GUADALUPE '92

COVER:
Polychrome glaze tile image of Our Lady of Guadalupe photographed on site, the northeast wall of the former St. Ann's School, built in 1927 in the 2500 block of South Harwood Street, Dallas. Octavio Medellin was commissioned by the Carmelite Fathers and the members of the parish to create an artpiece suitable to enhance and commemorate the social center wing added in 1946. The piece measures 40.5" X 72.0" and has a decorative border of typical Mexican design surrounding the Image rising above the emblems of Mexico, the Cardinal and the United States.

The Image was solemnly blessed in a candlelight service by Samuel Cardinal Stritch of Chicago. Present were Bishop Joseph Patrick Lynch, Ordinary of the Diocese of Dallas; Very Rev. Monsignor John Gulczynski, Chancellor; Carmelite Fathers, the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, parish families, school children, priests, religious and devoted lay people of the Diocese.

The parish church was built in 1925 and remained until 1975, the center of Mexican American spiritual and social life, and mentally preserved by the people as a "sacred site". On December 12, 1975, "Guadalupe Chiquito" was officially merged with the Sacred Heart Cathedral parish on Ross Avenue and in 1977, consecrated Cathedral-Santuario de Guadalupe, the only cathedral so named in the United States.

The red brick School building now houses Dallas SER Jobs for Progress, Inc. and the Hispanic Child Care Center.

Artist:
Octavio Medellin was born in Mexico in 1908, studied at the San Antonio Arts School. His works have been exhibited in the Witte Memorial Museum in San Antonio and the Dallas Museum of Fine Arts. Mr. Medellin worked and taught in Dallas 1942 to 1977, having retained a studio at the Dallas Museum of Fine Arts. His sculptures, paintings, mosaics and murals enhance churches and temples, galleries and private collections throughout the Dallas area. Honored by the Dallas Chapter of the Texas Fine Arts Association with a lifetime membership, Mr. Medellin currently lives and works in the hill country of south Texas.

INTRODUCTION

After the U.S. Bicentennial New Mexico Diamond Jubilee Event in Las Cruces, NM, called Guadalupe '87, the Guadalupe Institute and others, encouraged by Martin Kelly, promoted five more annual events; the last one in 1992. Edwin E. Sylvest, Jr., Associate Professor of History of Christianity with the Perkins School of Theology, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas, presented a paper to the Guadalupe '90 Academic Symposium, St. Mary's University, San Antonio, Texas, on 13 October 1990. He published his paper, as "The Curator's Personal Statement", page 117 of the Program of the *Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe: Mother of God, Mother of the Americas* exhibition, presented by the Bridwell Library of the Perkins School of Theology, SMU, summer, 1992.

In his Curator's personal statement, he posed several questions, one of them: "Is God, with Mary's cooperation, opening new horizons of understanding of God's own nature and strengthening the foundations on which truly just and peaceful communities may be built?" He concludes with a quote from Luke 1:46-55, the canticle known as the Magnificat.

Also published in the Program, pages 1-20 is a history of Tonantzin of Pre-Conquest Mexico, and a history of Guadalupe of Hispanic Heritage. He states: "The Virgin Mary of Tepeyac can be fully understood only in relation to Tonantzin and Guadalupe of Estremadura. She is neither of them individually, nor is she a simple amalgam of both. She is unique! She is Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe of Tepeyac".

His Excellency
Most Reverend Charles V. Grahmann, D.D.
Bishop of Dallas
Cordially invites you to attend and participate in
GUADALUPE '92

Guadalupe '92 honors Our Lady of Guadalupe as Mother of God and Mother of The Americas. As part of the 500th anniversary of Christopher Columbus' discovery of the Americas being commemorated in 1992, the events reverently portray Her role in the encounter between Europe and this Hemisphere. Please be our guest at one or all of the events which highlight Guadalupan literary, religious, historic and cultural traditions.

SCHEDULE

July 25 - September 19th Call 692-3441 for Hours	Exhibition of Guadalupan Documents and Artifacts. Southern Methodist University, Bridwell Library Galleries
September 12 (Saturday) 9:00 a.m. - 4:00 p.m.	Academic Symposium. Highland Park United Methodist Church, Great Hall, Mockingbird and Hillcrest at SMU
September 18 (Friday) 6:30 p.m. procession 7:00 p.m. Mass	Liturgy of the Eucharist. Cathedral-Santuario de Guadalupe
September 19 (Saturday) 5:00 p.m.	Despedida (Farewell). Southern Methodist University, Bridwell Library steps.

Admission to all events is free. No reservations or tickets are necessary. No gifts will be solicited.

Guadalupe '92 is sponsored by the Catholic Diocese of Dallas and the Guadalupe Institute of Albuquerque, New Mexico. The most generous participation of Southern Methodist University School of Theology is also gratefully acknowledged.

GUADALUPE '92 PROGRAM

July 25 - September 19th. **Library Exhibition**

An exhibition entitled "Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe: Mother of God and Mother of the Americas" will be held at Southern Methodist University, Bridwell Library, Elizabeth Prothro Galleries. An exhibition of pre-19th century manuscripts, texts and religious artifacts brings together for the first time in the United States a critical documentation of the origin and early development of the Guadalupe tradition.. A comprehensive catalogue accompanies the exhibition. Please call the Library, 692-3441, for daily exhibition hours.

September 12. **Academic Symposium**

An Academic Symposium will be hosted at Highland Park United Methodist Church, Great Hall, corner of Mockingbird Lane and Hillcrest, at the SMU Campus. A panel of distinguished scholars who have devoted substantial thought and serious research will examine the documentary history of the Guadalupe tradition.

9:00 A.M. **ORIGINS OF THE GUADALUPE TRADITION**
Dr. Edwin E. Sylvest, Jr., Ph.D.
Professor of Theology
Perkins School of Theology
Southern Methodist University

10:30 A.M. **NICAN MOPOHUA: CARDINAL DOCUMENT OF THE GUADALUPE TRADITION**
Janet Barber, IHM, Ph.D.
Department of Communications
Archdiocese of Los Angeles

Noon	**Break**
1:00 P.M.	**MIGUEL SANCHEZ (1648)**: EARLIEST CHRONICLER OF THE GUADALUPE TRADITION Rev. Martinus Cawley, OCSO, Ph.D. Our Lady of Guadalupe Trappist Abbey Lafayette, Oregon
2:30 P.M.	**THE GUADALUPE TRADITION**: FEMINIST PERSPECTIVES Dr. Sandra L. Zimdars-Swartz, Ph.D. Professor of Religious Studies University of Kansas Lawrence, Kansas
3:30 P.M.	**RECEPTION** FOR THE SPEAKERS

September 18. **Liturgy of the Eucharist**

A special Mass will be concelebrated by Bishops Charles V. Grahmann of Dallas, Edmund Carmody of Tyler and (retired) Thomas Tschoepe of Dallas in the Cathedral-Santuario de Guadalupe, 2215 Ross Avenue at Pearl Street, Dallas, the only Cathedral church in the United States dedicated to Our Lady of Guadalupe. The special Misa Guadalupana will begin at 7:00 P.M., preceded by the procession. Following the Liturgy the Bishops will host a reception at Belo Mansion on Ross Avenue and Pearl Street for all those attending.

September 19. **Despedida**

A "Despedida" or "Farewell Serenade" will be held beginning at 5:00 P.M. on the steps of the Bridwell Library, SMU campus. Songs and Mariachi selections will attend the official closing of the Library Exhibition, a concluding of Guadalupe '92 events and a farewell to Our Lady of Guadalupe.

Additional Program Elements

A beautiful four color commemorative poster featuring the image portrayed on the cover of this invitation will be available free of charge on a first come, first served basis.

All events and ceremonies will be filmed on video for the archives of The Guadalupe Institute.

Information

For information about events, please call the Guadalupe '92 Committee. (214) 321-6086, (214) 348-5759

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Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, Nuestra Madre Cosmica:

The Curator's Personal Statement[1]

A faint smell of wood smoke perfumed the crisp, cool air. It was dark. Orion climbed over the mountains to the east, following the path of his eternal quest for Artemis—or was it the Pleiades? The cobblestone streets of the village were almost deserted. In my ears still resounded the melody and wondrous words of the *Salve Regina*:

> Hail, holy Queen, Mother of mercy;
> hail, our life, our sweetness, and our hope.
> Turn... your eyes of mercy toward us.
> And... show unto us the blessed fruit of your womb,
> Jesus.
> O clement, O loving, O sweet Virgin Mary.

I had just walked down the steps of the basilica of the Royal Monastery of Our Lady of Guadalupe in the province of Estremadura, Spain. Like Orion, I myself, was in quest. It was a quest that began long before I was aware of it, a quest that, even in that moment, I did not fully understand.

On the surface it seemed simple. A scholar interested in the evident power of a popular devotion to Our Lady of Guadalupe of Tepeyac had traced a mysterious pathway from the fields and vineyards of the southwestern United States through the Valley of Mexico to a remote frontier province of Spain. The surface journey, modern and ancient, was simple enough. An important Marian devotion, rooted in the struggle of medieval Spanish Christians, came with Cortés and the Franciscans to Mexico in the sixteenth century. That devotion impressed Mexican converts to Christianity and provided them concepts and symbols with which to interpret their own experience of the numinous presence of the Mother of God, whom they were coming to know in new ways.

Blessed Juan Diego was surprised and overwhelmed by the encounters at Tepeyac; this scholar was surprised and overwhelmed at the power of a humble, but strong woman to transform him, a United Methodist researcher, into a pilgrim. Like St. Thomas Aquinas after his beatific vision, it has been impossible to speak of the reality I have come to know through my own encounters with Our Lady. With much trepidation, I welcome this challenge to speak to you from the perspective of my own journey, of a wonderfully complex woman whom catholic Christians since the fifth century have called the Mother of God; who, through her image on a United Farm Worker's banner, invited me to join her on the road where justice is done, tender love expressed, and the whole creation walks humbly with God.[2] She invited me to creative participation in the continuing task of loving the Cosmos. That woman you and I know as Our Lady of Guadalupe of Tepeyac is the Mother of God. She is Our Cosmic Mother!

Although much can be learned about Our Lady of Guadalupe through scientific investigation and the critical reading of texts, she ultimately is known only in personal relationship, as she gives herself; and as we, with the courage of Blessed Juan Diego, surrender our pretensions and let her embrace us as our mother and our sister. Such a claim can be viewed as a pretext for poor scholarship and prejudicial writing. It must not be. Fidelity to her and to her vocation demands credible and accurate information and construction, whether historical or theological. Our knowledge *of* her must be assessed in terms of our best knowledge *about* her, but she will remain only an abstraction if our knowledge about her is not enlivened by knowledge of her. Gustavo Gutierrez's definition of theology as "critical reflection on the praxis of Christian faith" is as relevant to this discussion as to any other aspect of the Christian

theological enterprise.

In consequence, I offer you my own pilgrimage with Our Lady and ask you to think critically with me about what I am learning.

It is significant that the journey begins with farm workers and their struggle for justice. Much of Marian devotion through the centuries has elevated her to a pedestal remote from the actuality of women's experience of blood, sweat, and children's vomit. Mary, the mother of Jesus, was not remote from the realities of human toil and suffering, nor from the joys of intimate companionship with those whom she loved and who loved her. Historical scholarship yields little actual information about the particularities of Mary's life, but our knowledge of her time and circumstances require us to take seriously the rudeness of her existence as a woman in Galilee.

Galilee was a region of the Holy Land not unlike the frontier between the United States and Mexico. Its people were marginal; its interests counted for little in the centers of power; its culture, a rich blending of multiple traditions, was despised and ridiculed by purists in Jerusalem and elsewhere. Galilean Jews "were left out and exploited by everyone else. They shared the fate of other peoples living on the margins of 'better' civilizations. [Who] looks for leadership from or has high expectations of those who live in the sticks, the *barrios*, the *ranchitos*, or inner-city slums[?]"[3]

Mary lived in a marginalized *mestizo* world. As a pregnant unmarried woman she was in jeopardy. Her very life was at risk! Save for the compassion of Joseph, she would have been in desperate straits. Indeed, her entire life experience as a mother was filled with the concern and anxiety that caring parents know as their children grow to maturity. From the flight into Egypt until those anguished moments at the foot of the cross, the career of her son brought fully as much sorrow as joy.

It was altogether appropriate that Mary should have reached out from that Farm Workers' banner and beckoned me to her. She was in her place. She was with her people! Her invitation was simple and direct. "If you want to know me, come with me. Come with me to the fields, to the picket lines of *la huelga*, to the shanties where my people struggle to nurture their children, their bodies and their spirits." And so, slowly, haltingly, I went to her. I began to understand the message of her Son, "If anyone would come after me...."

I heard her song:

Oh Virgen Morena,
mi Virgen Ranchera,
eres nuestra dueña,
Mexico es tu tierra
y tu su bandera....

How did that song relate to Mary's hymn of praise? "My soul proclaims the greatness of the Lord... because God has done great things for me.... God has pulled down princes from their thrones and exalted the lowly. The hungry God has filled with good things, the rich sent empty away." Mary's song recalled the devotion of her foremother Hannah whose son, Samuel, had played such an important role in the life of her people.

The woman on the banner was beckoning me onto a path that extends forward and backward through time and space, a path that begins before the world begins and ends where it begins. It is a spiraling path, a path that spirals in and out of time, but a path taken in time. It is the path the Mother of God walks with God's Pilgrim People, and all other creatures, in the Shalom which is at once present reality and the hope of creation.

Though taken in time, the path challenges the limits of time and space. In time, it moves around, forward and backward; in space, inward and outward. Like Dante's descent into the inferno and eventual ascent into the glorious celestial realm, where he beheld the Queen of Heaven and, at last, that "living light supreme" in which "everything the will has ever sought is gathered... and every quest perfected," the trail leads into the heart's deepest places. Into "the dark night of the soul" of San Juan de la Cruz, and the ecstatic delight of Santa Teresa de Avila.

The ancient Mexican creators of *flor y canto* knew the trail as well. Through their poetry, they struggled with the meaning of their lives:

Must I depart only in this way,
like the flowers that perish?
Will nothing remain in my name?
Nothing of my fame here on earth?
Flowers, at least, and songs!
What can my heart do?
We have come here in vain,
we have sprung up on earth in vain.
The Region of the Fleeting Moment
is here on earth.
Is it also like this in the place
where one lives in a different way?
Is one happy there,
are there friendships there?
Or have we learned to know our faces
only here on earth?

As they felt despair at the contingency of life, they also knew the grace-filled wonder of the loving embrace of companions and of Earth itself:

Oh friends, let us rejoice,
let us embrace one another.
We walk the flowering earth.
Nothing can bring an end here
to flowers and songs,
They are perpetuated in the house
of the Giver of Life.[4]

Around the path one goes beyond the history of the Church, of Israel, of Egypt, of Sumer, and all traditions antecedent to our own, and enters into mysterious spaces within Earth itself where our primal ancestors began their journey into history. Indeed, moving along the path leads beyond the limit of Earth's sky into the starlit darkness of Cosmic space. It leads into the birth waters of the cosmic womb where the Creation was formed by the same Spirit that Mary welcomed with her "Yes!"

Mary welcomed into her very being the Spirit; and with her own flesh gave form to the One whose love brings all things into existence and fulfills their potential. In a wonderful synergy of divine and human loving, humankind and the Cosmos are embraced and brought to completion. The woman whom Christians call Mother of God, the *Theotokos*, is intimately a part of the cosmic process of creation and redemption. The Mother of God is the Cosmic Mother, the mother of all, our Mother. The Mother of God simultaneously carries in her genetic heritage the strands of DNA that link her directly to the mother of our species, that woman hidden in the mists of prehistoric Africa, and also the codes that link Mary's Son to the progeny of Abraham and Sara. In that wonderfully spiraling double-helix, the drama of human creation and fulfillment is bound inseparably to the history of Israel and to the entire human family. By the mystery of grace the fullness of transcendent love is made immanent through the flesh of Mary. Her nurture, with that of Joseph, formed the human personality of the One whom Christians call the Redeemer.

It is that woman, the mother of Jesus, the Mother of God, who encountered Blessed Juan Diego on the hill of Tepeyac. The mystery of that meeting defies explanation; indeed, to attempt it; trivializes the event. It was the experience of a humble Indian man that, in the place where he and his ancestors had paid homage to Tonantzin, the Mother of the Gods and of all living, he was invited by singing birds to an encounter that changed his life. But it was not his life alone that was changed! In that meeting the lives of all Mexicans, and all others who can hear the echoing song of the birds among the rocks of Tepeyac, are changed.

Significant in the event at Tepeyac is the conjunction of cosmic elements. On rocky terrain poured forth from the fiery center of the Earth itself, the bloom of flowers reflected a brilliance that overpowered the Sun. To the birds' song was joined the musical exchange between the mysterious woman and the awed, but undaunted, man. On the human scale, it was a meeting of cultures and religious traditions rooted in the beginning of the race. And, of course, there was that recurring synergy of the human and the divine. It was an indescribable elemental convergence. No wonder Bishop Zumárraga doubted! No wonder the Franciscans were silent and anxious! Who could possibly, even now, talk about such an event in a convincing way?

However difficult, it is important to the entire human family that some things be said clearly and carefully. Return with me to the path of my own pilgrimage. Stand with me in the plaza of Guadalupe, Estremadura. Look up into the sky and feel the mixture of awe and familiarity at see-

ing the constellation, Orion, that in a few hours would be over my own home in Dallas, Texas. The stars were telling me something that I knew intuitively.

My participation with the old women, the community of Franciscan men and women religious, and the few others who could free themselves from the demands of household and other employment, was essential to understanding and coming to know Our Lady of Guadalupe of Tepeyac.

In my journal, I said of the old women, whom I presumed to be widows, that their faithful nightly participation in the Mass "held the universe in being." The synergy of their participation with the Mother of God in the perpetual memorial of the Son and the affirmation that "in death there is life" expressed a message probably beyond their ability to comprehend, let alone articulate. Their nightly offering of themselves in devotion as a living sacrifice restored to Mary a dimension of her reality that centuries of well-intentioned, but misguided, devotion had taken away. They, in community with Mary, their mother and sister, restored to her the wisdom of age and experience. The soft, but hard-edged life-givers also know the pain of life's destruction. In the widows the sorrowing Mother of the Pieta was present, their black garments and wizened bodies signs of death.

In the *camarin* behind the altar, Our Lady of Guadalupe of Estremadura sits in court to receive pilgrims surrounded by strong women of Israel, among whom are represented Esther, Ruth, Judith, and Jael, whose strength of will and commitment led them to take life, risking their own, for the sake of their people. That association of the loving mother with such gruesome and violent reality was offensive to me, but it did register forcefully the point that Mary, the mother of Jesus, was a strong woman in whose veins flowed the blood of other strong women. But the association of strength with war and violent struggle obscures the power of women to love new life into being and to nurture it. Mary is the paradigm of that power. Behind her was the power and strength of an ancient human lineage, but also of an Ultimate Reality that gives life and takes it away.

The unsettling awareness that grew in me was underscored by the sighting of Orion, although I didn't really understand it at the time. Orion, the Hunter, was slain by the arrow of Artemis, the virgin goddess. Artemis, or Diana, the sister of Apollo, goddess of the moon, the wild, the hunt, and patron of childbirth, was especially revered in Ephesus. By tradition, Ephesus was the final home of Mary, the virgin mother of Jesus. It was in Ephesus that catholic Christians affirmed of Mary that she was *Theotokos*, Godbearer—the Mother of God. It was in Ephesus that Luke had carved an image of Mary that came to be given by Pope Gregory the Great to San Leandro of Seville. That image, hidden from the Muslims, after several centuries, miraculously revealed to a cowherd, had come to be venerated in Guadalupe, Spain. Legend? Of course! But notice the connections.

Behind the image of Mary, as she became increasingly important in the faith and devotion of the Christian community, was the ancient goddess. In Mary some Christians saw mirrored those qualities heretofore associated with Artemis. The human woman came to share the aura of the divine; but Christians were clear in their affirmation of the humanness of Mary. It was that very humanness that guaranteed the radical solidarity of God with humankind through Jesus, Mary's son. Notwithstanding the clarity of those early theologians concerning the humanness of Mary, through her, dimensions of the divine were discerned and honored. She became the grand *Theotokos* on whose lap sat enthroned her Son, the Lord of the Universe, Savior of the World. Her icon was clearly parallel, indeed a form of the ancient Egyptian image of Horus nestled in the lap of his mother, Isis.

For a United Methodist trained to be suspicious of devotion to Mary, this was unsettling in the extreme. The Cosmic Mother whose head was crowned by the stars was leading me through the stars into unanticipated levels of consciousness.

Through her, intimations of hitherto unimagined dimensions of the Divine Reality burst into my awareness.

But what of Our Lady of Guadalupe of Tepeyac? How does this experience in Spain relate to her? Haven't we moved a long way from that woman on the Farm Worker banner?

Our trip to Estremadura is important, not because I believe devotion to Our Lady of Guadalupe of Tepeyac is a transplant of the Spanish devotion. It seems clear enough that the encounter at Tepeyac is a historically distinct phenomenon. Yet, it must be recognized that among the sixteenth-century friars and conquistadors, notably in Cortés himself, there was a profound devotion to Our Lady as she was known in Estremadura; Columbus had sailed under her patronage; the Catholic Monarchs were regular pilgrims to her sanctuary. When Spanish Christians in sixteenth-century New Spain expressed their devotion to the Mother of God, especially during the period of initial contact with the indigenous, it would very likely have been through Our Lady of Guadalupe, a *morenita*, whose iconographic representation is practically identical to that of our own beloved Lady.

New converts to Christianity could not have failed to notice that devotion, its icons, and terminology. It would have been entirely natural that Blessed Juan Diego, clearly a devout Christian, should express his experience with Our Lady in the symbolic language with which he was most familiar. No one need have attempted deliberately to transplant the cultus of Our Lady of Guadalupe of Estremadura. Indeed, the friars were extremely wary of Marian teaching in their catechesis, for they were afraid that the indigenous would confuse devotion to Mary, the Mother of God, with devotion to the indigenous goddess, Mother of the Gods. Early Marian devotion among the indigenous developed in spite, not as a consequence, of missionary catechesis.

Something important was developing between Our Lady and the conquered masses. She embraced them in unexpected ways, ways that were problematic for the Church. The people embraced her, for in her they found strength and compassion. Mary took her own initiative. The friars in their poverty lived in solidarity with those suffering the pain, physical and spiritual, of conquest and destruction, but Mary embraced their flesh and cultus of Our Lady of Guadalupe of Estremadura.

Return again with me to my own pilgrimage. This time we stand in the old basilica of Our Lady of Guadalupe in La Villa under the hill of Tepeyac. The dimly lit space is alive. People of all sorts—tourists with their cameras, guides, religious, penitents, some on their knees in prayer, others moving slowly up the long aisle toward the miraculous image hanging high above the altar crowd together. Reverently, with deep devotion and evident longing, people touch the images, even the glass covering beloved paintings. Bells announce the elevation of the host. Outside there are more pilgrims, many moving slowly along on their knees, some assisted by friends or family with blankets or pads to smooth out the rough stones of the plaza. On a raised platform the *matachines* move in menacing rhythm clearing the space of any malevolent power. Huge flower displays move through the plaza into the basilica as if self-propelled, their banners announcing the groups presenting them in homage. The scene could be expanded to include vendors, photographers, a constant stream of people moving up and down the steps on the hill. It is an incredible assemblage, all drawn for various reasons to the sacred precincts. How different from those December days in 1531!

What does it all mean? Of course you know. You have been there yourselves. You know the magnetic power of the Lady of Tepeyac. You know the mingled senses of solidarity and solitude that keep you transfixed with awe and wonder. If there is that that repels you, it only serves to manifest the holiness of a place shrouded in tremendous mystery. Behind the hubbub, the crowds, the serene presence of *La Virgen*, there is mystery. The rocks of Tepeyac vibrate with the presence of Our Mother. The hill resonates with the ancient rites of peoples whose genetic imprint

is indelibly a part of the contemporary crowd. Those ancients gathered in this space because Tonantzin, Our Mother, was here. At once you are overwhelmed with the awareness that those ancients are still here, all around you, and that Tonantzin is too. You are shaken, but not offended. It seems right.

But how can it be right? Notwithstanding the final form of the received tradition, you know Bishop Juan de Zumárraga's reluctance to give credence to Blessed Juan Diego's message was exceeded by the friars' rejection of the growing popular cult. You know that the grounds for that rejection were precisely that new Christians and uncatechized indigenous would tend to confuse Tonantzin, their Mother, with Mary the Mother of God. The ancient anxiety of Mediterranean and European Christians that devotion to the Mother of God might mask actual devotion to the Goddess returns with force.

How can it be right that Christian devotion to the human mother of Jesus be accompanied by a sense of the presence of Tonantzin? The easy answer is that it isn't right, that romantic sentiment and folkloric fascination need the discipline of proper formation in the faith. However correct that answer may be technically, it is not satisfying experientially or theologically. Experience knows the healing, community-forming power so manifestly present in the daily repetition of the scene just described. Reflection on Mary's own choice of site for her manifestation in solidarity with the people of Mexico is a crucial source for theological reflection in the Americas. The experience of the holy is always an appropriate and necessary datum of theological reflection.

It is often assumed that Mary chose the hill of Tepeyac as the place of encounter with Juan Diego to demonstrate that devotion to her superseded that to Tonantzin, and that a sanctuary dedicated to her on the site would suppress the ancient cultus. Many who would deny the apparition actually employ the argument that the Church cynically chose the location to capture naive indigenous devotees so that their primitive devotion could be christianized and they brought into the fold.

Could it possibly be that the Mother of God is inviting her family to reconsider its formulation of the basic tenets of belief concerning the God it worships and serves? Could the Mother who asked her Son to transform water into wine at a wedding feast be asking her children to create new wineskins to carry a richer vintage? Can it be that the liberating power of God so wonderfully expressed in Mary's response to the Annunciation extends not only to the structures of human society, but also to the ideologies that hold those structures in place? Is God, with Mary's cooperation, opening new horizons of understanding of God's own nature and strengthening the foundations on which truly just and peaceful communities may be built?

My answer to that series of rhetorical questions is, "Yes!" That is not an easy answer to give, for it risks precisely the rejection that many before me have met when they responded to requests made by Our Lady. Yet, I cannot resist it, for I feel that it is the response She is leading me to make.

Now our spiraling path moves us into the ancient cultures of Mesoamerica. Come with me into communities of our ancestors in this hemisphere, the original Americans. There is much in their practice and belief structure to make us uncomfortable. The Shadow is powerfully present, especially in the gruesome practice of human sacrifice. We know that practice had become captive to narrow political interests by the time our Spanish ancestors arrived in the sixteenth century. Religious values and institutions were made to serve the power interests of indigenous imperialists in much the same fashion that such values and institutions had come to serve the interests of the Spanish monarchs. But our knowledge of abuse and our horror at the thought of blood sacrifice must not prevent our understanding a fundamental principle of Mesoamerican religion.

Our Mesoamerican ancestors were persuaded that the cosmic process was maintained through the synergy of divine and human action, a point we have already established as basic to Christian belief as it understands the creative, redemptive

work of God manifest in the lives and action of Mary and her Son. Offensive as may be the notion that the spilling of blood—whether by ripping pulsing hearts from the chests of sacrificial victims, or by the ritual letting of blood, as we now know was the vocation of the Maya rulers—is necessary and efficacious for human well-being, such action expresses a basic tenet of Christian orthodoxy: in death there is life.

Not only the well-being of the human community, but the cosmic order itself depended on the cooperation of the divine and human. One of the clearest expressions of that insight relates to the figure of Tonantzin and her role in the divine-human enterprise. To clarify that role requires a sharper definition of terms. The term, Tonantzin, is not strictly speaking, a name, but rather a designation. It designates the divine mother by calling her "Our Mother" in the same fashion that the term "Our Lady," or other synonyms, designates Mary.

Just as names like Our Lady of Sorrows, Our Lady of Perpetual Help, Our Lady of Mercy, all express qualities of the one Blessed Mother, so the term Tonantzin applies to Tlazoltéotl, Coatlicue, Cihuacóatl, Teteoinan, and Toci. All these figures represent different perceptions of the nature of the ultimate mystery that surrounds and pervades human existence in the cosmos. Indeed, as common amenability to the term Tonantzin suggests, these divine figures are all ultimately expressions of the one androgynous deity, Ometéotl, the one in whom all things have their integrity, who is expressed as the divine pair, Ometecuhtli-Omecíhuatl.

Tonantzin was not some minor deity. At her shrine at the hill of Tepeyac one was mindful of ultimate mystery, was in touch with the life-giving and life-destroying forces of the cosmos. Precisely in her relation as patron of the human birth process, Tonantzin, or in this case, more particularly, Cihuacóatl, signaled the participation of all women in a cosmic struggle that produced life as it also destroyed life. For that reason those who died in childbirth were believed to go to the highest heaven to join those heroic warriors who, themselves, had given their hearts in the ritual to maintain the cosmic order and to insure the continued presence of the life-giving Sun.

Tonantzin was not only a life-giver. She also moved about in the night crying and screaming, reminding those who heard her that, as the great frog Tlaltecuhtli devoured the sun at night, there were forces at work to destroy life even after it had been won in the birth-struggle. As Tlazoltéotl, the devourer of filth, Tonantzin received the sins of her people and consumed them; thus, while fearsome and awful in herself, she offered the promise of cleansing and renewed life.

As Coatlicue, Tonantzin gave birth to the miraculously conceived Huitzilopochtli, the fierce war god who required the sacrifice of life to feed the Sun; who, in order to defend his mother from attack by his sister and brothers who were embarrassed that their mother had conceived secretly, leaped from Coatlicue's womb armed for combat. The image of Coatlicue now stands in the National Museum of Anthropology as the twin serpent-headed figure dressed with a skirt of entwined snakes, adorned with a necklace of human hearts from which hangs a skull pendant, and whose hands and feet are eagle's talons. Contemporary Mexican philosophers view her as "the concrete embodiment... of the idea of a supreme cosmic being who generates and sustains the Universe... which creates and destroys through struggle...."[5]

Tonantzin, then, was a figure who represented the ultimate promise of the fulfillment of life, but also the threat of its ultimate destruction. Only one with such powers could provide deliverance from the forces that corrupted and destroyed life. Our Mother was a powerful figure; she must have been often in the minds of Mexicans as they experienced the destruction of their city, their lives, their world. With the destruction of the temples of Tenochtitlán, one could imagine that the hill of Tepeyac and deity who inhabited it must have achieved even greater significance than they held earlier. If there were any hope for Mexico, Tepeyac could have represented that possibility, even for new converts to Christianity.

In choosing the hill of Tepeyac as the place to manifest her solidarity with suffering Mexicans, the Mother of God also associated herself with the power of the indigenous tradition. She points beyond herself to Ultimate Reality itself and invites Christians, who have actually transformed the historic monotheism of Israel and Christian teaching into a radical dualism of opposing forces, to reconsider their concept of the divine, especially the divine perfection. In creating a dualism of ultimately opposing forces, the unity of God whose perfection is expressed precisely in the capacity to embrace life and death, creativity and destruction, is broken asunder. In the process, the figure of Mary also has lost the dimension of Crone, the life-destroyer as well as the life-giver. In Mexico itself, *La Llorona* emerges as a foil for the Virgin of Guadalupe.

Furthermore, the feminine aspect of the Divine has vanished from Christian concepts of God. While the need to recognize that dimension may actually figure importantly in the evolution of Marian devotion, orthodox Christianity, except insofar as it considered the figure of Wisdom, maintained its distance from any such notion as it applied to God. Perhaps the Mother of God in her appearance at Tepeyac is pointing to new possibilities of understanding, not claiming divinity for herself, but inviting her children to consider the potential for an expanded and more adequate view of the nature of the Divine Reality. Since the human possibility is the mirror image of the Divine Reality, she also invites a reconceptualization of the human. Is there any reason in principle why the implicit philosophical concepts of Mesoamerican religious experience could not be as useful in the constructive tasks of Christian theology as Aristotelian or Process metaphysics?

Along with the invitation to fundamental theological reconstruction, there are some other immediate and concrete affirmations to be made of the significance of Our Lady's appearance at Tepeyac. These affirmations project a vision of future possibilities that are claimed with hope in the present.

The pregnant image of Our Lady of Guadalupe suggests a vision that grows from the theological affirmation that Mary as the Mother of God is the mother of all living. As the Mother of Jesus, the Logos Incarnate, she bears a new reality, a new humanity—a humanity in which differences are affirmed and valued, in which conflict is received as an occasion for growth rather than for mutual destruction, in which none live in want because all are wanted and cared for. This is a humanity which recognizes the artificiality of political boundaries, a humanity which lives with the Earth and all its creatures and shares its resources in such a way as to sustain and preserve it.

Our Lady of Guadalupe is a concrete sign of the liberating power of Love expressed in the life of a woman whose faithfulness and concern for the "little ones," *los de abajo*, mirrors God's choice of the poor as the instruments through which justice will be done and true liberation accomplished for all persons.

In Our Lady of Guadalupe there is the hope that the sexual conquest of the Americas through the rape and subjugation of indigenous women will be mourned and overcome; for until the poorest, most subjugated woman is free, and her children joyously welcomed, there will be no justice or peace in the Americas.

Finally, one can hope that through Our Lady of Guadalupe a church might be born in the Americas: a church with the courage to risk its life so that the least might live, a church with the courage to prophecy in the face of injustice, a church with the patience and grace to nurture those who don't understand, a church that can say with Mary:

> My soul proclaims the greatness of the Lord
> and my spirit exults in God my savior;
> because he has looked upon his lowly handmaid.
> Yes, from this day forward
> all generations will call me blessed,
> for the Almighty has done great things for me.
> Holy is his name,
> and his mercy reaches from age to age
> for those who fear him.
> He has shown the power of his arm,
> he has routed the proud of heart.
> he has pulled down princes from their thrones,
> and exalted the lowly.
> The hungry he has filled with good things,

the rich sent empty away.
He has come to the help of Israel his servant,
mindful of his mercy
—according to the promise he made
to our ancestors—
of his mercy to Abraham
and to his descendants for ever.[6]

We have come a long way along a path that I have defined as my own. You have been my companions for an hour. We have spiraled around from Orion to the fields, from deep interior space to outer space, from the southwestern United States to Spain to Mexico. The journey is a challenging one. New vistas lie just beyond the horizon. The Lady on the banner beckons us onward. She is there ahead of us, and She is here with us. She is Our Cosmic Mother, Our Lady of Guadalupe. *Que viva!*

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[1] Previously presented by Edwin E. Sylvest, Jr. to the Guadalupe '90 Academic Symposium, St. Mary's University, San Antonio, Texas, on 13 October 1990.

[2] Micah 6:8.

[3] Virgil Elizondo, *Galilean Journey*. Maryknoll, New York: Orbis, 1983, p. 53.

[4] Miguel Leon Portilla (ed.), *Native Mesoamerican Spirituality*. New York: Paulist Press, 1980, p. 267.

[5] Miguel Leon Portilla (ed.), *Native Mesoamerican Spirituality*. New York: Paulist Press, 1980, p. 52.

[6] Luke 1:46-55. *The Jerusalem Bible*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1966.

Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe:
Mother of God, Mother of the Americas

EDWIN E. SYLVEST, JR.
CURATOR

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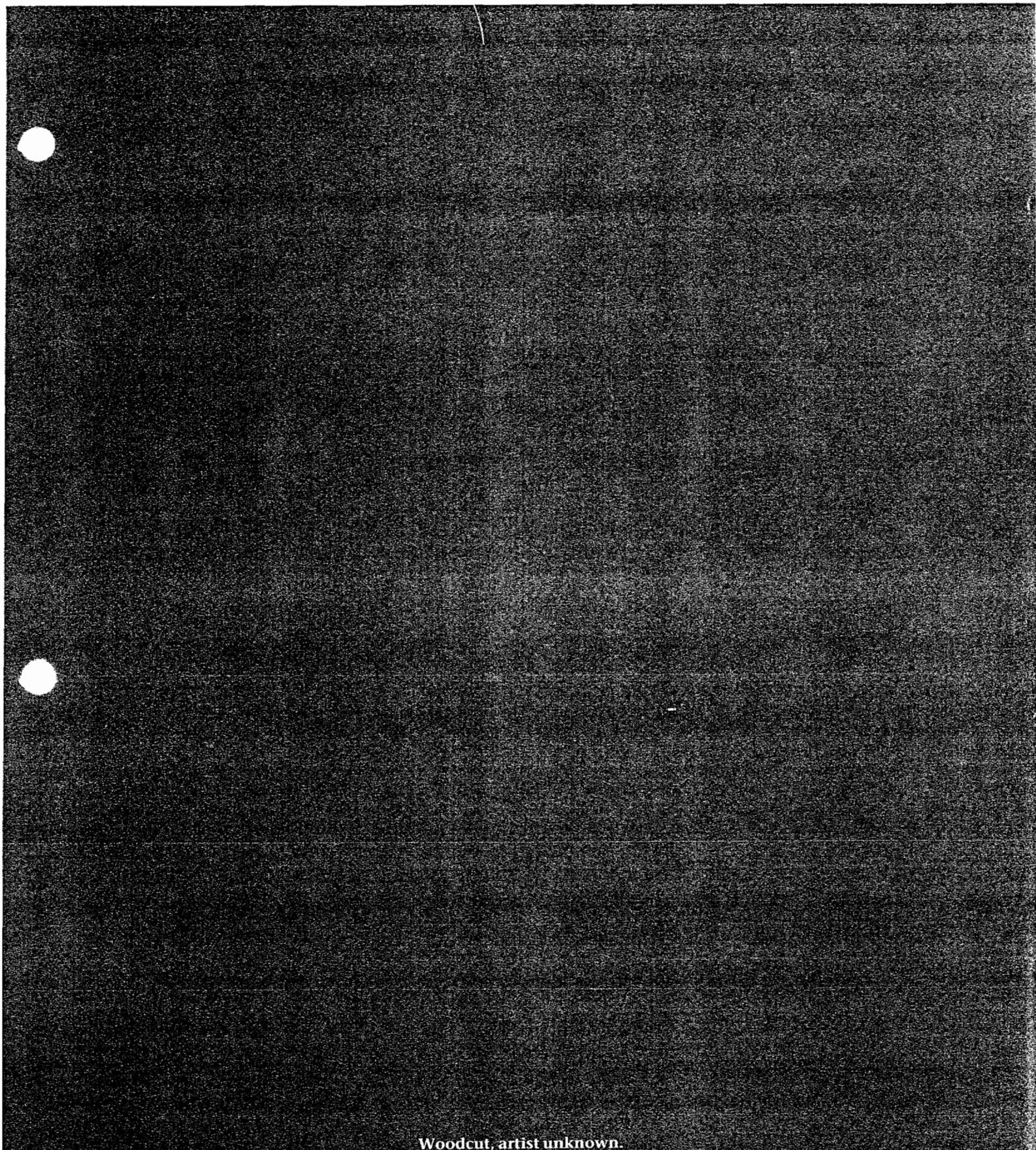

Woodcut, artist unknown.
Miguel Sánchez. *Imagen de la Virgen María Madre de Dios de Guadalupe.*
Mexico: Bernardo Calderon, 1648.

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for los de abajo

FOREWORD

Bridwell Library of the Perkins School of Theology is pleased to present the exhibition, *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe: Mother of God, Mother of the Americas*. The Virgin Mary is venerated by a majority of the world's Christians and devotion to the Virgin of Guadalupe is the bedrock of Hispanic piety in the Southwestern United States. It is appropriate that scholarly expertise and commitment to serve the ecumenical church should utilize resources available to the library of a theological school to examine this tradition.

Appreciation and thanks are due Professor Edwin E. Sylvest, Jr., Associate Professor of Church History specializing in Hispanic Christianity of the Perkins School of Theology faculty. Professor Sylvest wrote the catalogue and serves as curator of the exhibition. We are also indebted to the Guadalupe Institute, and the institutions which have loaned items to create this exhibition. Their cooperation has enabled us to assemble in The Elizabeth Perkins Prothro Galleries these monuments of Guadalupan studies, including the first book published on the tradition.

The streams which flow into devotional practice rise from many sources. This is the story of such a convergence.

Dr. James E. Kirby, Dean
Perkins School of Theology
Southern Methodist University
July 1992

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

An exhibition and catalogue, although credited to one person, are the work of many. I am especially grateful to an amazingly large community of friends and colleagues for the indispensable work they have done to bring this project to fruition.

I am indebted to Robert Maloy, formerly Director of Bridwell Library, who invited me to curate an exhibition on Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe. I also appreciate his help in editing the texts of this catalogue. Working with the monuments of a tradition I value and respect has been exhilarating and rewarding.

One of the greatest rewards of this task has been to discover the colleagueship of a talented group of professional men and women, the staff of the Bridwell Library. Ultimately everyone in the employ of the Library assisted in some way, but the work of the following persons requires particular acknowledgment. Roberta Cox has been tireless in her attention to the large task of coordinating the project in its concept and execution. David Lawrence has given unstintingly of his time and interest in the final preparation of all the texts of this catalogue. He deserves special thanks for the tedious task of coordinating the trilingual text of the *Nican Mopohua*. Isaac Gewirtz negotiated with all the lenders concerning the use and care of the items on exhibit. His skill as a bibliographer saved the curator much time in the preparation of the item descriptions for the catalogue, and his personal interest led him to help with research on particular details. Jon Speck designed a stunning exhibit and has been of immeasurable help with his excellent photography and in deciding which photographs should be included in the catalogue. Russell Morton and Laura Randall gave generously of their time in searching for dates and obscure bibliographic data. Laura also helped with the burden of proofreading the final text. Page Thomas and the Cataloguing staff were especially supportive in facilitating off-hour access to books that needed special security. Jan Sobota provided essential help with the conservation and preparation of several important items in the exhibit. Lillie Jenkins-Carter and Pamela Dukes were always gracious in giving me access to the books. All of these colleagues, collectively and individually, have given personal support and encouragement with a large task that had to be accomplished in a short time. I am pleased to be associated with them as important, if sometimes hidden, members of the staff of the Perkins School of Theology.

Other members of the larger University community have been singularly helpful. Professor Sam Heath, Director of the Meadows Museum, provided much

personal support and encouragement as well as indispensable help in securing photographs from the Monastery of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Spain. The staff of the DeGolyer Library and the Science and Engineering Library have been unfailingly cordial and supportive. Terry Smith of the Perkins School of Theology staff has been of special assistance in reading through and correcting Spanish texts. My mentor and friend, Professor Richey Hogg, gave graciously of his time in reading through the text of the introductory essay. Dean James E. Kirby has been consistently supportive of us all, and of me, personally, in the completion of this task.

Sister Janet Barber, I.H.M., Guadalupan scholar and Director of Communications of the Archdiocese of Los Angeles, has been particularly helpful in the preparation of the text of the *Nican Mopohua*. Martin Kelly of the Guadalupe Institute, Louise Lamberty, Isabelle Collora and the local Guadalupe '92 Committee have been encouraging and supportive in helping to secure financial as well as personnel resources to help with the exhibition and the September symposium. We also thank American Airlines, Inc. for providing travel accommodations which made possible delivery of the *Nican Mopohua* from the New York Public Library.

Carolyn Brown's skillful photography and generosity have provided some powerful images for the exhibition and the catalogue.

Edwin E. Sylvest, Jr., Curator
July 1992

LENDERS TO THE EXHIBITION

Amarillo Public Library
Bridwell Library, Perkins School of Theology, Southern Methodist University
Carolyn Brown, Photographer, Dallas
Dallas Museum of Art
Dallas Public Library
DeGolyer Library, Southern Methodist University
El Paso Museum of Art
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Mr. and Mrs. Kimball Watson, Dallas
World Monuments Fund, Guadalupe, Spain

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Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe:
Mother of God, Mother of the Americas

Beginning with a series of mysterious events which occurred from 9-12 December 1531 during which a native Nahuatl-speaking Mexican, Juan Diego, and his uncle, Juan Bernardino, experienced the presence of the Virgin Mary who asked to be known as *Cenquizca Ichpochtzintli Santa Maria de Guadalupe* (The Perfect Virgin, Holy Mary of Guadalupe), a popular devotion to the Virgin developed among the native and *mestizo* (mixed blood) peoples of Central Mexico. The primary symbol of the devotion was an image of the Virgin, believed to have been imprinted miraculously on a *tilma* (maguey-fiber cloak) by the flowers that Juan Diego had wrapped in the garment to offer Bishop Juan de Zumárraga as evidence of the Virgin's appearance.

Juan Diego, Exhibit 50

The miraculous image hung in a sanctuary at the hill of Tepeyac where the apparitions occurred. Tepeyac, in the sixteenth century, was on the northern shore of one of the lakes that surrounded the Aztec capital, Tenochtitlán (present-day Mexico City), and was a major site in the cultus of *Tonantzin* (Our Mother), the Mother God of Nahuatl-speaking Mexico.

The Virgin Mary was already known to many Spaniards by the name Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe because of a popular devotion focused on another miraculous image in the sanctuary of Guadalupe in the Spanish region of Estremadura. Hernán Cortés and many conquistadors and missionaries were natives of Estremadura.

Out of the cataclysm of the sixteenth-century Spanish Conquest of Mexico emerged the figure of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe of Tepeyac. Born out of a rich matrix of devotion and symbol representative of the cultural heritage of the two alien worlds that converge in her, she became the preeminent symbol of national and personal identity for most Mexicans during the seventeenth and eight-eenth centuries.

For many Mexicans, as well as others in the Americas, Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe even now expresses their sense of personal and cultural identity. Her dark skin reflects a convergence of Spanish and Native American heritages, a complex blending of symbol systems and genepools creating a reality of which it can be said, *"Non fecit taliter omni nationi."*[1]

The uniqueness of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe is expressed in her history, a story that begins in the mystery of the cosmos itself, and finds concrete expression in the histories of Spain and Mexico. This catalogue and the exhibition which it documents illustrate the ways in which ancient traditions of the peoples of Mexico and Spain became transformed through an encounter still in process, and they present certain features of these antecedent traditions, suggesting a way of understanding the emergence of the historic, as well as the contemporary, cultus of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe.

There are those who look upon Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe as a "christo-pagan" figure, a symbol masking an ancient devotion to the Nahuatl Mother God, *Tonantzin*. Non-Catholics, Mexican and non-Mexican alike, wonder not only about the continuance of pagan rites in the Mexican cultus of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, but also about veneration of the Virgin Mary. They mistrust both Roman Catholic dogmatic definitions regarding the Virgin Mary and Marian devotion itself. Indeed, many suspect that Roman Catholic and Orthodox devotion to the Virgin Mary risks idolatry and may be a continuation of ancient Mediterranean goddess worship.

The analysis in this essay presupposes the appropriateness of Marian devotion and recognizes the Christian term *Mother of God* as a proper means of speaking of Mary, the mother of Jesus. All Christians, who accept—however uncomfortably—the definitions of Trinitarian orthodoxy as established in the ecumenical councils of the fourth and fifth centuries, recognize the term *theotokos* (God-bearer) as having been proclaimed at the Council of Ephesus in 431. The term affirms that Mary's son, Jesus, was at once both fully divine and fully human. Mary, as mother of Jesus the Christ, was mother of the one in whom the eternal Logos became incarnate from the moment of his conception. This fundamental understanding of Mary and her relationship to the divine, through her son Jesus, always undergirds any Christian discussion of devotion to her.[2]

As a living symbol, Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe continues to embody the *mestizaje* (hybridization) resulting from the encounter of alien cultures. In her, the Christian Mother of God also embraces *Tonantzin* and her children. Through Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe the struggles of a people to forge a new existence out of the ruins of conquest and colonial oppression come to fruition. She represents the new reality of Mexico and is a sign of hope for victims of injustice everywhere in the Americas. She signifies the profoundly Christian affirmation that God's love is made effectively present for people of every culture and land.

The story of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe cannot be fully expressed in an essay or an exhibit that depends solely upon literary monuments and scientific analysis; it unfolds in the devotion of those in whose hearts it is written.[3] Nevertheless, an historically plausible account of how these two ancient systems of devotion converge to form another must be attempted.

Pre-Conquest Mexico

NAHUATL HERITAGE

The *Nican Mopohua* and other contemporary sixteenth-century testimonies associate the origins of devotion to Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe with the hill of Tepeyac, a rocky prominence on what was in 1531 the north shore of Lake Texcoco in the Valley of Mexico. Tepeyac was no ordinary hill! It was a holy site dedicated to *Tonantzin*.[4] To understand the significance of the hill of Tepeyac for native peoples requires asking, "Who was *Tonantzin*?"

Tonantzin

Bernardino de Sahagún's (1499-1590) investigation of Nahuatl culture suggests that the term *Tonantzin* (Our Mother) can appropriately be applied to several feminine deities designated by

Henry B. Nicholson as the *Teteoinnan* (Mother of the Gods) *complex*.[5] These figures actually personify different aspects of one deity who represents the earth itself as both creator and destroyer of life. In the feminine mode, that earth deity was commonly represented by *Cihuacóatl* (Woman of the Snake), *Coatlicue* (Woman with the Serpent Skirt), and *Tlazoltéotl* (Devourer of Filth, the Goddess of Carnal Things); but, as we shall see, there were other deities related to the life-giving, life-destroying powers of the earth that might also be called *Tonantzin*.[6]

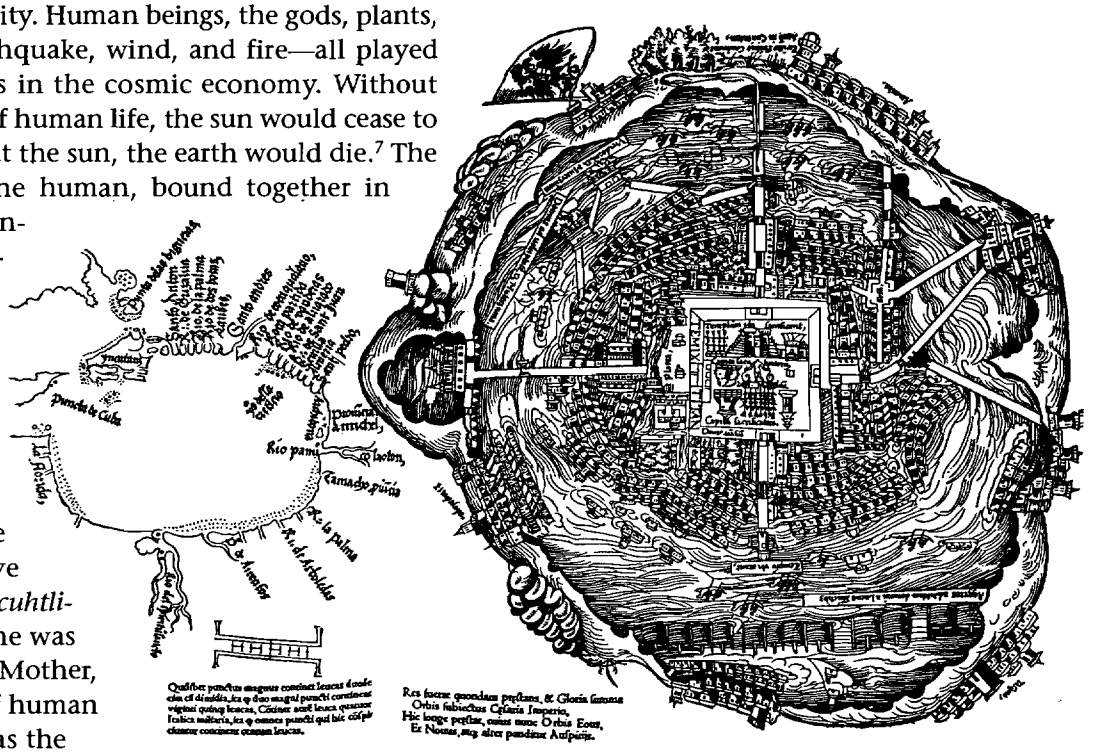
For the Nahua all reality possessed both masculine and feminine qualities. Those qualities joined and were symbolized in the divine pair, *Ometecuhtli-Omecíhuatl* (the Lord and Lady of Duality). In their conjunction they were known as *Ometéotl*. *Ometéotl* comprehended ultimate reality, all the irreducible and inseparable polarities of cosmic existence: birth and death, male and female, motion and stability, sky and earth, sun and moon, etc. The multiplicity of names and forms in the Nahuatl pantheon manifests an effort to express religiously the significance of all aspects of cosmic reality. Human beings, the gods, plants, animals, earthquake, wind, and fire—all played essential roles in the cosmic economy. Without the sacrifice of human life, the sun would cease to shine; without the sun, the earth would die.[7] The divine and the human, bound together in perpetual synergy, cooperated to keep the cosmos in being.

Tonantzin represented the feminine aspect of the creative and destructive duality *Ometecuhtli-Omecíhuatl*. She was not only Our Mother, the mother of human beings; she was the Mother of All. The related names, *Toci* (Our Grandmother) and *Teteoinnan* (Mother of the Gods), were also synonymous with *Tonantzin*.

The Nahuatl *Teteoinnan* (Mother of the Gods) *complex* constituted the indigenous Mexican matrix within which devotion to the Christian Mother of God, represented symbolically through late-medieval iconography of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary and under the Spanish title of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, evolved. To appreciate fully that indigenous matrix and the qualities it brought to the Virgin Mary in the cultus of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe of Tepeyac demands a brief summary of various personifications of *Tonantzin*.

Tonantzin as Cihuacóatl: The Mother of All

In the main plaza of Tenochtitlán, Aztec capital of Mexico, the temple of the great god of Mexico, *Huitzilopochtli* (The War God), adjoined that of his sister, *Cihuacóatl*. She was the principal feminine deity of Mexico.



Plan of Mexico City, Woodcut. Nuremberg: 1524 (Photo courtesy of the DeGolyer Library)

But *Cihuacóatl* was not only the primary feminine deity of the Aztecs, she was also the patron goddess of Xochimilco and was revered in Colhuacan where she was better known as *Toci*.[8] Indeed, it appears that the earth deity cultus, of which *Cihuacóatl* is one important symbolic manifestation, may have been acquired by the Aztecs during their sojourn in Colhuacan, "the community from which stemmed the Tenocha royal dynasty and which... exerted a very powerful cultural influence on its Mexica (Aztec) offshoot."[9] The varied personifications of the Mother of the Gods, *Tonantzin*, among Nahuatl sub-cultures throughout Central Mexico may help to account for the extensive spread of the later cultus of the Christian Mother of God, Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe.

Cihuacóatl's attire and the manner in which her image was kept emphasize her identity as an earth deity. Bernardino de Sahagún describes her as a woman with shoulder-length hair arranged in front so as to resemble two crossed ergots (club-shaped herbs). She was said to appear frequently, dressed completely in white as a lady of the court. Diego Durán (ca. 1537-1588), describing the image kept in her temple, added the detail that *Cihuacóatl* had a "huge, open mouth and ferocious teeth." Such a mouth, reminiscent of the gaping maw of *Tlaltecuhtli*, the great frog that devoured the sun as it vanished in the West, represented the destructive forces that had to be satisfied to maintain life on earth. The pitch-black room, *Tlillan* (Place of Blackness), in which the image was kept, carried out its symbolic association with the night which every day consumed the sun. *Cihuacóatl* was dressed in yellow and white, colors symbolic of the West where the sun vanished.[10]

Cihuacóatl's association with the West entailed an important relationship with the souls of women who died in childbirth, the *Ciuateteo*. At death the *Ciuateteo* went to the West where they became warriors of *Cihuacóatl*. Having lost their lives in the battle to "capture" a child at birth, they returned on certain days and took possession of children. It was believed that convulsions and epileptic seizures, as well as wanton behavior, adultery, and suicide were all produced by these ghostly, wounded warriors. Their behavior mirrored that of *Cihuacóatl* who "at night screamed and bellowed in the air" and "caused adversities such as poverty, depression, and work."[11]

A benevolent, life-giving quality balanced the harsh and fearsome shadow-side of *Cihuacóatl*. She originated among the yellow and white flowers of Tamoanchan, the birthplace of *Cinteotl* (God of Maize). Also known as *Cincalco* (Maize House), Tamoanchan was an earthly paradise where the various peoples of Mexico had lived in unity before separating to populate the land. Tamoanchan was the place "where the children of mortals are made." There, *Cihuacóatl* with *Quetzalcóatl* took bones given them by *Mictlantecuhtli* (God of the Dead) and formed the human beings who repopulated the earth in the Age of the Fifth Sun.[12] That *Cihuacóatl* herself originated among the yellow and white flowers of Tamoanchan underlined her role in giving and sustaining life.[13]

As Mother of All, *Cihuacóatl* symbolized the struggle for life. Warriors, who fought to gain sacrificial victims whose hearts and blood sustained the life of the sun, as well as women in childbirth and midwives knew *Cihuacóatl* as their patron. Women who gave birth risked their own lives as in battle to "capture" a child. Sahagún reports the words of the midwife to a woman who has just delivered:

> My beloved daughter, valiant and courageous woman, you have performed as an eagle and as a tiger; courageously you have used the shield in battle, valorously you have imitated your mother *Cihuacóatl*, or *Quilaztli*; therefore our Lord has placed you upon the dais and in the chairs of valiant soldiers....
>
> Giving birth is like a battle in which we women endanger ourselves; this battle is like a tribute to death which our mother *Cihuacóatl, Quilaztli*, requires of us.[14]

Mothers in bearing children found inspiration and encouragement for their struggle to bring life into the world through the labor of *Cihuacóatl*, the Primal Mother. *Cihuacóatl* as the cosmic warrior goddess (*Yoaltícitl*) supported all who continued her struggle. The *Cihuateteo*, the divinized

souls of those who died in the fray, reminded the community that giving birth was an act of cosmic significance, a participation in the work of *Cihuacóatl* herself.[15]

Tonantzin as Toci: The Giver and Healer of Life

The life-giving and nurturing qualities of *Tonantzin* are amplified in the figure of *Toci*. Doctors, surgeons, blood-letters, and midwives revered her as the goddess of medicines and medicinal herbs. Patron of diviners, she was also known as Goddess of the Baths (*Temazcalteci*). Lepers knew her as *Atlatonan* through whom they found relief. In contemporary terms, *Toci* would be patron of healers and the healing arts.[16]

A note of interest regarding *Tonantzin* and *Toci*: Not realizing that *Tonantzin* (Our Mother) and *Toci* (Our Grandmother) were aspects of the same deity, Juan de Torquemada (ca. 1563-1626) reports that churches dedicated to the Virgin Mary and her mother, St. Anne, were erected at two ancient cultic centers. A church dedicated to the Virgin Mary, Mother of God, was erected at Tepeyac, and one dedicated to St. Anne, grandmother of Jesus, at Matlalcueye, a site important to the cultus of *Toci* (Our Grandmother), thus indicating an appreciation of the parallel relationships between the two women of Christian tradition on the one hand, and the two native deities on the other.[17]

The feast of *Ochpaniztli* (Time of Sweeping) held in honor of *Toci* offers other important insights into the nature of *Tonantzin*. On the first day of *Ochpaniztli*, the eleventh month of the Aztec calendar, a major ritual began the feast. Everything—houses, streets, baths, and all possessions—was cleansed by sweeping.[18]

Anyone who has been on the streets of Mexico City in the early morning and seen the general attention given to sweeping what can never be really clean can imagine the scene, on a brisk autumn morning in the fifteenth or sixteenth century, as preparations were made for the festival of Our Grandmother, *Toci*. Indeed, one might appreciate the sentiment of Diego Durán, the anxious missionary:

> This custom has remained in the country. The people sweep the lots and the streets [daily], but they leave the inside of the house so dirty and filled with rubbish that it looks like a stable. I believe that they do not sweep the inside of the house except on this day, because it is an ancient rite. I consider this to be evil; I have fought against it; I have opposed it in some places. I have explained that it is a superstition, a pagan custom, but I do not know whether this has done any good.[19]

Actually, preparations for the celebration had begun forty days earlier when a woman of forty to forty-five years was selected to personify *Toci* and later to be sacrificed to *Toci* during the fiesta. Lest the chosen one become sad and unhappy with her role, an augury of death for warriors and women in childbirth, the women staged a mock combat among themselves to entertain her. Armed with balls of cotton, nopal leaves, and *cempoalxóchitl* (marigolds), the women, both young and old who were involved with healing, divided themselves into two groups and for four days "stoned" each other. When the battle was over, "*Toci*," who had initiated the attack, was given a farewell tour of the *tianguiz* (market) and delivered over to the priests who guarded her.

At midnight "*Toci*" was taken to the temple for her rendezvous. The occasion was a solemn one. "Even though everyone went with her, there was a great silence, and no one spoke or coughed. And when they arrived at the place where they had to kill her, one [of the priests] took her on his shoulders and they quickly cut off her head. Then, [while she was still] warm they skinned her...."[20]

First the skin was removed from a thigh and taken to the temple of *Cinteotl*, God of Maize and son of *Toci*, where it was placed on a statue of the deity. Then the strongest of *Toci's* priests was dressed in the dead woman's skin, and he and the skin-clad statue of *Cinteotl*, escorted by four persons as well as by a group of priests and soldiers who engaged in mock combat, were taken to the temple of *Huitzilopochtli*.

Before the image of *Huitzilopochtli*, the priest enacting the role of *Toci* gave birth symbolically to *Cinteotl*. After the priest-representative of *Toci*, along with the statue of *Cinteotl*, returned to the temple of *Toci*, the people made offerings, prison-

ers were sacrificed, and weapons and ornaments of war distributed by "*Toci*" to the soldiers.

The newly outfitted soldiers danced for two days. After this ritual the priests of *Chicomecóatl* (Goddess of Sustenance), standing on a "small temple called the Table of Huitzilopochtli, threw white, yellow, red, and black maize," to the people standing below. Finally, the festival ended when "*Toci*" in mock combat gave chase to the soldiers until "she" arrived at Tocititlan (the wooden house of *Toci*) at the southern edge of the city, on the causeway to Colhuacan. There the skin of the flayed victim was removed and left hanging.

Diego Durán describes two additional symbols significant to the central motif of giving and sustaining life. One is visually represented in the *Codex Borbonicus*.[21] First, Durán describes a rite during the sacrifice of captives in which the blood of those sacrificed was collected in a bowl into which the impersonator of *Toci* stuck his finger and sucked the blood which adhered to it, whereupon the earth trembled, or so all seemed to think, and everyone put a finger on the ground and ate the earth clinging to it. Durán reports that this was a common practice which signified humility and reverence towards the gods. This particular aspect of the ceremony ended when one of the principal warriors dipped his finger in the blood and provoked a skirmish in which there was bloodshed. Durán believed this was a form of self-sacrifice.

The representative of *Toci* enjoyed the protective escort of a group of individuals representing the Huastecas, the people with whom *Toci* seems most intimately related. *Codex Borbonicus* depicts a scene in which a group of figures wearing conical Huastec hats, holding in one hand a broom and in the other erect phalluses, encircles the representative of *Toci*, the deity. These features in the total context of the festival accentuate the life-giving role of *Tonantzin*.

As a group, the ritual symbols of *Ochpaniztli* seem to reflect essentially the same understanding of *Tonantzin* and her relation to the life struggle as that represented in the *Cihuacóatl*

Detail: Codex Borbonicus, Exhibit 2

tradition. The celebration of the birth of *Cinteotl* during the feast offered the Nahua a potential parallel for understanding the role of the Virgin Mary in giving birth to the Son of God, the Incarnate Logos, through whom Christians affirmed all life was created.

Toci, sometimes known as the "heart of the earth," clearly manifests the earth deity in a feminine mode. She was dressed in white, color of the West, the women's quadrant of the heavens. The broom and the unspun cotton in her headdress, as well as the *tianguiz* (market) all symbolized women and women's functions in ancient Nahuatl society.[22] The "battles" enacted by both women and men were apparent parallels to the battle to give birth, in this instance to the struggle of *Toci* to birth *Cinteotl* (God of Maize) in Tamoanchan. *Ochpaniztli* was an occasion on which the Aztecs symbolized their participation in the cosmic process and fulfilled their responsibility to maintain it with their own blood. Spilling and eating blood and the earth which it fertilized expressed the on-going battle to produce and to preserve life.

The responsibility to battle for life demanded moral purity so as to be worthy and able to perform one's task. In another of her identities, as *Tlazoltéotl*, the Mother God held particular significance as one to whom mortals could make confession and do penance so as to be cleansed and purified.

Tonantzin as Tlazoltéotl: Goddess of Carnal Things

The Goddess of Carnal Things, *Tlazoltéotl* (known also as *Tlaelquani*, Devourer of Filth) had the power to provoke persons to luxurious living and to sexual excess. But she who had this power to provoke evil also had the power to devour sin, and through her priests she meted out penance and cleansed those who confessed their evil doing. Those guilty of sexual offense, especially adultery, found forgiveness through *Tlazoltéotl* and her priests; for it was the priests of *Tlazoltéotl* who kept and interpreted the *tonalámatl*, a book of divination that told the day most auspicious for doing penance.

Confession and penance under the supervision of a priest of *Tlazoltéotl* resulted not only in divine forgiveness, but also in judicial pardon, a fact which Sahagún reports to have caused some difficulty for Nahuatl Christians who, having confessed to a Christian priest, wanted a signed warrant clearing them of legal liability.[23]

As *Tlazoltéotl*, *Tonantzin*'s role in giving and caring for human life included a dimension of grace. Because of her own participation in carnal things and the "filth" of life, she was able to bear the sins of her supplicants and to become for them a source of forgiveness and protection. Since Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe is represented by iconography of the Virgin Mary's immaculate conception, the Nahautl stress on the goddess's participation in sin will require particular attention to understand the syncretistic process that produced the Mexican cultus of the Virgin Mary. The Virgin Mary had, herself, during the Middle Ages in Europe, became the one to whom sinners might especially turn for relief.[24]

The sources establish *Tlazolteótl*'s identity with *Toci* and *Cihuacóatl*. Portrayed as a birthing woman, she also wears a flayed skin, the unspun cotton head-piece, and spindles characteristic of *Toci*. The broom prominent in these representations, especially in the *Codex Borbonicus*, clearly relates her to the *Ochpaniztli* festival. The *Cihuateteo*, *Cihuacóatl*'s heavenly companions, are also associated with *Tlazolteótl* in giving sanction to works of penance.[25]

While *Tlazoltéotl* was the popular manifestation of *Tonantzin* among the Huastecs, *Coatlicue* occupied that position among the Mexicans. Thus, a final comment on one remaining dominant image of *Tonantzin*, namely, *Coatlicue*.

Tonantzin as Coatlicue: Mother of the Principal God

Coatlicue was mother of the principal Mexican god, *Huitzilopochtli* (God of War). The story of his miraculous conception contains elements remi-

niscent of the birth narratives of Jesus in Christian tradition.

On the mountain of Coatepec near Tula lived a widowed woman named *Coatlicue*, mother of four hundred sons, the *Centzonhuitznahua* (The Innumerable Stars), and one daughter, *Coyolxauhqui* (The Moon). Every day the woman did penance by sweeping on Coatepec. One day as she swept, a ball of feathers, like a ball of knitting yarn, fell in front of her. She picked it up and put it under her skirt next to her abdomen and kept on sweeping. Through with her work, *Coatlicue* placed her hand under her skirt to retrieve the feathers only to find they had disappeared. Soon, it was discovered that she was pregnant, apparently through the agency of the mysterious feathers.

The *Centzonhuitznahua*, angered to discover their mother's pregnancy, wanted to know who was responsible, who had shamed them. Their sister, *Coyolxauhqui*, beseeched the brothers to kill their mother in retribution for the shame she had brought upon them all by secretly becoming pregnant.

Coatlicue, learning of the scheme, feared for her life, but the child in her womb comforted her and told her not to be afraid because he knew what to do.

It happened that one of the brothers decided to subvert the plot. He went to *Huitzilopochtli*, still in the womb, and worked out a plan whereby he would keep *Huitzilopochtli* informed of the developing scheme. When the attack began, the unborn child was given a continuous account of where the wicked brothers were. At the last instant *Huitzilopochtli* leaped from his mother's womb armed for combat. First he killed his sister *Coyolxauhqui*, burning her and tearing her into pieces with a fiery snake. Then he took on the brothers and killed all but a few who ran away. Thus, the Mexicans (Aztecs) took *Huitzilopochtli* as their god of war.[26]

During the Late Post-Classic period, 1200-1500 C. E., an unknown artist carved a large stone statue of *Coatlicue*. That statue, now located in the Mexica Room of the National Museum of Anthropology in Mexico City, presents an awesome image of the Mother God. As her name (Woman with the Serpent Skirt) indicates, she wears a skirt of entwined serpents. Around her neck hangs a necklace of human hearts and hands to which a skull pendant is attached; her feet and hands are giant talons, and two mammoth serpent heads face each other to form her head. The image befits so important a figure as the one who holds such creative and destructive power as the Mother of All, *Coatlicue*.

Coatlicue (Photo courtesy of Carolyn Brown)

Coatlicue continues in the twentieth century as an important figure in the thought of sophisticated Mexican philosophers. Justino Fernandez (1904-1972), in a book-length study of the esthetics of the image, maintains that "*Coatlicue* is the... embodiment of the cosmic-dynamic power that bestows life and that thrives on death in the struggle of opposites, a struggle so compelling and essential that its fundamental meaning is war...." The motif of giving and sustaining life through struggle, the battle to give birth, preserved in stone, continues to be significant. *Coatlicue* is the "concrete embodiment... of the ideas of a supreme cosmic being who generates and sustains the Universe..., who [also] creates and destroys through struggle...."[27]

SUMMARY

Who, then, was *Tonantzin*? She was a complex, multiform symbol representing in its feminine aspect the ultimate dimension of reality as understood by the ancient Mexicans. She was, at once, *Tonantzin* (Our Mother), *Toci* (Our Grandmother), *Cihuacóatl* (Woman of the Snake), *Tlazoltéotl* (Goddess of Carnal Things), and *Coatlicue* (Woman with the Serpent Skirt). *Tonantzin* represented not only the promise of the ultimate fulfillment of life, but also the threat of its ultimate destruction. Only one with such powers could provide deliverance from the forces that corrupted and destroyed life. Our Mother was a powerful figure; she must have been often in the minds of Mexicans as they experienced the conquest and destruction of their cities, their lives, and their world. With the destruction of the temples of Tenochtitlán one could imagine how the hill of Tepeyac may have achieved an importance even greater than it had held earlier—even for native peoples newly converted to Christianity.

How *Tonantzin* relates to Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe unfolds as we examine the antecedent Guadalupan devotion rooted in medieval Spain.

Hispanic Heritage

FRANCISCAN OPPOSITION TO THE CULTUS AT TEPEYAC

When the Spaniards came celebrating the Mass in the name of the triune God and singing the *Salve Regina* in honor of the Mother of God, indigenous peoples with their background of devotion to *Tonantzin* (Our Mother) might readily have appreciated the figure of the Virgin Mary, whom they may well have seen as a Spanish cultural cognate for *Tonantzin*. Indeed, the fear that such confusion could occur led the friars, especially the Franciscans, including Bernardino de Sahagún and Francisco de Bustamante (1485-1562), to resist and openly to protest the promotion of a cultus to Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe at Tepeyac.

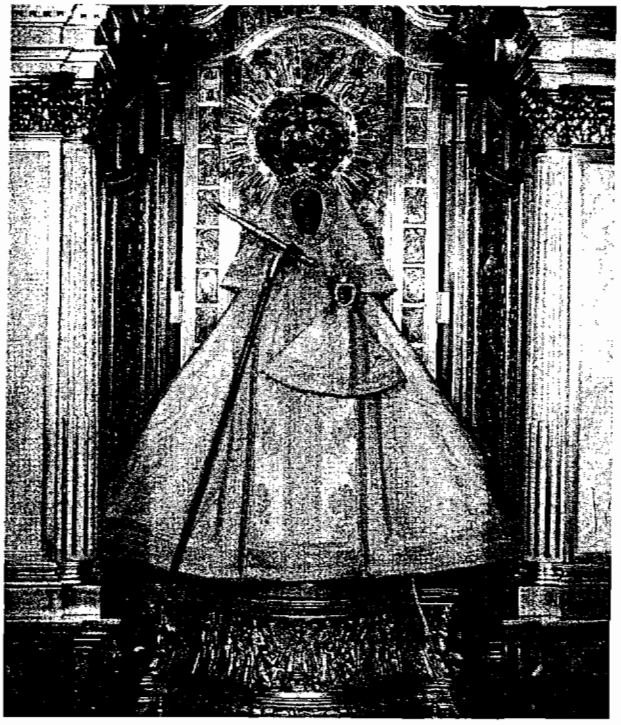
Sahagún, anxious lest the indigenous confuse *Tonantzin* with *Dios Nantzin* (the Spanish missionaries' hybrid Spanish-Nahuatl term for the Christian Mother of God), held great reservations concerning the evolving cultus of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe at Tepeyac. The Franciscan Provincial, Francisco de Bustamante, created a stir when he challenged the archbishop's promotion of the devotion. In 1555, Archbishop Alonso de Montúfar, a Dominican, established an ecclesiastical benefice at the little hermitage that had been erected at Tepeyac. He required Saturday and Sunday masses to be celebrated there, made it a parish church for several native *barrios*, and initiated a campaign to raise funds for the construction of a proper edifice on the site. Montúfar preached a sermon laudatory of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe and the devotion at Tepeyac on 6 September 1556.[28]

Bustamante was incensed. On 8 September, the Feast of the Nativity of Mary, at that time the customary date for the festival in honor of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe both at Estremadura in Spain and Tepeyac in Mexico, he preached a sermon challenging the archbishop. He argued that the devotion was pernicious for the natives. Had not the missionaries inveighed in their sermons against worship of images of wood and stone? And, it was obvious that the Indians were worshipping the image of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe at Tepeyac—something the missionaries had spent much time trying to change. With the circulation of unproven stories of miracles being performed by the image of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, the challenge of countering this false worship was all the greater. Further, while this worship was bad in itself, it was not the only evil related to visiting Tepeyac. Alms and food left there by the natives would better be given to the hospital treating venereal diseases or to needy persons. Finally, Bustamante threatened to preach no longer to the native peoples if devotion to the image of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe of Tepeyac continued without examination.[29]

Given such strong opposition on the part of the Franciscans, who were the first missionaries and whose confrére Juan de Zumárraga (ca. 1468-1548) was Bishop of Mexico when the 1531 apparition was reported, how could such a vigorous devotion as that which evidently existed by 1556 have developed?

FRANCISCAN DEVOTION TO THE VIRGIN MARY

The Franciscan friars had their own marked devotion to the Virgin Mary, however reluctant they may have been to promote such devotion among the native peoples. Those Franciscan pious practices could not but have been observed by the indigenous Mexicans. Even more particularly, the twelve Franciscans who arrived in New Spain in 1524 were linked directly with a history of devotion to Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe of Estremadura. Further, Hernán Cortés, the conqueror of Mexico, was born in Medellín, only a few miles away from the Estremaduran shrine; he and other conquistadors were devotees of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe of Estremadura. They were deliberately open with native peoples about their devotion to the Virgin Mary. The actions of these Spaniards had great impact on the frightened and curious Mexicans. The Spaniards' private devotion, if not their public instruction, undoubtedly became a major element in the cultural *mestizaje* of post-Conquest Mexico.



Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe of Estremadura
(Photo courtesy of the World Monuments Fund)

NUESTRA SEÑORA DE GUADALUPE OF ESTREMADURA

Devotion to Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe of Estremadura, shared both by missionary and conquistador at the time of their discovery and conquest of the New World, was the most important Marian devotion in the Crown of Castile, if not in all of Spain. It centered on a wooden statue of the Virgin Mary believed to have been found through a miraculous disclosure and apparition to a cowherd, Gil Cordero. The image was of a small, dark woman seated and holding the Christ-child. According to legend, it had been carved by St. Luke the Evangelist in Ephesus; over time it supposedly

Basílica of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe of Estremadura
(Photo courtesy of Carolyn Brown)

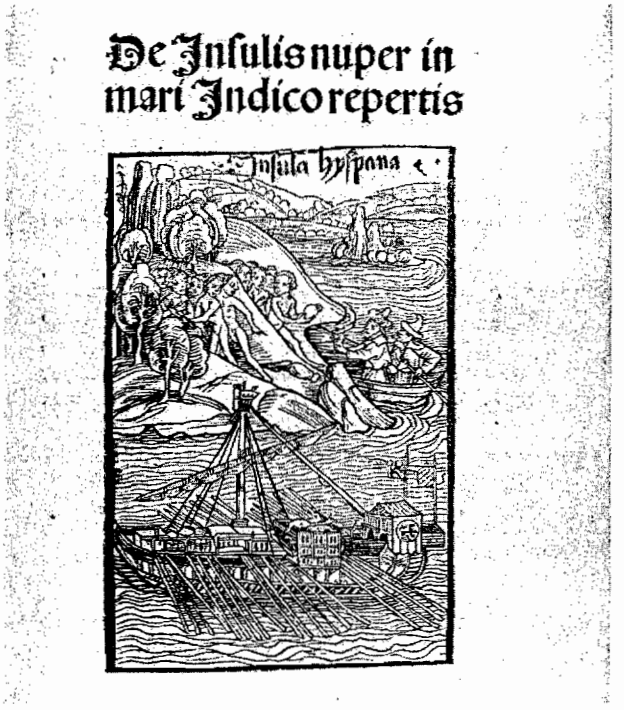
came into the possession of Pope Gregory the Great (ca. 540-604), who in turn gave it to San Leandro of Seville (d. ca. 600).

The little statue had remained in Seville until the Muslim invasion of the Iberian peninsula; then it had been taken into the mountains of Villuercas (Estremadura) near a stream called Guadalupe where it remained hidden until its discovery by Gil Cordero in the thirteenth century. By 1327 a crude hermitage had been constructed at the site where a regional devotion to the Virgin Mary had begun as early as the mid-thirteenth century. After victory over the Muslims at Salado in 1340, King Alfonso XI of Castile (1312-1350), in gratitude for the assistance of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, took the shrine under royal patronage and ordered construction of a church and priory. In 1389 a royal monastery was established and placed in the hands of the Order of St. Jerome, the Jeronimytes, who controlled it until 1835. Today the monastery and shrine are in the care of the Franciscans.[30]

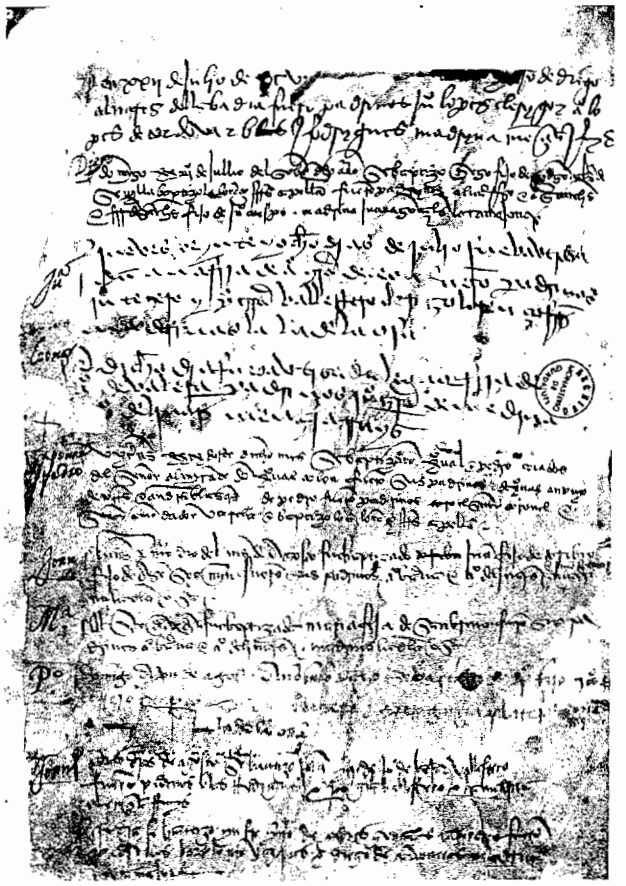
COLUMBUS AND NUESTRA SEÑORA DE GUADALUPE

Our Lady of Guadalupe of Estremadura figures significantly in Spanish contact with the Americas. King Ferdinand (1452-1516) and Queen Isabella (1451-1504) often spent time in Guadalupe and apparently were there in 1486 when Christopher Columbus (1451-1506) travelled with the Court to persuade the Catholic monarchs of Spain to underwrite his adventure. Columbus, himself a devotee of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, vowed to make a pilgrimage to Guadalupe in thanksgiving for her protection during a severe storm on his first voyage. While he probably did not fulfill that vow until 1496, it is certain that he was then at the shrine. The baptismal register of Guadalupe shows that on Friday, 29 April 1496, two American natives, Cristobal and Pedro, were baptized at the shrine.[31]

Columbus also evinced his devotion to the Virgin Mary in the naming of his ships and the islands he encountered. On the initial voyage he



Columbus Landing on Hispaniola, Woodcut. Exhibit 10



Baptismal register of Guadalupe at Estremadura
(Photo courtesy of the World Monuments Fund)

named the second island he touched Santa María de la Concepción. On the second voyage, apparently at the request of the monastic community at Guadalupe, he named an island (Guadeloupe) in honor of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe. That same voyage he also named the island of Monserrat in honor of the Virgin revered at that shrine in the Kingdom of Aragon. Other Marian titles were used at other landfalls.[32]

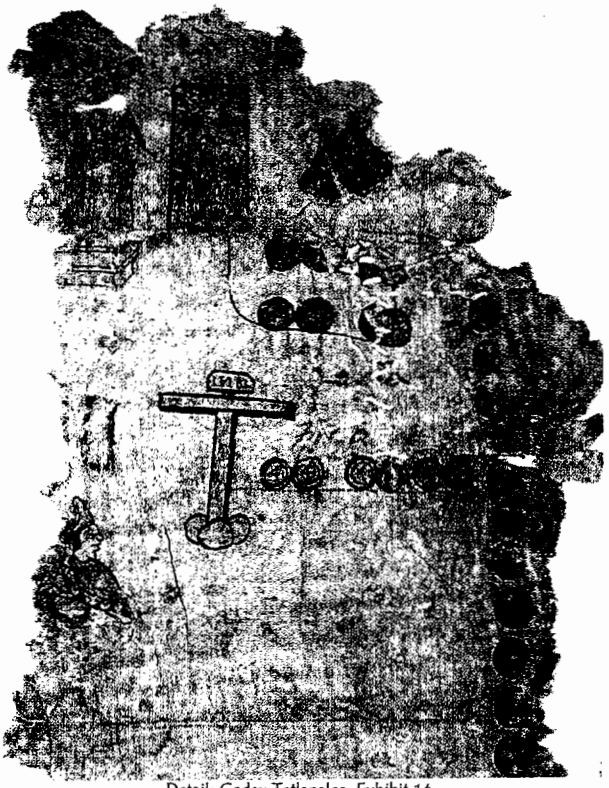
CORTÉS AND NUESTRA SEÑORA DE GUADALUPE OF ESTREMADURA

Of greater immediate importance to the development of the Guadalupan cultus in Mexico are the connections of Hernán Cortés, as well as the Franciscan friars, with the Estremaduran devotion. Cortés grew up only a short distance from the village and monastery of Guadalupe. He surely knew the place as a young man. His devotion led him to make offerings supportive of the monastery and in special gratitude to Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe for recovery from a scorpion bite in 1528. That same year he also made a pilgrimage to Guadalupe "to make a novena."[33]

Bernal Díaz del Castillo (1492-1581), who accompanied Cortés in the conquest of Mexico, attested to Cortés's devotion to Mary. Cortés, according to Díaz, promised the leaders of Cempoala his support in their resistance to the "Mexicans" and requested that they place "... on their altar a Great Lady, who is the Mother of Our Lord Jesus Christ, in whom we believe and whom we venerate." He also urged that they take her as [their] "Lady and advocate."[34] What image of the Virgin Mary was left on that altar cannot be known, but, given Cortés's affiliation with Guadalupe, it could well have been one of that tradition.

FRANCISCAN MISSIONARIES AND NUESTRA SEÑORA DE GUADALUPE OF ESTREMADURA

By the time Cortés conquered Tenochtitlán in 1521, two Franciscans were already in New Spain



Detail: Codex Tetlapalco, Exhibit 16
(Photo courtesy of the Museum of the American Indian)

and others were eager to come. The group most closely related to the evolution of Guadalupan devotion in Mexico was led by Martín de Valencia (ca. 1473-1534), an Observant Franciscan with a passion to be in mission to the "infidels."[35] At the time he was sent to work in New Spain, Martín de Valencia was Provincial of San Gabriel, a province of rigorously reformed Franciscan houses, deeply affected by the Spiritualist movement inspired by the apocalyptic writings of Joachim of Fiore (ca. 1130-1201) and by strong commitments to the ideal of evangelical poverty.[36]

The Minister-General of the Order of Friars Minor who sent the twelve missionaries to New Spain in 1523 was Francisco de los Angeles, Quiñones (1480-1540), who had been a part of the Observant Custody of the Holy Angels, formed under the leadership of Juan de la Puebla (1453-1495).[37]

Juan de la Puebla, the common link among these Franciscan elements, had lived in the monastery at the shrine of Guadalupe while he was a member of the Order of St. Jerome (Jeronimytes). He was deeply devoted to Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe and took her as his special "advocate and mediator with her Son." It is related that on one occasion she had appeared to him and asked him to assume the habit of St. Francis. At Juan's request in 1480, the Jeronimytes consented to his departure from Guadalupe and from their Order so that he might become a Franciscan. After a time with the Franciscan Observants in Italy, he returned to Spain in 1487 where he founded the Observant house of St. Mary of the Angels.[38]

It is reasonable to assume that some number of friars in community with Juan de la Puebla would have been influenced by his devotion to Mary. Andrés de Guadalupe (d. 1668), historian of the Holy Province of the Angels, reports of Quiñones, the future Franciscan Minister-General, that "he was most devoted to the Most Holy Virgin. Formed in [the house of] Santa María de los Angeles, he drank in the devotion from his beginnings [with the Observant Franciscans], especially of the mystery of her most pure immaculate conception, free from primal guilt in the first instant of her 'animation,' and prepared by grace for preservation [in that sinless state]."[39] Such a description reflects the widespread Franciscan devotion, not only to Mary, but to her immaculate conception and advocacy of it. Clearly, the twelve friars sent to Mexico under the leadership of Martín de Valencia were men whose religious formation was steeped in such a tradition.

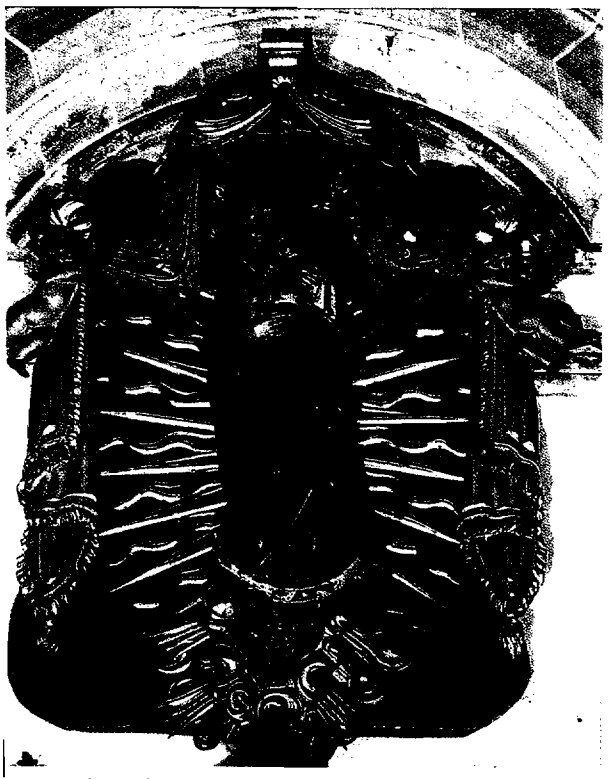
Furthermore, those first Franciscans, again through the influence of Juan de la Puebla, had direct links to the Marian devotion at Guadalupe in Estremadura.[40]

NUESTRA SEÑORA DE GUADALUPE OF TEPEYAC: AN IMAGE OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION

Whatever reservations these friars may have held concerning the promotion of Marian devotion among the indigenous peoples of Mexico, they certainly had their own devotion which could not be hidden. It is highly probable that the images used in their devotions would have been in the iconographic genre related to the Virgin Mary as Immaculate Conception.

While it appears that reproductions of the image of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe of Estremadura were relatively rare in the Americas, Jacques Lafaye argues that a replica of the miraculous Estremaduran statue may have been the original image of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe placed in the shrine at Tepeyac.[41] If that be so, it is even conceivable that the Spaniards may have begun a shrine at Tepeyac, perhaps in gratitude for the Conquest, even before the reported apparitions of 1531. That could account for the name Guadalupe and its association with Marian devotion at Tepeyac.

Given the scarcity of images reproducing the original at Estremadura, a representation of the Virgin Mary with iconography of the increasingly



Immaculate Conception, Basilica of Guadalupe Estremadura
(Photo courtesy of the World Monuments Fund)

popular genre of the Immaculate Conception, rather than of the original (Madonna and Child), might well have been displayed in a shrine dedicated to Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe at Tepeyac. Just such an image had been commissioned and placed in the choir at the Monastery of Guadalupe, Estremadura, in 1499.

Franciscans committed to the propagation of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception and with ties to Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe of Estremadura, as were the first missionaries to New Spain, might well have displayed a replica of the 1499 image in their own devotion and in a church dedicated to the Virgin of Guadalupe at Tepeyac. In any event, native peoples could have been familiar with representations of the Immaculate Conception and might have associated such a representation with Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe.

Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe of Tepeyac

It is noteworthy that the extraordinary experiences of Juan Diego (1474-1548) and his uncle, Juan Bernardino, occurred precisely during the octave of the Feast of the Immaculate Conception in 1531. Chances are they had seen an image of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary venerated by the Franciscans. Given the importance among the friars of devotion to Mary Immaculate and to Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, the name Guadalupe associated with the apparition by Juan Bernardino and the image on the *tilma* of Juan Diego have apparent religious and iconographic antecedents.[42]

In short, native peoples who had lost their "mother" in the destruction of their culture, found another in that of the conquerors. They saw in Spanish devotion to Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe of Estremadura a figure who seemed to bear many of the qualities they knew in *Tonantzin*. Since the traditional symbols and rituals related to *Tonantzin* were suppressed, it was natural that people who

Nuestra Señora De Guadalupe of Tepeyac
(Photo courtesy of the Guadalupe Institute)

needed the succor of a powerful mother would have responded when they found one in Christian piety. Reluctant to preach devotion to the Christian Mother of God, the friars' own pious practices inadvertently spoke even more powerfully and directly to the native peoples.

An indigenous cultus began to form around a new symbol at the site of the old. Ancient traditions were reinterpreted in terms of a Christian faith that was offered as the means of deliverance from the "satanic" powers of the native deities. While the indigenous Mexican peoples probably found the power of their conquerors to be more "satanic" than their own deities, in the end the symbols of Christian faith provided a focus, a

center around which to construct a new culture and new identities from the ruins of the old. Hidden from the eye that sees only the form of the brown-skinned Immaculate Mary is another and new "*Coatlicue.*" This "*Coatlicue*" results not from the embrace of two giant serpents, but from the embrace of *Tonantzin* and the *Theotokos*, the Mother of All and the Mother of God.

A distinctively Mexican culture combining the heritage of Catholic and Nahuatl monarchs, Spanish and native peasants took form and grew. The new culture grew first in lives of native and *mestizo* peoples, Juan Diego's people. In the eyes of Europeans, whether born on the Iberian peninsula or in the Americas, *mestizos* and their culture diminished an Old World heritage which they valued and believed to be the highest expression of human creativity and divine inspiration.

The conviction held by Sahagún and the Franciscans that the ancient Nahuatl cultus was

The Apparition to Juan Diego, Exhibit 21

satanic made them wary of any practice in which even remnants of the old ways survived. Therein lay the resistance of Father Bustamante to devotion centered on the image of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe at Tepeyac. His opposition clearly indicates the existence of the cultus to Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe prior to 1556. In the quarter-century that had lapsed between the wondrous events of 1531 and 1556—when Bustamante felt the imperative to challenge Archbishop Montúfar—a popular cultus rooted in the *mestizo* population had emerged. Montúfar wanted to affirm it, the Franciscans wanted to reject it.

In response to Bustamante's challenge, the Archbishop undertook an investigation of the status of the cultus at Tepeyac. This resulted in a yet more vigorous support for the growing devotion. A campaign to raise funds succeeded and a new sanctuary was built between the years 1561-1566. The devotion grew among the populace, native as well as Spanish. Despite the resistance of the friars, especially the Franciscans, Tepeyac continued to develop as a center of popular piety, not only for the Valley of Mexico, but for surrounding areas as well. Under the leadership of Montúfar, the church definitively embraced Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe of Tepeyac and her cultus.[43]

The heated controversy between Bustamante and Montúfar with its attendant investigation gained further impetus from the report of another miraculous intervention and apparition at Tepeyac in 1555. That event, recorded in the *Nican Motecpana*, a companion manuscript to the *Nican Mopohua* in the *Monumentos Guadalupanos*, provided an important connection to the Spanish elites. A young relative of Don Antonio Carvajal, mayor of the City of Mexico in 1533 and later holder of other important administrative posts, was thrown from his horse while riding near the hill of Tepeyac. His foot caught in the stirrup, and he feared for his life as the horse ran away. He appealed to Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe who appeared and calmed the horse, saving the young man's life.[44]

Bustamante and the Franciscans would certainly have wanted to challenge the Carvajal

incident; they had labored hard to control the development of the Guadalupan cultus among native peoples. Now, with a miracle to give impetus to the cultus among the peninsular elites and with the support of the Archbishop, their task had become impossible. No wonder the emotional outburst of Bustamante in his sermon!

This incident also illustrates the process by which the local church and its diocesan clergy gradually succeeded in gaining control over a missionary church established by the friars. The friars were conceded extraordinary ecclesiastical authority for the task of evangelization. In their missions, they enjoyed much autonomy and functioned in some respects as bishops.[45] As ordinary episcopal authority was instituted in the developing church, the older pattern faded, but not without resistance.

The obvious political advantage to an archbishop in affiliating with and promoting a popular cultus invites a cynical view of the events of 1556. The official church, thus, could be viewed as simply manipulating devotion to Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe in order to establish its control over the faithful. Such a view is not without reason, it repeats a pattern that began in the early Catholic church with the evolution of the cult of the saints, but it discounts too much the depth and importance of people's devotion. What does not exist cannot be manipulated![46]

What occurred in the church also developed in civil society. When the Spanish Viceroys entered the City of Mexico they made a practice of stopping at the shrine in Tepeyac.[47] Devotion to Our Lady of Guadalupe began to emerge as an important symbolic means by which to identify the institutions of royal authority with the people and the physical space of Mexico. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that identity of cultus, people, land, and authority would provide an ideological basis for the developing political consciousness of Mexican *criollos* (Spaniards born in America). It was no accident that Padre Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla (1753-1811) seized the banner of Our Lady of Guadalupe as the standard of the War of Independence in 1810.[48]

CRIOLLO GUADALUPANISMO

If the events of 1531 established Our Lady of Guadalupe in the hearts of the Nahua and other indigenous peoples, and those of 1555-1556 in the hearts of the Spanish elite, developments of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries served to anchor the devotion among *criollos*, especially *criollo* intellectuals. Beginning with the publication in 1648 of Miguel Sánchez's (1594-1674) *Imagen de la Virgen María, Madre de Dios, de Guadalupe...*,[49] the Virgin of Tepeyac became increasingly a symbol of Mexican national identity. *Criollos*, restless with restraints on their political and economic power within the colonial system, searched for means by which to distinguish themselves from that system and from Iberian peninsular culture. A Guadalupan devotion centered on Tepeyac, rather than on Estremadura, offered such a means.

Mexico City, having been built in the midst of a complex of lakes, experienced severe flooding during the years 1629-1634. The *tilma* bearing the revered image was removed from the sanctuary at Tepeyac and placed in the Cathedral in the center of Mexico City until the waters had receded, whence it was returned with great ceremony to its accustomed place. During the period of the flood many had appealed to Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe for deliverance. She was credited with saving the city.[50] Fidel de Jesús Chauvet (b. 1908) maintains that the strength of popular faith in the Virgin of Tepeyac during that disastrous period served to weaken the resistance of the friars to the cultus and to give it wider currency within the entire community. Public evidences of devotion began to proliferate not only at the shrine, but also in the publication of images and devotional literature.[51]

Miguel Sánchez's book occupied a privileged place within the growing body of *criollo* literature. He put in print for the first time the story of Tepeyac, recounting the fabled events of 1531 and linking the Tepeyac tradition with the Woman of the Apocalypse of Revelation 12, a figure powerfully associated with the newer iconog-

raphy of the Immaculate Conception. He presented the apparitions at Tepeyac as fulfillment of divine prophecy: Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe of Tepeyac was the woman of whom St. John the Evangelist wrote. Her appearance in Mexico distinguished it among all nations. Pope Benedict XIV (1675-1758) gave official sanction to the concept *"Non fecit taliter omni nationi"* in 1754, but the idea was first asserted by Sánchez in 1648.

The entire drama of creation and redemption, beginning with the first parents, came to fruition in Mexico. Jesus was the New Adam, born in Judea; divine providence had prepared a new paradise, Mexico, within which to give birth to the New Eve who came to share in the redemption of the New World. These themes resonate the millennialism of the twelve Franciscan "Apostles" of Mexico who viewed the land as the place where the millennial kingdom of Christ, the reign of God, would be manifest.[52] Spain had played the important role of opening the new paradise to Christian faith, but Mexico became the arena of the consummation of the Divine Will for humankind!

On the title page of Sánchez's book appeared an unusual image of the Virgin Mary. The elements of this icon challenged conventional presentations of the image of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, but they underscored Sánchez's point. Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe was a *criollo* woman. Mary stands upon a nopal cactus, and the wings of the Hapsburg eagles become her wings, the ones that will deliver her and carry her in safety to the desert (Rev. 12:14).[53] Above her own crown, floats the triple crown of the papacy, the keys of Peter cross behind. In her, all power, political and spiritual, in heaven and on earth, are joined. The nopal links the Virgin to the physical reality of Mexico. Her wings, as those of the eagle in the ancient symbol of Aztec power, hold her as she hovers over the cactus. Clearly, Sánchez interpreted the image of the Mother of God, with her apparition in "the city of Mexico," as the new emblem of a *criollo* nation. "I noticed," he said, "that when the Apocalyptic Woman was on earth she was dressed with eagle's wings and feathers in order to fly; that was to tell me that all the plumes and qualities of the eagle had to be composed and conformed into wings in order that that prodigious and holy *criollo* woman might fly."[54]

Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe became that "holy and prodigious *criollo* woman." She manifested the political and spiritual power, not only of Europe, but of Mexico as well. Through her, history reached its fulfillment. The final battle was joined. A new heaven and a new earth were born in her. Mary had become a Mexican! She should no longer be confused with Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe of Estremadura.

Miguel Sánchez's fancy fed the hunger of his *criollo* compatriots and inaugurated a tradition of interpretation expressed in poetry, sermon, and historical prose. Francisco de la Maza (1913-1972) said of Sánchez that he, along with Luis Lasso de la Vega (fl. 17th cent.), Luis Becerra Tanco (1602-1672), and Francisco de Florencia (1619-1695), were the "four evangelists of the Virgin of Guadalupe." Each of these men contributed significantly to the literary expression of Guadalupan devotion, especially in its *criollo* mode. While de la Vega and Florencia wanted especially to include the indigenous peoples and to ground the tradition in their reality, nevertheless one suspects that their deeper motive was less that of embracing native peoples and their struggles and more that of distinguishing their own devotion from that of Spain.[55]

Florencia was forerunner to the Jesuit *criollos* who, exiled by their expulsion from Spanish territory in 1767, would write with such nostalgia of their homeland and of their "mother," Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe. According to Lafaye, Jesuit writers such as Francisco Javier Clavijero (1731-1787), Andrés Cavo (1739-ca.1794), and Rafael Landivar (1731-1793) among others, became "unconscious midwives of the Mexican 'nation.'"[56] These Mexican Jesuits may actually have been more propagandists than midwives, given the clear heritage of Mexican *criollo* nationalism that began with Sánchez. Incontrovertibly, they played an important role in the formation of Mexican national consciousness.

1709 Basilica of Nuestra Señora of Tepeyac
(Photo courtesy of Carolyn Brown)

Jesuits within the Vatican were certainly instrumental in bringing to fruition the process begun in 1666 of having Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe proclaimed Patron of Mexico. That recognition came in stages: first, by the City of Mexico and the Viceroy Archbishop in 1737. Finally, in 1754 Pope Benedict XIV decreed that Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe "be recognized, invoked, and venerated as Principal Patroness and Protectress of New Spain," and that the annual liturgical Feast of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe "of the Twelfth of December be celebrated and solemnized in perpetuity."[57]

Ecclesiastical recognition had followed the devotion of the people. Veneration of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe of Tepeyac clearly exemplifies the principle that spirituality ultimately forms belief—*lex orandi, lex credendi*. Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe has been the companion of Mexicans in times of flood and pestilence, in the struggle for justice during the 1821 War of Independence, and the 1910 Revolution. Mexican American farmworkers and others in the struggle for economic justice in the United States have found in her a champion. These links with the oppressed peoples are ultimately more important signs of her importance than are official recognitions or artistic and literary monuments.

Many faithful Christians in Mexico and elsewhere believe that Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe is the Mother of God. Many in the Americas also revere her as their mother. She has roots in the Hispanic as well as in the Nahuatl past. The Virgin Mary of Tepeyac can be fully understood only in relation to *Tonantzin* and Guadalupe of Estremadura. She is neither of them individually, nor is she a simple amalgam of both. She is unique! She is Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe of Tepeyac.

NOTES

[1] "God has not done this for any other nation," Psalm 147:20. Pope Benedict XIV declared Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe "Principle Patroness and Protectress of New Spain" in 1754. Since then Psalm 147:20 has been used to express the uniqueness claimed for Mexico in the miraculous image associated with the apparitions of 1531.

[2] The term *theotokos* without the definite article literally translates "deity-bearer," but in common usage has come to be "God-bearer," or Mother of God. Roman Catholic, Anglican, and Orthodox Christians use the term more comfortably than many Protestants.

[3] Cf. Francisco Antonio de Lorenzana, *Oracion a Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe...*(Mexico, 1770), pp. XXXIV-XXXV; Francisco de San Cirillo, *El Mas Noble Desempeño de la Promesa Mas Generosa* (Mexico, 1779), p. 19.

[4] Bernardino de Sahagún, *Historia General de las Cosas de Nueva España*, 11. apendice; Juan de Torquemada, *Monarquia Indiana*, 10.7. *Tonantzin* is a title, a role designation. Just as "Our Lady" has come to be synonymous with the Virgin Mary, so might *Tonantzin* (Our Mother) be a title synonymous with the name of a deity, or even several deities.

[5] Sahagún, *Historia*, 1.6; Henry B. Nicholson, "Religion in Pre-Hispanic Central Mexico" in Robert Wauchope, gen. ed., *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, 15 vols. (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1964-1975), vol. 10:1.; cf. Gordon F. Eckholm and Ignacio Bernal, eds., *Archaeology of Northern Mesoamerica*, (1971), pp. 420-422.

[6] Alfonso Caso, *The Aztecs: People of the Sun*, trans. Lowell Dunham, illus. Miguel Covarrubias (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), p. 53. See also the summary of H. B. Nicholson, "The Iconography of Aztec Period Representations of the Earth Monster: Tlaltecuhtli," *Religión en Mesoamerica: XII Mesa Redonda, 1972* (Mexico: Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología, 1972), p. 225.

[7] Miguel León-Portilla, *Aztec Thought and Culture: A Study of the Ancient Aztec Mind*, trans. Jack Emory Davis (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), pp. 84-89; Caso, *The Aztecs*, pp. 9-10; Eduard Seler, *Tonalámatl Aubin* (Berlin and London, 1900-1901), pp. 39-41; Seler, *Codex Vaticanus No. 3733 [Codex Vaticanus B]*(Berlin and London, 1902-1903), pp. 44-45.

[8] Sahagún, *Historia*, 1.6. Xochimilco and Colhuacan were population centers in the southern and eastern regions of the Valley of Mexico where the influence of Huastec culture was important. Cf. Diego Durán, *Book of the Gods and Rites and the Ancient Calendar*, trans. and ed., Fernando Horcasitas and Doris Heyden, Foreword by Miguel León-Portilla (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), pp. 210, 217-218; Donald Demarest and Coley Taylor, eds., *The Dark Virgin: The Book of Our Lady of Guadalupe: A Documentary Anthology* (New York: Coley Taylor, Inc., 1956), p. 31; See also Seler, *Codex Vaticanus B*, p. 273, who believes that Durán errs in identifying Cihuacóatl as patron of Xochimilco. According to Seler, she was most directly related to Colhuacan. Nicholson, "Religion in Pre-Hispanic Central Mexico," p. 421, also supports the Colhuacan connection.

[9] Nicholson, "The Iconography of Aztec Period Representations of the Earth Monster," p. 225.

[10] Sahagún, *Historia*, 1.6; Durán, *Book of the Gods and Rites*, pp. 210-211; Caso, *The Aztecs*, pp. 10-11.

[11] Durán, *Book of the Gods and Rites*, pp. 210-211; Seler, *Codex Vaticanus B*, pp. 10, 251, 305-307; *Tonalámatl Aubin*, p. 105; Sahagún, *Historia*, 6.29, 1.6.

[12] Seler, *Codex Vaticanus B*, p. 10; *Tonalámatl Aubin*, p. 105; Angel M. Garibay, *La Literatutra de los Aztecas* (Mexico: Editorial Joaquin Mortiz, 1964), p. 74; cf. Primo Feliciano Velazquez, trad., *Codice Chimalpopoca: Anales de Cuauhtitlan y Leyendas de los Soles* (Mexico: Imprenta Universitaria, 1945), p. 121.

[13] Seler, *Tonalámatl Aubin*, p. 105; Irene Nicholson, *Firefly in the Night: A Study of Ancient Mexican Poetry and Symbolism* (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1959), p. 90; Garibay, *La Literatura de los Aztecas*, p. 74.

[14] Sahagún, *Historia*, 6.33.

[15] Sahagún, *Historia*, 6.28, 29, 33.

[16] Sahagún, *Historia*, 1.8.

[17] Seler, *Tonalámatl Aubin*, pp. 94-95; Torquemada, *Monarquia Indiana*, 10.7.

[18] Sahagún, *Historia*, 2.11, 30; Durán, *Book of the Gods and Rites*, pp. 229-237; Seler, *Tonalámatl Aubin*, pp. 88, 92-94; *Codex Vaticanus B*, pp. 101, 262-263.

[19] Durán, *Book of the Gods and Rites*, p. 448.

[20] Sahagún, *Historia*, 2.20.

[21] Durán, *Book of the Gods and Rites*, pp. 235-236; M. E.-T. Hamy, *Codex Borbonicus* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1899), pl. 30.

[22] Seler, "Mexican Picture Writings of Alexander von Humboldt," Eduard Seler, et al, *Mexican and Central American Antiquities, Calendar Systems and History*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institute Bulletin no. 28 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1904), p. 129; Seler, "Mexican Chronology," *Mexican and Central American Antiquities*, pp. 46-47.

[23] Sahagún, *Historia*, 1.12; Eduard Seler, *Códice Borgia*, trad. Corona Nuñez, 3 vols. (Mexico, 1964), vol. 1, pp. 117-126; *Codex Vaticanus B*, pp. 100-102.

[24] The Christian emphases on sinlessness and perpetual virginity as qualities necessary to claim for the Virgin Mary to be fit to bear God's Son remove the Virgin Mary's "shadow" and set her apart from all other human beings. As Mary became an important element in the emerging Christian devotion of Mexico, replacing and transforming *Tonantzin*, the Mother God, the destructive "shadow" of *Tonantzin* was projected onto the figure of a weeping woman, *La Llorona*. *La Llorona* is a popular, if feared, figure in Mexican folk culture. The folk-song dedicated to her carries out the symbolism both of Revelation 12 and of the descriptions of the behavior of *Tonantzin*. Clearly, she is now a foil for Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe.

[25] Hamy, *Codex Borbonicus*, pls. 13, 30; Seler, *Códice Borgia*, lamina 12; *Tonalámatl Aubin*, pl. 13.

[26] Sahagún, *Historia*, 3.1; Torquemada, *Monarquia Indiana*, 6.31; cf. Eduardo Matos y Felipe Ehrenberg, *Coyolxauhqui* (Mexico: SEP, 1979), which describes the stone monument to *Coyolxauhqui* found at the site of the ancient Templo Mayor now being excavated.

[27] Justino Fernandez, *Coatlicue, Estética del Arte Indigena Antiguo* (Mexico: Centro de Estudios Filosóficos, 1954; 2nd ed., 1959), p. 266; cf. León-Portilla, *Aztec Thought and Culture*, p. 53.

[28] Fidel de Jesús Chauvet, "Historia del Culto Guadalupano," in *Album Conmemorativo del 450 Aniversario de las Aparaciones de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe* (Mexico, 1981), p. 26.

[29] Sahagún, *Historia*, 11. apendice; Bustamante's sermon is quoted from testimony given in the investigation initiated by Archbishop Montúfar in 1556 in Fidel de Jesús Chauvet, *El Culto Guadalupano del Tepeyac: Sus Orígenes y sus Críticos en el Siglo XVI* (Mexico: Centro de Estudios Bernardino de Sahagún, A. C., 1978), pp. 34-35.

[30] Sebastián Garcia and Felipe Trenado, *Guadalupe: Historia, Devoción, y Arte* (Sevilla: Editorial Católica Española, 1978), pp. 71-303; German Rubio, *Historia de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe: O Sea, Apuntes Históricos sobre el Origen, Desarrollo y Visicitudes del Santuario y Santa Casa de Guadalupe* (Barcelona: Industria Graficas Thomas, 1926), pp. 58-195, 505-529.

[31] D. Demetrio Ramos Perez, "Las Visitas de Colon a Guadalupe y el Cumplimiento del Voto del Viaje de Retorno," in *Guadalupe*, nums. 674-675, 1985, p. 29.

[32] Ramos Perez, "Las Visitas de Colon a Guadalupe...," p. 26. See also Carlos Callejo Serrano, "Santa María de Guadalupe en América," *Guadalupe*, nums. 674-675, pp. 33-44. The important incunable of Columbus's letter, *De Insulis Nuper in Mari Indio Repertis* (Basel, 1494), contains a woodcut of the first "map" of New World territory that shows the Isla de la Concepción de la Santa María.

[33] Gabriel de Talavera, *Historia de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe* (Toledo, 1597), libro III, cap. 11, fol. 168, fol. 178. Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *Historia Verdadera de la Conquista de Nueva España* (Madrid, 1632), cap. 195. See also, Callejo Serrano, "Santa María de Guadalupe en América," *Guadalupe*, nums. 674-675, 1985, p. 40.

[34] Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *Historia Verdadera*, cap. LII.

[35] Edwin E. Sylvest, Jr., *Franciscan Mission Theory in Sixteenth Century New Spain Province of the Holy Gospel* (Washington, D. C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1975), pp. 32,

[36] Controversy concerning the practice of Evangelical poverty as the norm of Franciscan practice developed within the Order even during the lifetime of Francis. In the centuries following his death that controversy resulted in a division within the Order between those who wanted to practice strict poverty, renouncing the right to property and vowing only the most meager use of material goods, and those who held a more relaxed attitude that allowed the use of whatever material goods were deemed necessary by their superiors. The former group, believing themselves to be following the Rule of St. Francis, called themselves

Observants; the latter were called Conventual because they followed the Rule as interpreted by the papacy. In 1517 Pope Leo X recognized the Order of Friars Minor Observant by allowing them the use of the seal of St. Francis and by separating Conventuals as a group into the Order of Friars Minor Conventual. The Franciscans who came to New Spain in the sixteenth century were Observants.

[36] Four of the seven houses in the Province of San Gabriel had been affiliated with the Portuguese Franciscan Province of Piedad, a province that had secured papal permission to observe literally the Rule of St. Francis. For a time Martín had been a part of the Province of Piedad but, eventually under his vow of obedience, he was constrained to return to the Spanish Province of Santiago. While in that province he was named Provincial of San Gabriel.

[37] Sylvest, *Franciscan Mission Theory*, pp. 30-32, 36-37; cf. Angelico Chávez, trans. and ed., *The Oroz Codex* (Washington, D. C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1972), pp. 168-169.

[38] Andres de Guadalupe, *Historia de la Santa Provincia de los Angeles de la Regular Observancia, y Orden de Nuestro Serafico Padre San Francisco* (Madrid, 1662), Cap XIV, p. 21, 23; cf. Sylvest, *Franciscan Mission Theory*, pp. 30-31.

[39] Andrés de Guadalupe, *Historia de la Santa Provincia de los Angeles de la Regular Observancia, y Orden de Nuestro Serafico Padre San Francisco* (En Madrid por Mateo Fernandez, Impresor del Rey Nuestro Señor, 1662), p. 274.

[40] Gabriel de Talavera, *Historia de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe Consagrada a la Soberana Magestad de la Reyna de los Angeles Milagrosa Patrona de este Sanctuario* (Toledo, 1597).

[41] Jacques Lafaye, *Quetzalcóatl and Guadalupe: The Formation of Mexican National Consciousness 1531-1813* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1976), pp. 235-238, 297.

[42] I do not challenge the historicity of the the events of 9-12 December 1531. Even with the important early tradition of the *Nican Mopohua*, the historian, on strictly historical grounds, cannot affirm or deny the nature of what was evidently a miraculously transforming experience for Juan Diego, his uncle, and an entire people. The power of that event does not depend upon material evidence, although material symbols are important witnesses to it. I present only what seems to be the most plausible "natural" explanation for a development that was in itself quite natural, not contrived. The latter point is made with great appreciation for the work of Jacques Lafaye, *Quetzalcóatl and Guadalupe*. Lafaye gives an account (pp. 231-248) that is in some respects similar to my own, but without reference to the *Nican Mopohua* that he had not seen and the existence of which he acknowledged with some tentativeness. Lafaye follows de la Maza in the basic presuppositions sustaining his analysis.

[43] There are those, e.g. Jacques Lafaye, who would date the origins of the cultus to 1648 and Miguel Sánchez's *Imagen de la Virgen María Madre de Dios de Guadalupe* (Mexico, 1648), the first book published concerning Our Lady of Guadalupe. As we shall see, Sánchez's work contributed significantly to the development of the *criollo* cultus that formed the basis of Mexican nationalism in the eighteenth century. Chauvet, however, presents convincing documentary evidence to the contrary; cf. Chauvet, *El Culto Guadalupano del Tepeyac*, p. 136, and "Historia del Culto de Guadalupe," *Album Conmemorativo*, pp. 21-30.

[44] Chauvet, *El Culto Guadalupano del Tepeyac*, pp.137-143.

[45] Sylvest, *Franciscan Mission Theory*, pp. 77-79.

[46] Cf. Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981), pp. 38-42.

[47] Chauvet, *Historia del Culto de Guadalupe*, p. 36.

[48] Jacques Lafaye, *Quetzalcóatl and Guadalupe*, provides an excellent analysis of this process, especially among the *criollos*.

[49] Miguel Sánchez, *Imagen de la Virgen María, Madre de Dios, de Guadalupe Milagrosamente Aparecide en la Ciudad de México* (Mexico, 1648).

[50] Gabriel de Talavera, *Historia*, pp. 140, 230, cites at least two instances in which Our Lady of Guadalupe of Estremadura demonstrated her power over flood and storm at sea. Of course, Columbus's experience and the vow of 14 February 1493 also give evidence of the belief that the Virgin of Estremadura had such power. That same association was fixed in the Mexican devotion with the flood of 1629-1634. The sermon of Luis Beltran, *El Poder Sobre las Aguas...* (Mexico, 1765), preached in this case as an appeal to the Virgin of Tepeyac for rain to deliver the region of Guadalajara from drought, illustrates the strength and persistence of the belief in the eighteenth century.

[51] Chauvet, "Historia del Culto Guadalupano," *Album Conmemorativo*, pp. 48-52.

[52] John Leddy Phelan, *The Millenial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World*, 2nd. edition, revised (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970). While I have some difference with him in the stress he places upon millennial belief among the early Franciscans in Mexico, Phelan is correct in speaking of its importance. The Spiritualism of Joachim of Fiore was clearly an important influence among those first missionaries.

[53] With the accession of Charles V, who was also Holy Roman Emperor (1519-1558), the Austrian Hapsburgs had become the Spanish royal family. They held that position until the beginning of the eighteenth century when the Bourbons of France replaced them.

[54] Miguel Sánchez, *Imagen de la Virgen María, Madre de Dios, de Guadalupe...* (Mexico, 1648); cf. Francisco de la Maza, *El Guadalupanismo Mexicano*, pp. 66-71; and Jacques Lafaye, *Quetzalcóatl and Guadalupe*, pp. 251-253.

[55] Francisco de la Maza, *El Guadalupanismo Mexicano*, p. 54; Jacques Lafaye, *Quetzalcóatl and Guadalupe*, p. 299, maintains, "The cult of Guadalupe is the central theme of the history of creole consciousness or Mexican patriotism. Every study of that subject must inevitably lead to that cult or take it as its point of departure."

[56] Jacques Lafaye, *Quetzalcóatl and Guadalupe*, p. 110.

[57] Fidel de Jesús Chauvet, *Album Conmemorativo*, p. 66. Our Lady of Guadalupe has subsequently been crowned pontifically (1895) and recognized as patron of all Latin America (1910).