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Editores



## Capítulo 15



# LOS ROSTROS DE LA TIERRA ENCANTADA

Religión, evangelización y sincretismo en el Nuevo Mundo

Homenaje a Manuel Marzal, S.J.

*Los rostros de la tierra encantada: religión, evangelización y sincretismo en el Nuevo Mundo. Homenaje a Manuel Marzal, S.J.*

José Sánchez Paredes, Marco Curatola Petrocchi, editores

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## THE SOUTHERNMOST ENTERPRISE: THE VISUAL ARTS ON THE JESUIT MISSIONS IN CHILOE (1608-1767)<sup>1</sup>

*Gauvin Alexander Bailey*

Clark University

The Jesuit missions in Chiloe (Chile) are the southernmost Catholic missions of the colonial era. Writing in 1646, the Jesuit chronicler Alonso de Ovalle wrote proudly that they were «the most distant in this Province, and the most Apostolic that our Society has in all the Indies» (1646, pp. 354)<sup>2</sup>. They also made a unique contribution to architecture and the visual arts in Latin America, since they not only accommodated profoundly to indigenous materials and techniques but also borrowed extensively from Central European traditions, since many of the Jesuits came from places like Bavaria and the Rhineland. Plain, barn-like, shingled structures of wood, with few windows and adorned only with a single elegant arcade at the front supporting a solitary bell-tower, the churches of Chiloe look more like Tyrolian wayside chapels than relics of Spanish culture—appropriate in their Alpine setting in the Southern third of Chile. Their interiors are more lavishly decorated, with classical columns, elaborate mouldings, inventive vaulting, and delicately carved altarpieces. They also house a remarkable collection of wooden statuary, whose rigid bearing, passive expressions, and schematic treatment of anatomy and drapery make them more like the art of the Paraguay Reductions than anything found elsewhere in Spain or the Americas, and have earned them the designation «Hispano-Chilote School of Carving»<sup>3</sup>. Thanks to the efforts of a local foundation called the «Friends of the Churches of Chiloe» (founded 1993) and especially

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<sup>2</sup> All translations from Spanish or Italian in this paper are my own.

<sup>3</sup> The term «escuela hispano-chilota de imaginería» was coined in 1955 by Isidoro Vázquez de Acuña. See Vázquez de Acuña (1955, p. 51). For a typology of Paraguay Reduction sculpture, see Bailey, (1999, pp. 173-182).

to UNESCO's decision to declare sixteen of the sixty wooden churches of Chiloe World Patrimony Sites in 2000, these treasures are becoming much better known, and they have been the subject of several recent books, photography exhibitions, and Internet sites<sup>4</sup>.

As work by scholars such as Hernan Montecinos Barrientos is now demonstrating, most of the churches and sacred art which survive today in Chiloe date from later periods, especially the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and they owe as much to the inventiveness and creativity of the Franciscan and diocesan priests who took over these missions after the Jesuit expulsion in 1767 as they do to the Jesuits themselves. Many of the distinctive architectural features, from the neo-Gothic pointed arches in the porticos to the column-like octagonal central towers, are products of these later waves of influence. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to underestimate the impact the Jesuit era had on these remarkable buildings and their contents. Archival and published documents from that era make it clear that the Jesuits had already established many of the basic elements of the Chilote style, driven in particular by a handful of Germanic priests and brother artisans who had travelled to Chile with Carlos Haimbhausen (1692-1728), the founder of the famed crafts workshops of the Calera de Tango<sup>5</sup>. In an active partnership with the Huilliche and Cholo Indians of the region, the Jesuits created a syncretic visual arts tradition that relied as much on indigenous techniques as they did on those of Europe. However the most important document is not to be found in the archives. Called «a veritable architectural jewel in wood», the church of Santa María de Loreto at Achao is the only Chilote monument that survives unequivocally from the Jesuit mission era (figure 1) (Hanisch Espindola, 1974, p. 141). Although its façade and tower were rebuilt in 1873, they preserved the basic profile of the original building—one that would become the prototype for the entire archipelago. On the other hand, the nave, vaulting, altars, and pulpit remain intact from the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, giving us precious insight into the creative capacity of these missions built so far from the settled colonial heartland (figure 2).

Although the Spanish occupied the densely forested Chiloe archipelago as early as 1567, founding the capital at Castro in the following year, the islands remained isolated from the colonial settlements in central Chile by the vast territories of the hostile Mapuche tribes and the equally hostile winds and storms of the Southern Pacific, and settlement was slow and sporadic. The archipelago extends from the

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<sup>4</sup> Recent works include Guarda (1984), Modiano (1988, 1993), Montecinos Barrientos *y otros* (1995), Buschiazzo (2001), Hanisch Espindola (2001); and Bailey (2002). The best Internet sites at the time of writing are [www.iglesiaschilotas.cl](http://www.iglesiaschilotas.cl) and [www.iglesiasdechiloe.cl](http://www.iglesiasdechiloe.cl)

<sup>5</sup> Bailey, forthcoming(a) and forthcoming(b); Hanisch Espindola (1982a, pp. 159-189), Hanisch Espindola (1973, pp. 133-206).



Figure 1: Church of Santa María de Loreto, Achao, exterior.

Chacao Canal on the North to the Gulf of Corcovado in the South, and its largest island, the Isla Grande de Chiloe is—at 8394 square kilometers—the largest island in South America outside Tierra del Fuego. It was inhabited by several different indigenous groups, most notably the Huilliche and Chonos, who survived on potatoes and fish, which they caught in small wooden canoes called *piraguas* or *dalcas*. The nascent colony suffered frequent attacks from foreign pirates in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, particularly the Dutch, who sacked Castro twice in 1600 and 1642, burning it to the ground on both occasions.

The Jesuits arrived early in Chiloe's colonial history. In 1595 Father Luis de Valdivia visited the islands, where he found the capital already furnished with three churches: a parish church, and the conventual churches of the Franciscans and Mercederians (Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, 1929, pp. 109-110; see also Olivares, 1874, p. 364). The Society of Jesus founded a permanent mission in Castro in 1608, under the supervision of Fathers Melchor Venegas and Juan Bautista Ferrufino, which would eventually be the head of three other missions in Achao, Chonchi, and Cailin<sup>6</sup>. These same missionaries began the tradition of itinerant missions, an extraordinarily exhausting eight-month long, 4000 kilometer canoe tour of the indigenous villages in the furthest reaches of the islands that took place every year between September 17<sup>th</sup> and May 17<sup>th</sup>. Fighting fierce winds, cold, and starvation, the missionaries set up makeshift chapels in villages throughout the islands,

<sup>6</sup> See also Buschiazzo (2001), Maldonado (1897, p. XXXV), Olivares (1874, p. 367), Enrich (1891, p. 141).

appointing a *fiscal*, or lay catechist, to manage the mission in their absence (1929, p. 107; Hanisch Espindola, 1982b, p. 45)<sup>7</sup>.

The earliest chapels on the itinerant missions were the most acculturative, since they closely replicated indigenous domestic architecture. Built of boards and planks, they were roofed with cypress beams and straw, soon to be replaced by more water-resistant shingles made of the *alerce* (larch) tree. Instead of nails, the indigenous carpenters used strong wooden dowels, and they built on stone foundations to protect the structure from the humidity of the soil. They were also built next to the beach, for easy access by the canoes of the missionaries. As the 18<sup>th</sup>-century Jesuit chronicler Miguel de Olivares wrote:

The said chapels are placed next to the beaches, so that the fathers can arrive there with their *piraguas*, [and] can begin their ministries right away without much trouble...Each community raises its own church, which is composed of some wooden posts, with other boards which are placed next to them, forming the walls; and the roof [is] covered with straw on some beams, so that not a single nail was used in its construction, because everything is bound with roots and vines which climb the trees [...] (1874, pp. 373-374).

Another description from the Jesuit Annual Letter for 1611 defined the simple way these churches were adorned when the missionaries visited them on their rounds: «We arrived at the church, which is a straw hut, but well made, and adorned with flowers and laurel branches, of which there is quite an abundance here [...]» (Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, XIX, 1929, p. 118). These rectangular structures on stone bases resembled the typical family homes of the Huilliche Indians, which were also large rectangular halls with a platform on the front where the family lived during the day and whose eaves protected them from rain (Maldonado, 1897, p. 356). Much of the woodworking knowledge that went into these chapels also derived from making canoes, which were constructed from large wooden planks bound together with vines called *paupué* and other fibers (Hanisch Espindola, 1982b, p. 57). Already in 1611 the Jesuits had established 36 of these *visita* chapels, a number which would rise to almost 80 by the time of the Expulsion. The basic features of these early chapels, from the materials and building methods to the rectangular shape fronted by a porch, already form the kernel of what would become the distinctive Chilote style of architecture.

The architecture of the Jesuits in Castro was another matter. Here, they administered primarily to the Spanish community, and their buildings were larger and grander, competing with those of their mendicant rivals. A 1611 description proudly calls the Jesuit church and residence of Santa Maria de Loreto «the best

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<sup>7</sup> See also Buschiazzo (2001, pp. 24-27), Olivares (1874, pp. 368-378), Ovalle (1646, pp. 337-338, 354-355).

house in the town», built of wooden walls and a tiled roof, even though it was no larger than a quarter of a city block. The account continues, saying that the compound also had:

an orchard garden, which surrounds us nicely, and another patio which is not in front of the doorway of the house and in it we made another door to enclose it with its bell, in the manner of ours [i.e., the Jesuits]. In the complex we have built two parts, and in the best and biggest we built the church with its grand portal onto the street, and in the other two living quarters for the two [fathers], a dispensary [and] a refectory, and a nook for the sacristy, very small, and made of wickerwork enforced with straw, which gives happiness and devotion to all who see it. In the garden, on one side of it we built another little hut that serves as a kitchen, where we have a boy who accompanies and serves us (Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, XIX, 1929, pp. 109-110).

By 1649, when it housed three missionaries, Alonso de Ovalle published a woodcut illustration of the Castro residence and church (Ovalle, 1649, plate 11; see also p. 331). Although the grand monument in the print—resembling a church of the late Renaissance in Rome or Florence—has more to do with the printer than the actual structure in Castro, it nevertheless demonstrates the church's key civic role in the city, as the basis of a ministry that extended to Spaniard and Amerindian alike.

By the early 18<sup>th</sup> century the Jesuits established a college at the Castro residence to train missionaries in the Huilliche and Chono languages, and four



Figure 2: Church of Santa María de Loreto, Achao, interior.

missionaries were based there, two to handle ministry in Castro and two for the itinerant missions (Hanisch Espindola, 1982b, p. 198). By the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the «beautiful college and large church all of wood» housed as many as eight missionaries in the winter months and three in the summer, compared to two Franciscans at the Franciscan church and the single Mercedarian who maintained La Merced<sup>8</sup>. The suppression documents describe the complex in some detail, first in this report dated 11 December, 1776, which deals with the college alone:

Item: The said house [i.e., the college], which is twenty-three *varas* long and nine wide with a roof of planks and walls made of the same kind of planking, divided into two sections, the smaller one for the living quarters has two windows in it with small latches and a door with the usual lock and key, with a plank roof, the said dwelling having beams with mouldings and linings, and the floor laid with rough planks, the other section which is larger does not have planks on the floor nor in the upper part, [and] it has a large double door with bolt and lock, and a small padlock<sup>9</sup>.

Another description of the whole complex was made on the 12<sup>th</sup> of December of the same year:

Item: The rectangular college with its frame of boards and palisade of cypress.

Item: Four rectangular houses with the Church, of three aisles, all done in wood, and houses, and their roofs made of clapperboard, with its corresponding rooms, warehouse, larder, refectory, and school.

Item: Five houses further inside the said college, two of large proportion, and the three small ones with the same roof as the former serve as the kitchen, dispensary, ovens, and other functions...Item: three medium-sized houses for [making the Spiritual] Exercises, made of similar woods<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> «Noticia Breve y Moderna del Archipiélago de Chiloé, de su terreno, costumbres de los indios, misiones, escrita por un misionero de aquellas islas en el año 1769 y 1770», published in Hanisch Espindola, 1982b, p. 226.

<sup>9</sup> «Ittn. d[ic]ha casa q. consta de veinte y tres varas de largo y nuebe de ancho con la techumbre de tablas y las pared.s de la misma especie en tabicaras, dibisisa en dos cañones el uno q. es menor para bibiensa constan en el dos bentanas con aldabas pequeñas y una puerta con seradura y llabe corriente, entablada por la techumbre d[ic]ha bibienda con forraje y molduras tod.s las bigas, yel suelo entablado con tablas toscas, el otro cañon q. es mas grande sin entablar el suelo ni la parte sup. or de el, consta, de una puerta grande de dos manos con serrojo y serradura, y un candado pequeño» (ANC, *Jesuitas* 3, f. 271a).

<sup>10</sup> «Itt. el colegio en quadro con serco de tablas y estacada de sipres; Itt. quatro casas en quadro con la Yglesia, de tres naves, obra toda de madera, y casas, y sus techos de tabla de pizarritta con sus corresponentes aposentos, almacen, vodega, refectorio y escuela; Itt. Sinco casas mas dentro de d[ic]ho colegio dos de proporsionado grandes, y las tres pequeñas con el mismo techo que las primeras sirben de cosina, despensas, ornos, y otras oficinas...Itt. tres casas a medio haver para ejercicios con maderas correspondientes» (ANC, *Jesuitas* 3, f. 227a).



According to documents drawn up at the time of the expulsion, the church had a high altar with five niches, a flanking altar dedicated to Christ in Agony, another flanking altar dedicated to St. Michael, side altars dedicated to St. Joseph, Our Lady of the Assumption, and St. Anne, seven niches on the sides of the nave which held additional sculptures, seven confessionals, and a pulpit and baptismal font<sup>11</sup>. The Jesuit church in Castro was large enough to be made the cathedral in 1772, and the building lasted until an 1857 fire burned it to the ground (Buschiazzo, 2001, p. 68).

The eighteenth century witnessed the culmination of the Chilote style of architecture and carving. It was in this period that the first Germanic priests and brothers made the perilous trip south from Santiago, many of them from the original 1722 expedition from Europe that also brought Karl Haimbhausen and many of the most important artists and architects of the Calera de Tango and Santiago workshops. These men included Father Franz Khuen, from the Upper Rhine, who began the most active period of evangelization on the islands, Arnold Yaspers, who augmented the Castro college and improved the living quarters there, the Austrian Father Michael Choller, who became superior of the mission at Achao, his compatriot Brother Anton Miller, a carpenter and cabinetmaker, who joined Choller at Achao, and Father Anton Friedl, the only member of the 1722 expedition to still be alive (although barely, at the age of 83) at the time of the 1767 Expulsion<sup>12</sup>. Other Germanic missionaries followed, mostly from the 1747 expedition from Europe (the one masterminded by Haimbhausen), including Fathers Melchor

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<sup>11</sup> «Altaires: Ittn. El Mayor con sinco nichos cada uno con su velo de perciana azul, los tres, y los dos de perciana vende; Ittn. un sagrario de torno con tres nichos, el uno aforrado con espejos y los dos con damasco colorado; Ittn otro sagrario pequeño abajo del mayor tambien de torno para el copon; Itt. otro altar colateral del Señor de Aagonia con un sagrario pequeño tiene ensima un corazon de Jesus; con su doselito, y su velo de calamaco p.a el nicho del Señor; Ittn. otro altar colateral de S. Mig[ue]l sin velos; Ittn. otro altar de S.n Joseph con su velo de raso colorado y su medindre de plata echisso; Ittn. otro altar de N.ra S.a de la Asuncion; Ittn. seite repissas a los lados de la media nave con las estatuas ya dichas; Ittn. otra de S.ta Ana en la nave colateral; Ittn. un pulpito con sus cortinas de persiana; Ittn. seis bancas, y quatro medianos mas; Ittn. seis cillas forradas en bagueta, quatro mas llanas de madera; Ittn. una pila baptismal y su tapa de cobre estañada; Ittn. dos mesas grandes y otra mediana, otras domas; Ittn. dos andas grandes viejas otra dos pequeñas todas de madera; Ittn. tres atarimas postisas y un sagrario postisso sin llave forrado en tafetan blanco, un baulin chico, tres escaparates, sin llave, otro pequeño; Ittn. la messa de la sacristia forrada en cordoban con sus competentes caxones; Ittn. tres caxas con sus chapas y llaves donde estan andados la ropa de yglesia y ornam.tos la una de el [...] grande; Ittn. un caxoncillo de ornam.tos sin llave; Ittn. todas las puertas de la yglesia con llaves; Ittn. siete confesonarios, seis atriles de madera» [ANC, *Jesuitas 3*, 256a-b].

<sup>12</sup> Pereira Salas (1965, pp. 81, 263), Hanisch Espindola (1973, p. 146), Hanisch Espindola (1974, p. 109), Hanisch Espindola (1982a, p. 166), Sierra (1944, p. 243-251), Ferrari Peña (1980), Buschiazzo (1961, pp. 128-129), Bayón & Marx (1992, p. 233), Enrich (1891, p. 153). There are references to Haimbhausen and his companions in the personnel records of the Society of Jesus in the Jesuit archives in Rome: ARSI, *Chil. 2*, ff. 322a-b, 326b, 330a; and *Chil.3*, 70a, 241b, 245b, 246a, 249b, 251b, 252a, 255b, 256a.

Strasser from Bavaria, Franz Xavier Kisling from Franconia, Michael Mayer from the Upper Rhine, and the Bohemian Johann Nepomuk Walter (or Erlager), all of whom were still alive in 1767 (ANC, *Jesuitas* 3, ff. 250b-251a).

Under Khuen's leadership the missionary enterprise expanded as never before, and to accommodate the growing congregations the Jesuits built new village chapels. There had already been 69 village chapels and 6120 neophytes in 1717, whereas by 1734-1735 the Jesuits were already administering to 72 chapels and 9400 neophytes (Hanisch Espindola, 1974, pp. 65, 67-68; Hanisch Espindola, 1982b, pp. 172-173, 198). By 1757 the numbers grew to 76 chapels and 11 047 neophytes, and the 1758-1759 expedition of Melchor Strasser and Michael Meyer found as many as 80 chapels. By this time mission communities often included Spanish settlers, and each of the missions also had a little school, the most important of which was the Colegio de Caciques in Chillán, which functioned for 23 years, teaching indigenous children to read and write Spanish. Many of the chapels were mentioned in an anonymous manuscript from 1769-1770 now in the Jesuit archives in Rome (Hanisch Espindola, 1982b, pp. 225-230). In some cases, as for the villages of Pudeto, Caipulli, Peldehuetu, Huitu, Vilupulli, Añihue, Chegniau, Vutachauqui, the island of Chaulinec, and the settlements of Ichoac, Pucolon, Alachildu, and Detif on Lemuy Island, the report merely mentions the presence of a chapel. Other references are more detailed, as in the village of Lacuy, which had «a fine chapel, all of wood, and of three naves»; Manao, whose church was «well proportioned»; Quilquico, Rillan, Quenac, Apeao, and Quehui, which each had a «beautiful church»; or—at the other extreme—the towns of Huilad, which had a «small church»; Linlin, with its «average church»; and finally Caucahue, with its «poor church». The description of the chapel at Lacuy shows that some of these chapels were built along the grander lines of a basilical church with three aisles, more like the typical Chilote prototype represented at the major mission centers of Achao, Cailín, and Chonchi, and which would spread throughout the islands in the Franciscan era.

Unlike at Achao, we only have documentary descriptions of the original churches at Cailín and Chonchi, even though the latter was a more important and populous mission than Achao at the time. The Cailín mission, which was home to the Caucahue Indians, was founded in 1764 by Royal decree and as the southernmost mission it also served as a base for annual excursions south of the Chiloe archipelago (Hanisch Espindola, 1982b, pp. 67, 201; Enrich, 1891, p. 264). The Real Audiencia of Chile assigned each mission an initial 500 pesos for building costs, and gave each missionary an annual salary of 300 pesos, with an additional 30 pesos for wine and candlewax (Hanisch Espindola, 1982b, p. 210; see also pp. 211-217). Writing in 1764, Johann Nepomuk Walter described the new church already being built at Cailín:

They maintain their church in the same way, with appropriate decency, which they themselves built through their own industry and personal labor. They venerate in the said church a precious statue of Nuestra Señora del Carmen, for which they exhibit singular devotion, and calling it their mother they invoke her in a very heartfelt way in their tribulations and labors, and to make themselves more worthy of her patronage they take it out in procession on some of their feast days through the streets garnished with laurel branches, which they set up for greater cleanliness, and having done the rounds of the village they return to the church in the same order in which they left it (Hanisch Espindola, 1982, p. 202).

I will return to this profound veneration for carved images of saints when I consider the Chilote sculptural tradition shortly. The expulsion documents merely mention «a chapel, three houses with straw roofs [and] their corresponding rooms»<sup>13</sup>.

The mission at Chonchi, just south of Castro on the Isla Grande, was founded by the same Royal decree in 1764 to administer to Amerindians of various ethnicities who had settled in this extremely populous region, a population which reached 4000 souls. Walter reported in that year that the Indians had already «quickly built a very spacious living quarters for the father, all of them working spontaneously, and they are still progressing with determination in finishing a large section which serves for the school for children, in which many children from this village and neighboring villages are already learning to read and write». He continued, remarking that the caciques of the town and surrounding communities «graciously and voluntarily» paid the three thousand pesos that the complex cost to erect—much more than the stingy Audiencia had granted them (Hanisch, 1982b, pp. 203-204). The anonymous report from 1769-1770 in the Jesuit archives describes the Chonchi church in some detail: «Here the Jesuit fathers had begun to build a larger church than that at Castro, completely of wood, with squared columns all of one piece, which draw admiration because of the thickness of their volume» (Hanisch Espindola, 1982b, p. 227). The suppression report calls it a «Church of three aisles, completely of wood and a roof of clapperboard», and mentions three outbuildings as well»<sup>14</sup>. Francisco Enrich, describing the church as it looked in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, described it as a «beautiful church, of seventy *varas* in length, and a width corresponding to a church of three aisles. The columns that form [the aisles] rest on bases and plinths of stone, which extend for about one *vara* into the earth» (Enrich, 1891, p. 250). The handsome church there now, with its

<sup>13</sup> «Ittn. se compone d[ic]ha Mición de una capilla, tres casas con techo de paja, sus apocentos correspond. tes» (ANC, *Jesuitas* 3, f. 233a).

<sup>14</sup> «Itt. la Iglesia de tres naves obra toda de madera y techo e pisarritta de tabla; Itt. tres casas de vivienda con el mismo techo... distribuidas en aposentos, con correspondientes sillas, mesas, estantes, y canseles, despensa, y escuela» (ANC, *Jesuitas* 3, f. 231a).

brightly painted corrugated iron sheeting and elegant neo-Gothic arcade, is entirely a product of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Little is known about the origins of the church of Santa Maria de Loreto at Achao, the only surviving church of the Jesuit era and the oldest church in Chiloe (figures 1, 2). An itinerant mission was founded there in 1690, and the Superior Michael Choller wrote that the Jesuits established a permanent mission there in 1723, and mentioned by name the Austrian furniture maker Anton Miller and a lathe operator called Miguel, suggesting that they supervised the construction of the present church (Pereira Salas, 1965, pp. 113-114). A Jesuit visitation report recorded the existence of a church there as early as 1734-1735, and in 1743 the mission was described as having «a large and beautiful church» (Enrich, 1891, pp. 154, 182). The anonymous report from 1769-1770 gives us more details, describing «a beautiful church of wood, of three aisles, with columns all of one piece» (Hanisch Espindola, 1982b, pp. 229-230). The expulsion documents, dated December 1776, take special note of the remarkable mouldings which make the central vault the finest in Chiloe: «[the church is] of three aisles, all of wood, and a roof of clapperboard, adorned inside with mouldings»<sup>15</sup>. A much later testimony, written in the 1791 by the Franciscan Pedro Gonzales de Agüeros, describes the finished church: «on the Island of Quinchau, in the site of Achau, [the Jesuits] built a Church and their living-quarters, this being the finest that they made in the whole archipelago. The Church, which has three aisles [...] although of wood, is of noteworthy and detailed architecture, and the housing for the two religious [are made] with all possible commodiousness and with spacious offices to house the provisions» (Pereira Salas, 1965, p. 114).

The Achao church is a testament not only to the skills of the Huilliche carpenters but also to their ability to make the best use of the natural resources on hand. It is built entirely of local wood such as *alerce* and cypress, using traditional methods. Unlike cypress, which grew in abundance in Chiloe's dense forests, *alerce* had to be obtained through long canoe trips and backbreaking labor from the mainland coast. According to the 1769-1770 account, teams of six to eight Indians would go for three-week periods in their canoes and set up camp on the mainland, felling the giant trees and splitting them into planks using hatchets and wedges (Hanisch Espindola, 1982b, p. 244). These same methods of splitting and carving, which the Huilliche also employed to make their wooden canoes, were used to make the building materials of the Achao church, and their preference for strong wooden dowels over nails (the church at Achao uses no nails) also derives from indigenous building traditions, as we have seen.

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<sup>15</sup> «Itt. la Yglesia, de tre naves, toda de madera, y techo de tabla de pisarritta, adornada por dentro de molduras» (ANC, *Jesuitas* 3, f. 228b).

The expulsion documents list substantial workshops of woodworking tools at the Chiloe missions, including handsaws, regular saws, chisels, scrubbing brushes, files, hammers, jointers, gouges, tools for making grooves, machetes, drills, hatchets and axes, awls, knives, compasses, and quadrants, which were used both for building the churches and carving the sculptures and *retablos* that went in them. Achao had one of the largest workshops<sup>16</sup>, although there were also sizeable collections of tools and unused wooden planks at Cailin, Chonchi, and Castro. The Cailin workshop, which still possessed 275 unused *alerce* planks at the time of the expulsion, also had several unfinished faces from statues of saints, clearly designating it as one of the centers of sculpture<sup>17</sup>. At Castro, where a comparable collection of tools was

<sup>16</sup> The following tools were inventoried at Achao itself in 1776: «9 hachas; 3 serruchos de dos manos; 3 seruchos de una mano; dos Sierras medianas; 2 chiquitas; 6 escoplos grandes, 1 mediano y 4 chiquitos; 1 cepillo; 2 acanaladores; 2 junteras; 2 azuelas de una mano, y otra de dos manos; 1 compás; 3 barrenas g[ran]des, 3 medianas, 2 menores y 3 chiquitas; 1 yunque; 2 bigonias; It. 1 yunque y 1 tornillo tiene Don Juan de Loayza; 3 tenazas; 3 limas; 1 clavera; 1 tornillo gr[an]de otro chiquito p[ar]a la messa; 4 martillos» (ANC, *Jesuitas* 3, ff. 202a-b). Even more tools originally from the Achao mission had been moved to the College at Castro for safekeeping, including: «Itt. ocho hachas, herrameintas fragua; Itt. un yunque, dos viornias quatro machos los tres grandes y uno pequeño, un tornillo grande; Itt. otro tornillo grande, y yunque del mismo grandor que el sitado arriba esta prestado al S.r Juan Loayza se manda la recojer; Itt. otro tornillito pequeño con su yunquesito y vigornia; Itt. onse sierras, y quatro de ellas pequeñas y las demas grandes que se componen de tres serruchos, dos grandes y dos medianos; Itt. quatro martillos, y un machetito; Itt. dos tenasas un alicate, una entenalla, una vasqueta y una clavera, tres limas viejas, un compas; Itt. ocho varrenas sinco de ellas grandes y las tres chicas; Itt. sinco escoplos de maior a menor, los tres de todo fierro; Itt. una urbia chica, tres junteras una de molduras un guillamen, un sepillo, un acanalador, otro mas; Itt. dos asuelas de una mano, y otra de dos; Itt. dos gramilles, dos fierros, sueltos e junteritas; Itt. una plancha de fierro, dos chapas viejas, y once ur [...]»; Itt. un escarcador, un tajonsito, y una claverita para hacer clavos chicos; Itt. un acanalador con su fierro» (ANC, *Jesuitas* 3, ff. 227b-228a).

<sup>17</sup> The following tools were listed at Cailín: «Ittn. por una petaca unos pocos clavos y unas alforjas son 26 clavos; Ittn. por 4 sierras; Ittn. dos machetes; Ittn. por 275 tablas de alerce las tabl[as] son de este colegio [...] Nota lo que sigue aquí apuntado se allaria con el ymbentario que se hizo de lo que pertenece desta casa en la ciudad de Castro 22 de diciembre de 1767. Dos rostros de santos, onse junteras, un acanalador y una moldura todo con sus cajas, dos sepillos con caxas, 7 gurbias con su caxa, entre grandes y chicas, 9 escoplos con cax. de madera las 8 uno de fierro, 8 varrenitas, 3 compases, 4 fierros de tornear, unas tenasas, 4 limas con una quebrada, una sacabroca, 3 fierros sueltos de picostera y sepillo, una barrena descora, un martillo, 3 punsones de fierros chicos, una asuela de dos manos, y otra de una mano, una oja de sierra vieja, 9 limas nueb., 9 escoplitos chicos, otra asuela de dos manos, una hachita ynglesa con su pico, siete fierros de molduras con sus caxas, dos sepillos con sus caxas de madera, un guillamen con caxa, tres herramientas de tornar [...]» (ANC, *Jesuitas* 3, ff. 212b-214b). The following items belonging to the Cailín mission were kept at the College in Castro: «Ittn. docientas y ochenta tablas de alerce pertenecen al este colegio de Castro; Ittn. dos rostros de santos; Ittn. erramientas q.e se hallaron en los cajones sitados onse junteras, un acanalador, una moldura todo con sus cajas de madera, dos cepillos con caxas, siete inbias, entre grandes y pequeñas; Ittn. nueve escoplos con cavos de madera los ocho menos uno; Ittn. ocho varrenitas, tres compases, y quatro fierros de tornear, unas benasas, quatro limas, con una quebrada; Ittn. una sacabroca, tres fierros sueltos de juntera y sepillo, una varrena de cocona, un martillo, tres punsones y dos fierros chicos; Ittn. dos asuelas de dos manos y otra de una, una oja de cierra vieja; Ittn. sinco

kept, there is also evidence of sculptural and perhaps painting activity, since the private quarters of Franz Xavier Kisling included a mortar for grinding color pigments as well as several unfinished saints' faces and hands<sup>18</sup>. Chonchi had the least number of tools, but the mission did have four hundred unused planks of *alerce* at the time of the expulsion<sup>19</sup>. Planks of *alerce* were even stored at the *estancias*, or farms, such as the *estancia* at Meulin (belonging to the College of Castro), which had fifty planks at the time of the expulsion<sup>20</sup>.

The façade of Santa Maria at Achao is fronted with an elegant arcade of five arches, the central arch notably wider than the flanking ones (figure 1). The proportions are classical, each arch perfectly hemispherical and supported by classical piers resting on plinths with plain wooden capitals. Above the arcade are three arched windows letting onto the choir, and two on the tower, but no other

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limas mas, quatro escoplos pequeños; Ittn una acha pequeña con su pico, siete fierros de molduras con sus cajas, dos cepillos con sus cajas toda madera; Ittn. un guillamen con caja, y tres erramientas mas de tornear, otra varrena y dos quebradas pequeñas» (ANC, *Jesuitas* 3, ff 232a-233a).

<sup>18</sup> «Itt. quinse hachas nuevas, trese d[ic]has mas viejas, y veinte y ocho hachas mas que dise el R.do Pe Vd. estan en las haciendas las que se recojeran en el poder de los sujetos que las tienen; Itt. otra hacha mas; Itt. seis varrenas sin cavos, y seis limitas sin cavos; Itt. una caxeta de madera con varias menudencias de reliquias, estampitas, y medallas; Itt. sinco varrenas entre chicas y grandes, una asuela de una mano, un escoplo con cavo de madera; Itt. sinco herramientas de molduras con sus caxas; Itt. un limpiador de fierro, quatro fierresitos de carpintería, un alicate, dos fierros de sepillo, una varrenita, una oja de sierra vieja; Itt. quatro limas sin cavos, un tacho viejo, un pedaso de fierro como de dos libras, un barretonsillo de sero; Itt. una juntera, un martillo grande, un formon, un escoplillo, otro formon quebrado, una asuela de una mano; Itt. dos fierros con sus cavos que llaman maichiques; Itt. una tenasas, dos urbias viejas, un anillo de grillete; Itt. las hachas y amencionadas son en el todo sinquenta y seis con catorse nuevas, y no quinse como se dijo antes; Itt. de d[ic]has hachas quatro estan en la estancia de Meulín dos en poder del capatas, y dos as cargo de los pastores en la estancia de Lemuy otras dos hachas, una d[ic]ha en poder del molinero que hasen sinquenta y sinco, fuera de una hacha que se le dió al yndio sacristan en parte de pago; Itt. herramientas de fragua, un yunque, un tornillo, un macho, dos martillos, uno grande, y otro pequeño, unas corbas, una tenasa, un alicate pequeño una clavera, nueve limas, dos contadores, quatro medianos, tres sinselitas; [in the rooms of Franz Xavier Kisling] una lima grande, un martillo pequeño, dos barrones pequeñas, un alicate quebrado, tres basitos de christal, un candado de viuda con llave, una escrivanía con su erraje y llabe, una piedra grande con su mano para moler colores; Itt. seis rostros de santos con sus manos sin encarnar, y otra estatua, y un niño sin encarnar; [in the rooms of Francisco Xavier Pietas] Itt. quarenta y dos limas nuevas de todos tamaños; Itt. nueve d[ic]has con cavos; Itt. dos sepillos, una juntera sin caxas; [in the rooms of Michael Meyer] Itt. seis machetes, quatro gurbias; Itt. una barrena, y tres fierros de torno; Itt. una juntera armada; Itt. dos fierros con un sepillo y acanalador; Itt. un guillamen; Itt. un sepillo grande con su caxa; Itt. un compasito de alquimia; [in the rooms of Joseph García] Itt. un compas grande, y una tenasa; Itt. siete limas sin cavos, un sepillo, tres fierros pequeños de carpintería; Itt. un martillo, una barrenita, una sierra pequeña; Itt. un quadrante de observación descompuesto, otro quadrante hechiso» (ANC, *Jesuitas* 3, ff. 222b-227a).

<sup>19</sup> «Ittn. Un cajonsillo de clavos echos de varias vitolas; Ittn. Dos sierras; y dos serruchos; y dose varrenas; Ittn. Tres escoplos y una urbia; Ittn. Seis ores; Ittn. Un juntera; Itt. quatro sientas tablas de alerse» (ANC, *Jesuitas* 3, ff. 205b-206a; 231a).

<sup>20</sup> «Ittn sinquenta tab.s de alerse buenas» (ANC, *Jesuitas* 3, 217b).

ornamentations of any kind disturb the unrelentingly flat walls with their surface of overlapping shingles, a fish-scale appearance appropriate to a community who gains most of its living from the sea. The bell tower, almost cubist in its elemental austerity, rises directly above this porch and choir, perfectly proportional with the rest of the façade. Its sober, block-like base supports a pyramidal roof which it itself crowned by a delicate octagonal cupola and spire (the different levels of chilote towers are called *cañas*) (Buschiazzo, 2001, p. 37; Montecinos Barrientos, Salinas & Basaez, 1995; Montecinos Barrientos, 2002). The barn-like main body of the church contains only nine small arched windows and a door on each side. Six rectangular windows let light into the sacristy behind the flat apse. The church fronts a large open plaza known as the *explanada* that was used for processions and other theatrical events, giving the church a prominence over the mission's urban space comparable to that developed on the Paraguay Reductions at the same time (Montecinos Barrientos, Salinas & Basáez, 1995; see also Gutierrez & Viñuales, 1997, pp. 375-384). The sides of the church were once adjoined by wide eaves to protect the faithful during downpours, a feature derived from Huilliche domestic architecture, but these have since been removed (Buschiazzo, 2001, 98; Montecinos Barrientos, Salinas & Basáez, 1995).

The architectural prototype established at Achao, and undoubtedly the other larger missions such as Chonchi and Cailin, became the standard followed for the next century and a half on the islands, now known as the «Chilota School of Wooden Religious Architecture». It combines the indigenous techniques of carpentry and carving that we have just observed with an architectural style derived from the South German Rococo. Elsewhere I have shown that the basic profile of the tower and its location in the center of the façade recalls South German examples such as the 17<sup>th</sup>-century tower of the Peterskirche in Munich or the late Medieval St. Margaret's Chapel in Salzburg (1491), and versions with an arcaded porch at the front and a small central tower at the back are common in the Tyrol and Switzerland, for example in the wayside chapels outside the 18<sup>th</sup>-century pilgrimage shrine of Einsiedeln (Bayley, forthcoming a y b). This kind of central tower appeared soon afterward in the Jesuit's principal church in Santiago, San Miguel (1751-1766), which Franz Grueber built in a hybrid Bavarian style (figure 3). The San Miguel tower, now destroyed but preserved in drawings, had a gambrel roof, corbelled cupola, and finials. This manner of building facades became typical of later architecture in central Chile, setting it apart from the building styles of neighboring Argentina. Later examples can be found in Santa Ana (begun 1806) in Santiago and a plethora of provincial 19<sup>th</sup>-century churches such as the Franciscan church in Curimón, the Convento del Buen Pastor at San Felipe, and the delightful pilgrimage church of San Antonio del Almendral, the last three all made of painted wood.



Figure 3: Church of San Miguel, Santiago. From a drawing by Juan Mauricio Rugendas (1839). Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Berlin.

Hernán Montecinos Barrientos has quite correctly pointed out that the façade and tower at Achao are not original to the church, but date from an 1873 reconstruction (Montecinos Barrientos, Salinas & Basaez, 1995; Montecinos, 2002). I am also convinced by his arguments that the octagonal shape of the top *caña* of the new tower at Achao was updated to echo that of nearby Quinchao, which was constructed in 1861. Nevertheless, the new tower and façade at Achao almost certainly maintained the basic profile of the original structure, with its central tower rising from the peak of the façade, and its classical portico below. The most important evidence that the Achao church had a façade with a central tower and arcade can be found at the Jesuit church of San Miguel in Santiago, built by workshops of mostly Germanic men who came on the same ships as the missionaries of Chiloé. No scholars have denied that the appearance of the Achao church is Central European in origin. Montecinos noted strong similarities with Southern German churches like the Sebastiankirche in Binzwagen or the Marienkirche at Kloster Schultz, while Ignacio Modiano traces the design to a 1520 engraving of the Church of the Immaculate Conception in Regensburg and also found commonalities with the architecture of Zagreb (Croatia), and Gabriel Guarda made references to the architecture of Poland (Guarda, 1984; Modiano, 1988 and 1993; Montecinos Barrientos, Salinas & Basaez, 1995; Buschiazzo, 2001). It would be strange indeed if this Germanic influence was imported by the Franciscans, who were primarily of Iberian or Iberian-American extraction. These



later missionaries brought with them a taste for neo-Gothic pointed arches and traceried altarpieces as at Dalcahue (19<sup>th</sup> century), and for the tall, spindly towers found at churches such as Villupulli (late 18<sup>th</sup> century).

The interior of Santa Maria in Achao (figure 2) is more typically Latin American, echoing a type of mission church that originated in the first years of colonial New Spain in the 1530s and surviving in places such as the 18<sup>th</sup>-century Jesuit missions in Chiquitanía (Bolivia) (figure 4), and the original churches of the Paraguay Reductions, as well as the Franciscan missions of Yaguaron (Paraguay) (Bailey, 1999, pp. 11, 32, 38, 44, 64). The basic shape is rectangular, with three aisles of columns creating a basilical form. This kind of building served two purposes, since it was both relatively easy to build —crucial in a world of amateur architects— and it also recalled the era of the Early Church, considered a golden age by missionaries in colonial times.

The columns dividing the aisles at Achao, which are made by joining several planks together, are made to follow simple classical prototypes, with plinths, plain capitals, and entablatures. The latter are particularly inventive, since they imitate the horizontal divisions of Greco-Roman entablatures by making each horizontal plank step forward as they move upward, and they even imitate triglyphs by having an additional staircase-like projection from the entablature jut out above each column. The pilasters on the walls, which correspond to the main columns, are even more classicizing, and they include fluting and mouldings. The wide planks of the floor, with their coarse chiselled surfaces —similar to those mentioned in



Figure 4: Church of San Rafael, Chiquitanía (Bolivia), 18<sup>th</sup> century, interior.

documents— contrast sharply with the intricate carved foliage and geometric patterns on the ceiling, altars, tabernacle, and pulpit.

The main difference between the Chilote interiors and those of, say, the Chiquitos missions, is that the central aisle is vaulted, in the case of Achao in a delicate and complex net-vault adorned with scalloped mouldings, which recalls the lighthearted stucco decoration in the vaults of South German churches of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Such vaults appear, for example, at the former Premonstratensian abbey church at Obermarchtal, Bavaria (1686-1701). The vault ribs at Achao crisscross the roof from the tops of the arches below and are adorned at their intersection points with peony-like flowers. A giant, multi-layered peony also appears in the center of the ceiling. With these ribs, the architect has given the impression that the entire ceiling is covered with a large garden trellis, transforming a structural element into a purely decorative one—an approach that is very Rococo in spirit.

The far end of the church focuses on three exquisite wooden retablos, done in a style that harmonizes with the rest of the church. The main altar consists of three sections enclosing statue niches. Its shape is very simple—it is essentially three boxes set next to each other—however, there is a hint of Rococo style in the concave profile of the central niche, as well as the delicately twisting solomonic columns which frame that and the two lateral niches. The most ingenious features of this altar result from the woodworkers' need to substitute wood for rarer media. For example, instead of taffeta curtains or silver finials, the artist has given us an expertly rendered false pair of curtains in the central niche, and he has added flat, scalloped finials and crowns to all three sections, including the monogram of the Society of Jesus and of the Virgin Mary. Especially fine is the tabernacle, with its relief carvings of *Saints Ignatius of Loyola* and *Francis Xavier*, polychrome painted and surrounded by a plethora of scrolls and other Rococo ornamentation, and the delightful palm capitals on the *retablo* columns. Scholars in the past have maintained that the central part of the high altar is a later reconstruction by the Franciscan friar Alonso Reyna of Andalucia, but its style is too perfectly consonant with the rest of the church for this to be likely, and as Pereira points out the altar depicts Jesuit saints and the Jesuit emblem (Pereira Salas, 1965, pp. 114-115).

The side altars, also undoubtedly original to the church, are equally interesting. On the left one, the artists have created a sense of volume not by carving deeply into a log of wood, but by layering planks of wood on top of each other, their edges decorated by the same kind of scalloped plant decoration as seen on the ceiling ribs, although here with a repeating tulip motif. The result is highly ornamental, with a great deal of texture and variety. On the right hand side, the altar has another pair of artificial curtains made of wood, with classical style columns on either side and exuberant Rococo scrolls at the top. In addition to these two side altars, side niches open up on both sides, framed by wooden curtains and crowned by

miniature cupolas set into the vaulting of the aisles. The fine pulpit, with its cone-shaped base and feather headdress-like crown, also picks up the leafy decorative strips used in the ceiling and altars, giving the entire interior a tremendous sense of unity that is remarkable given the builder's constraints.

We have already seen the evidence of sculpture production on the missions in Chiloe, particularly at Cailin, Achao, and the college of Castro, where Father Kisling may have taught sculpture and perhaps painting —although if the expulsion documents are any indication there was very little painting instruction on the Chiloe missions<sup>21</sup>. Although it has not yet received the attention garnered by the churches, Chilote sculpture is equally unique and, at its best, tremendously moving. In 1955 Isidoro Vazquez de Acuña made a pioneering study of what he called the «Hispano-Chilote School of Carving», dividing it into four different categories depending upon characteristics such as size and subject (Vazquez de Acuña, 1955, pp. 51-59; see also Pereira Salas, 1965, p. 264). Made by elders in the community (called *santeros*) —both men and women— chilote sculpture is carved directly with the chisel, often from a single piece of wood, and includes larger figures (between 80 and 160 cm in height) with plain, rough trunks but finished and painted hands and faces, some of them *imágenes de vestir* with only the heads, arms and upper body carved in full and the rest formed of a stand of vertical planks. They also include smaller figures (no taller than 90 cm) with finished and painted heads and hands and the body only roughed out, sometimes carved with vestments that exhibit inventive drapery. Although full figure statues in wood are rare, there is an especially important group of Christ figures (25-150 cm), which have moveable arms attached with pieces of leather. These appear in many of the main churches [Achao and Dalcahue have two of the finest (figure 5)] and they

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<sup>21</sup> In contrast to sculpture, the inventories list very few paintings, and the fathers seem to have made do mostly with engravings. At Cailín, for example: «Ittn. dos laminas la una S.n Fran.co Xavier y la otra S.n Ygnasio; Ittn. dies y seis estampas de humo y colores, entre grandes y pequeñas» (ANC, *Jesuitas* 3, ff 210a, 232b). At the estancia of Meulin: «Ittn. mas seis estampas grandes en el dormitorio» (f. 217b). At the estancia of Lemuy: «Ittn. una lamina con su marco dorado de media vara de alto, seis estampas grandes; y quarenta y dos menores; una cruz esta de firme puesta en la pared; y un cajonsito de qu[...] belas» (f. 220b). At Castro: «Itt. una estampa de S.n Fran.co de Vorja con su marco de madera; Itt. un cajonsito de estampas y reliquias; Itt. un lienso de Sn. Fran.co Xavier» (ff. 223b-224b). The following formerly belonged to the church at Castro and the missions of Achao, Chonchi, and Cailín and were kept at the college of Castro: «Quadros: Ittn. uno de S.n Joseph en su Altar; Ittn. otros dos de S.n Agustin, y S.ta Ana con sus marcos dorados viejos; Ittn. otro de S.ta Maria Magdalena con marcos tallados de madera esta en la Capilla del S.r del Agonia; Ittn. una estampa de S.n Fran.co de Asís; Ittn. dos quadros viejos de S.n Blas y S.n Pablo; Ittn. otro del Corazon de Jesus; Ittn. un quadro pequeño viejo de N.ra S.a con su marco dorado; Ittn. una lamina con marco dorado de plata de Bolonia esta arriva del Sagrario; Ittn. seis laminitas con marcos del espejos, y una estampa de S.n Franc.co Xavier esta en el pulpito; Ittn. seis estampas de la pasion arriva de los pilares de la nave de la iglesia» (ff. 254b-255a).



Figure 5: *Christ Crucified*, polychrome wood and leather, 18<sup>th</sup> century (?). Church at Dalcahue, Chiloe.

were hung on the cross until Good Friday, when the parishioners would take the Christ figure down and lay him in a coffin or on a table until Holy Saturday.

The style of Chilote sculpture is as different from mainstream Latin American colonial art and that of Spain as the sculpture of the contemporary Paraguay Reductions, which I have studied elsewhere (Bailey, 1999, pp. 164-169). Although there are many fewer examples of Chilote sculpture to use as a comparison—and we must keep in mind that most of what survives today is likely post-Jesuit—both traditions have striking similarities. Both favor images carved out of a large, single block of wood, and both schematize drapery and anatomical features (such as ribcages or shoulder blades), turning them more into geometrical patterns than natural forms. Both also display very little emotion. The Christ figures in particular, while lacerated and covered in blood, stare impassively out at the viewer in a way that paradoxically creates a feeling of intense *pathos*. Such is the Achao crucifixion, with its rigid lines, schematic treatment of drapery and calm facial expression. The lower body, which seems to be carved from a single log, is formed of perfectly parallel legs, which look like columns, and they are countered by the horizontal parallel lines of his loincloth. His hair is also braided into perfectly parallel lines, which fall down straight from the part on his forehead. The Dalcahue Christ is very similar (figure 5), although his head is tilted more to the side, and the drapery is more inventive, formed of zigzag patterns. Both of these Christs bear a certain resemblance to some of the earliest Guarani sculptures, particularly the Passion

figures at the Santa Ana museum or the crucified robbers at Santa Rosa (late 17<sup>th</sup> or early 18<sup>th</sup> century).

The expulsion inventories list a fair number of statues, including full figure images and faces and hands used for *imágenes de vestir*. Most common are statues of Christ, which were found at Achao, Cailín, Chonchi, Castro, and the *estancia* at Lemuy, followed by images of Our Lady, including the Assumption, Immaculate Conception, Our Lady of Sorrows, and the Virgin of Loreto, and Sts Anne and Joseph<sup>22</sup>. Also popular, naturally, were the Jesuit saints, not only Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier but also Aloysius Gonzaga and Stanislas Kostka, and there were statues of St. Rose of Lima, St. Teresa, St. Michael, and one of a soul in purgatory. Although it is impossible to tell whether the statues were imported from Europe or mainland Latin America, many of them are of a kind commonly made on the islands. One that was certainly imported is an ivory *Immaculate Conception*, which was probably brought from the Philippines or China. The inventories also listed a substantial collection of clothing for the statues, gathered together from

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<sup>22</sup> The following belonged to the church at Castro and the missions of Achao, Chonchi, and Cailín, and they were gathered together in the college at Castro: «Estatuas: Primeramente N.ra S.a del Rosario con su niño de cuerpo entero; Ittn. S.n Ign.cio y S.n Fran.co Xavier de cuerpo entero; Ittn. un Señor en la Cruz esta en su altar; Ittn. S.n Miguel de cuerpo entero algo maltratado; Ittn. N.ra S.a de la Asuncion de rostro manos y pies en su altar; Ittn. N.ra S.a de la Purissima Concepción de cuerpo entero tiene tres quartas algo mas de alto esta en el altar del S.r S.n Joseph; Ittn. un Señor de la columna esta en una repisa; Ittn. un bulto de N.ra S.a de los Dolores esta en su repisa; Ittn. otro de S.n Juan Nepomuceno en su repisa; Ittn. dos bultos de S.ta Theresa y S.ta Rosa con su niño Jesus estan en sus repissas; Ittn. un Señor encarselado esta en una repissa; Ittn. una anima del purgatorio de medio cuerpo esta en una repissa; Ittn. dos pares de rostros y manos p.a N.ra S.a y S.n J.ph y para otros santos; Ittn. S.ta Ana y su niña componense de rostro y manos; Ittn. otras dos estatuas del S.n Ign.cio y S.n Fran.co Xav.r componense de rostro y manos; Ittn. otras dos estatuas de S.n Luis Gonsaga y S.n Stanislao tiene el uno un Santo Christo en las manos, y el otro un Niño Jesus, estan en los nichos colaterales del altar mayor; Ittn. un Santo Christo de pasta en la Sacristia puesto en un nicho a manera de corazon forrado p.r de dentro con turpi azul; Ittn. una imagen pequeña de la Purissima Concepción de marfil q.e esta arriva de la repissa de S.ta Rosa; Ittn. dos Santos Christos de Alquimia medianos que sirven a S.n Fran.co Xav.r y a S.n Juan Nepomuceno; Ittn. otro de lo mismo pequeño q.e sirve en el altar de N.ra S.a de la Asumpcion; Ittn. otro d[ic] ho de guesso pequeño en el altar mayor; Ittn. una cruz en la pila bautismal con sus puntas de plata; Ittn. otra cruz de madera; Ittn. un rostro y manos de S.n Ign.cio» (ANC, *Jesuitas* 3, ff 254a-b). The following were found at Cailín: «Ittn. un santo cristo chico; Ittn. mas un santo cristo con su cajon; Ittn. un S.to Xpto con su caxa de madera; Ittn. dos rostros de santos» (ANC, *Jesuitas* 3, ff 210b-233a). These objects were inventoried at Lemuy: «Ittn. otra d[ic]ha casa con dos bibiendas la una que sirve de oratorio y ai en el una de N.ro Señor de bulto de una bara de alto [...]» (ANC, *Jesuitas* 3, f. 220a). This piece was listed for Castro: «Itt. un santo Christo que se hallo en el aposento rectoral como de dos tersias de largo con su dosel de raso negro guarnecido con ojacillo de plata, y sinta llana amarilla angosta» (ANC, *Jesuitas* 3, f. 224a). And at Chonchi the inventory recorded these: «Itt. dos rostros de ymajenes» (ANC, *Jesuitas* 3, f. 229b).

the churches at Castro, Achao, Chonchi, and Cailin, underscoring how most of them would have been displayed wearing vestments<sup>23</sup>.

As we have already seen in Walter's description of the veneration the citizens of Cailin had for their statue of Nuestra Señora del Carmen, religious sculpture played an intimate role in the lives of Chilote communities. One of the most remarkable and moving examples of this interaction between worshipers and statues took place during the itinerant rounds made by a pair of missionaries by canoe between September 17 and May 17 every year. The *Noticia Breve* of 1769-1770 gives the most detailed description of this tradition, which is worth quoting in full:

On the 17<sup>th</sup> of September two *piraguas* come from Ichoac to the College of Castro, with some Indians from that village, in search of the missionary fathers. These, who are ready for them, depart that city in a procession, which goes to the beach, where the following statues of saints embark [on the *piraguas*]: San Isidore, Saint John the Evangelist, Saint Notburga, the Virgin, and a large [statue of] Our Crucified Lord. In addition to these are the furnishings for the masses, tables, boxes, and whatever is necessary in a land where there is nothing... When the *piraguas* arrive [in a village], the saints are disembarked and conducted to the church in procession with the missionary fathers, where [the statues] are placed,

<sup>23</sup> «Ropa y Vestido de las Estatuas: Ittn. quatro mantos de N.ra S.a del Rosario, uno de tissù con frang[as] finas de oro, otro de brocato, con frangas de oro, y flecos de ylo de oro, otro de lama amarilla con encajes falsos de ylo de plata, otro morado de ala buelta con perciana nacar por delante; Ittn. cinco tunicas o vestidos de N.ra S.a

Ittn. dos tuniquitos del niño Jesus; Ittn. un capillo bueno con frang[as] finas de plata y sintas finas y una joita de oro; Ittn. tres niños Jesuses, uno en el sagrario, otro q. esta en brazos S.ta Rosa y el otro S.n Estanislao tienen sus vestidos desentes, además de los d[ic]hos arriva puesto [...] Ittn. dos mantos de N.ra S.a de los Dolores el uno de perciana azul con puntas negras, el otro de tela negra bordado alrededor con seda blanca tiene lo puesto; Ittn. dos tunicas con sus mangas, una de perciana y otra de damasco negro y senefa amarilla tiene lo puesto; Ittn. S.n Juan Nepomuceno, tiene su vestido completo y puesto de brocato negro, su roquete y esclavina de azul; Ittn. las estatuas de S.ta Theresa, y S.ta Rossa tienen sus vestidos puestos, el de S.ta Theresa se compone de un manto blanco de lana y tunico de pico de oro y escapulario de lo mismo; el de S.ta Rossa avito blanco escapulario y manto negro; Ittn. dos bestidos de N.ra S.a de la Asuncion q.e se componen de dos mantos el uno de rasso y el otro de lustrina y de lo mismo las tunicas.

Ittn. N.ra S.a de Belem con bestido de persiana colorada sin manto; Ittn. un bestido de S.n J.ph; Ittn. bestido entero de S.ta Ana y su niña tienen lo puesto componece de manto y escapolaria de rasso; Ittn. un estandarte de glasè con franja de oro fina y su Jesus q.e le sirve a S.n Ign.cio p.a su fiesta; Ittn. un pendon de damasco carmesi viejo otro de rasso.

Ittn. un palio verde con senefa colorada de damasco y heco de lana; Ittn. onse alfombras entre grandes y chicas; Ittn. quatro paños negros, y otros mas; Ittn. dos vandas coloradas, y un pano de facistol negro; Ittn. dos liensos de anganipola, de a quatro varas

Ittn. dos colgaduras de seda coloradas con listas amarillas viejas, dos cojines uno de terciopolo carmesi viejo y otro listado; Ittn. unos retasos de anganipola q.e están en el altar de N.ra S.a de la Asuncion; Ittn. el nicho de S.n Mig[ue]l esta aforrado con un retaso de calamaco de seda viejo; Ittn. quatro sotanillas p.a los acolitos, dos de ellas de sanga con felpa azul en sus estremidades; Ittn. dos retasos cortos de pañete colorado» (ANC, *Jesuitas* 3, ff 253b-254a).

each one in its appointed niche. They light the candles, which are not extinguished from this point until the departure. An elderly Indian is the patron of the Holy Christ, and he has the privilege of going in procession with a banner, and he has two assistants to take care of the same high altar, and Saint Notburga has her patroness, who also looks after the same. All must obey these patrons in matters pertaining to their altars, and the women must obey the patroness... On the day of departure the saints are placed in their boxes and carried in procession to the beach, where [the missionary] makes a brief sermon, [and] the missionary gives the benediction. The saints embark on the two *piraguas*, which arrived the day before from the [next] chapel, and when they set off [the Indians] shout from the beach three times: ¡*Buen Viaje!* (Hanisch, 1982, pp. 249-252).

During their stay at the village, the statues also took part in other processions, depending upon the village and length of stay, which usually lasted from two to four days. One can only imagine how upsetting it would have been to these communities to have these annual missions cut off by the expulsion in 1767. And indeed, listed in the inventory made nine years later in the College of Castro, are the very saints who made this annual voyage, including the large Christ figure, the Virgin of Sorrows, Saint John the Evangelist, Saint Isidore, and Saint Notburga (a Tyrolian saint who reflected the Germanic origins of the missionaries), all resting in their boxes ready for a voyage that they would probably never make again<sup>24</sup>.

Churches like Achao and the carvings of the Chilote sculptors are reminders that the art and architecture of the Jesuit missions embraced the widest possible range of styles and techniques, reflecting the global nature of their enterprise. By merging a Central European style that was quite distinct from the Iberian and Italian influence in most of the rest of Latin America with an ancient Amerindian tradition of woodwork and architecture, the Jesuits and Amerindians of the Chiloe missions created a unique prototype that would survive and flourish on the islands for almost two hundred years after the Society of Jesus was expelled from Spanish territories in 1767, continually enhanced and updated by later influences and traditions.

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<sup>24</sup> «Razon de los ornament.s, vassos sagrados y estatuas q.e sirven p.a la mision circular de esta prov[inci]a; Primeramente un Santo Christo grande con su caxa forrado por de fuera con cordovan y por de dentro con tripi colorado y caracolillo de plata con dos cornas de rasso; Ittn. una imagen de N.ra S.a de los Dolores y otra de S.n Juan, ambas con mantes de perciiana azul y tunicas de persiana colorada, y un niño Jesus pequeño; Ittn. un corazon de Jesus grande con rayos dorados; Ittn. una peña con sus senefas de tripi coloradas y guarnecido con caracol de plata; Ittn. un coponcito de plata p.a tener a N.ro amo colcado durante el tiempo de la Micion de cada capilla; Ittn. una estatua de S.n Isidro, y otra de S.ta Noburg con sus caxones y cortinas; Ittn. tres colchitas chicas de la tierra» (ANC, *Jesuitas* 3, f. 256b).

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