Paul Rubens, *Saint Teresa of Ávila*, c. 1615, oil on canvas, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna
Figure 13: Francisco de Zurbarán, *The Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine of Siena*, c. 1645, oil on canvas, Meadows Museum, SMU, Dallas
Figure 14: Frontispiece, with Teresa of Ávila and John of the Cross, in Vita del V.P.F.Giov. della Croce (Brescia 1638). Carmelitana Collection of Whitefriars Hall Monastery, Washington, D.C.
Figure 15: Print made by Adriaen Collaert after Pieter de Jode I (?) and published by Cornelis Galle, Plate 18, *St. John of the Cross and St. Anthony of Jesus at the Convent*, 1613, engraving, The British Museum.
Figure 16: Mathias Arteaga, *Levitation of John of the Cross and Teresa of Ávila during John’s discourse about the Holy Trinity*, engraving in Geronimo de San Joseph, *Compendio de la vida de el Beato Padre San Juan de la Cruz*, in *Obras espirituales*, [Seville 1703]. Carmelitana Collection of Whitefriars Hall Monastery, Washington, D.C.
Figure 17: Retablo of the Church of the Convent of the Discalced Carmelites, Calahorra, Spain. C. 1615. Photograph from KlarnaTrips, https://trips.klarna.com/en/adp/spain/calahorra/monasterio-de-san-jose-a2486939335/
Figure 18: Luis Juárez, *Santa Teresa with Nuns*, before 1636, oil on canvas, Davenport Museum of Art Collection, United States
Figure 19: Luis Juárez, *Santa Teresa with Another Nun*, before 1636, oil on canvas, Viceregal Museum, Tepotzolán, Mexico.
Figure 20: Print made by Adriaen Collaert after Pieter de Jode I (?) and published by Cornelis Galle, Plate 12, *Teresa triumphing over demons*, 1613.
Figure 21: Luis Juárez, *Santa Teresa Praying for Souls in Purgatory*, before 1636, oil on canvas, Viceregal Museum, Tepotzolán, Mexico.
Figure 22: Luis Juárez, *Santa Teresa and St. John of the Cross with the Virgin and Child*, before 1636, oil on canvas, Cathedral of Mexico, Mexico City, Mexico.
Figure 23: Luis Juárez, *Santa Teresa sees Christ Carrying the Cross*, before 1636, oil on canvas, Church of Saint John the Baptist, Coyoacán, Mexico City, Mexico.
Figure 24: Luis Juárez, *Santa Teresa and her brother on a mission*, c. 1622?, oil on canvas, Historical Museum of Churubusco, Mexico City, Mexico.
Figure 25: Print made by Adriaen Collaert after Pieter de Jode I (?) and published by Cornelis Galle, Plate 3, *Teresa and her brother told to go home*, 1613, engraving, The British Museum.
Figure 26: Luis Juárez, *Glorification of St. Teresa*, c. 1622?, oil on canvas, Church of El Carmen, Mexico City, Mexico.
Figure 27: Print made by Adriaen Collaert after Pieter de Jode I (?) and published by Cornelis Galle, Plate 11, *St. Teresa before the Holy Trinity*, 1613, engraving, The British Museum.
Figure 28: Luis Juárez, *Elevation of St. Teresa during a Mass*, c. 1622?, oil on canvas, Church of El Carmen, Mexico City, Mexico.
Figure 29: Print made by Adriaen Collaert after Pieter de Jode I (?) and published by Cornelis Galle, Plate 17, *The miracle of Teresa’s levitation*, 1613, engraving, The British Museum.
Figure 30: Luis Juárez, *The Virgin and St. Joseph appearing to St. Teresa*, c. 1622?, oil on canvas, Chapel of Señor de Contreras, Church of the Convent of El Carmen, San Angel, Mexico City, Mexico.
Figure 31: Print made by Adriaen Collaert after Pieter de Jode I (?) and published by Cornelis Galle, Plate 14, *Teresa given a precious necklace by the Virgin and St. Joseph*, 1613, engraving, The British Museum.
Figure 32: Luis Juárez, *St. Teresa Protecting the Carmelite Order*, c. 1622?, oil on canvas, Central Library of the University of Guanajuato, Mexico.
Figure 33: Print made by Adriaen Collaert after Pieter de Jode I (?) and published by Cornelis Galle, Plate 19, *Teresa as patron saint*, 1613, engraving, The British Museum.
Figure 34: Luis Juárez, *Illumination of St. Teresa*, c. 1622?, oil on canvas, Regional Museum of Guadalajara, Mexico.
Figure 35: Juan Rodríguez Juárez, *The Virgin of El Carmen with St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross*, late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, oil on canvas, National Museum of Art, Mexico City, Mexico.
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