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**Fervent Faith.
Devotion, Aesthetics, and Society
in the Cult of Our Lady of Remedios
(Mexico, 1520-1811)**

Abstract

This study examines the cult of Our Lady of Remedios from an art-historical perspective. Choosing this specific cult statue as a case study is not arbitrary: Remedios is among the oldest Marian images in the New World and was named first patroness of Mexico City in 1574, when the city council became the patron of her shrine and a confraternity was founded to better disseminate the cult. As a result, the statue was carried fifty-seven times through the streets of New Spain's capital in three hundred years (an average of one procession every five years), thus outnumbering any other religious event that was not part of the liturgical calendar. The fame of Our Lady of Remedios was closely linked to her role as *Socia Belli* of the Spanish army, as she was believed to have protected Hernán Cortés and his allies during the conquest of Mexico-Tenochtitlán in 1520-21. Her character as protector in times of war was enhanced in the centuries to come, when she was called to the city on every occasion when the Spanish Crown was involved in military campaigns. Her protection, however, was mainly requested in times of drought and epidemics, a reason for which her fame as protectress of the city grew intensively,

and all sectors of society (Spanish, Indians, and Castas) followed her with the same fervent faith.

This dissertation is a monographic study of a miraculous image that has hitherto been overlooked in the history of colonial religiosity of New Spain despite its symbolic relevance for the society of its time. It considers the sixteenth-century statue and the ways it was displayed to its devotional audiences as documents that inform us about its social role. By placing this cult image in the ritual context to which it belonged, both spatial and spiritual, this study considers the devotional gaze with which her devotees engaged her showing how devotion, aesthetics and politics were intertwined during colonial Mexico.

Table of Contents

Introduction	1
Chapter One: Sacred Materiality	35
The Statue of Our Lady of Remedios	
Rituals of Sacredness	
Copies of the Sacred	
Conclusion	
Chapter Two: The Legend in the Making	94
Sixteenth-Century Sources	
Alonso de Villasana's Lost Program	
Seventeenth-Century Sources	
Luis de Cisneros' <i>Historia</i>	
Eighteenth-Century Sources	
Nineteenth-Century Sources	
Conclusion	
Chapter Three: Indigenous Devotion and the Shrine of Remedios	209
Transformations of the Building	
Display of the Image at the Shrine	
Pre-Columbian Elements in the Cult	
Mayahuel	
Devotees from the Surroundings	
Conclusion	

Chapter Four: Processions Shaping Mexico City’s Symbolic Geography	249
Grounds for the Occasion	
The Path’s Ritual	
Participants and Beneficiaries	
Conclusion	
Epilogue: Mexico City’s Appropriation of the Cult	285
The City Council’s Jurisdictional Rights	
The Confraternity of Our Lady of Remedios	
Display of the Image at the Cathedral	
Conclusion	
Concluding Remarks	313
 Appendix 1: Locations in Spain that have	
<i>Nuestra Señora de los Remedios</i> as patroness.....	317
Appendix 2: Description of Villasana’s paintings by Luis de Cisneros.....	321
Appendix 3: Description of Villasana’s paintings by Captain Betancur.....	342
Appendix 4: 1675 inventory of the shrine.....	344
Appendix 5: List of towns summoned to the 1751 festival at the shrine.....	354
Appendix 6: Transcription of the indulgences sheets from 1636 and 1797.....	356
 Sources	359

List of Illustrations

- Figure I. 1:** *Our Lady of Remedios during the festival of September 1st, 2011*, Basílica de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, Naucalpan, Estado de Mexico. Picture by author
- Figure I. 2:** Miguel Cabrera, (1695-1768). *Finding of Our Lady of Remedios*, ca. 1750. Church of Merced de las Huertas, Mexico City
- Figure I. 3:** Unknown Author. *Exvoto de las hijas de San Ignacio*, early nineteenth century. Museo de las Vizcaínas, Mexico City
- Figure I. 4:** Unknown Author. *Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, also called Virgen del Buen Remedio. Patroness of the Trinitarian order*, late eighteenth century. Convent of Trinitarias, Burjasot, Valencia
- Figure I. 5:** Unknown Sevillian Author. *Santa María de los Remedios*, early fifteenth century. *Trascoro* of the Cathedral of Seville
- Figure I. 6:** Unknown Author. *Nuestra Señora de los Remedios*, ca. 1497. Shrine of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, Fregenal de la Sierra, Badajoz
- Figure I. 7:** Unknown Author. *Nuestra Señora de los Remedios* ca. 1497 (without clothes). Shrine of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, Fregenal de la Sierra, Badajoz
- Figure I. 8:** Unknown Sevillian Author. *Nuestra Señora de los Remedios*, ca. 1500. Shrine of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, San Cristobal de La Laguna, Tenerife
- Figure I. 9:** Unknown Sevillian Author. *Nuestra Señora de los Remedios*, ca. 1500 (without clothes). Shrine of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, San Cristobal de La Laguna, Tenerife
- Figure I. 10:** Marcos Zapata, c. 1710-1773. *Virgen de los Remedios del Espíritu Santo*. Church of La Almudena, Cuzco
- Figure I. 11:** Unknown Author. *Virgen de los Remedios*, ca. 1650. Convent of Santa Catalina, Cuzco
- Figure I. 12:** Unknown Author. *Virgen de los Remedios*, seventeenth century. Church of Canincunca, Urcos
- Figure I. 13:** Unknown Author. *Nuestra Señora de los Remedios*, ca. 1530. Shrine of

Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, Zitácuaro, Michoacán

Figure I. 14: Unknown Author. *Shrine of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios of Cholula (Puebla) on top of the old pyramid*, built in the early seventeenth century. Collection of the University of California, San Diego



Figure 1.1: Unknown Author, *Our Lady of Remedios*, ca. 1500. Basílica de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, Naucalpan, Estado de Mexico

Figure 1.2: Unknown Author, *Our Lady of Remedios (without clothes)*, ca. 1500.

Basílica de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, Naucalpan, Estado de Mexico

Figure 1.3: Unknown Author from Mechelen. *La conquistadora*, ca. 1500. Church of San Francisco, Puebla City

Figure 1. 4: Unknown Author. *Poupée de Malines*, ca. 1500. De Pauw-Muller Antiquairs, Gent

Figure 1. 5: Unknown Author from Mechelen. *The Virgin and Child*, ca. 1500-1510. The Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Figure 1. 6: Unknown Author from Belgium. *Virgin and Child*, early 16th century. Saint Louis Art Museum, Saint Louis

Figure 1.7: Unknown Author from Mechelen. *The Child Jesus*, ca. 1500. Musée du Louvre, Paris

Figure 1. 8: Unknown Author. *Our Lady of Remedios without the Child*, ca. 1500.

Basílica de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, Naucalpan, Estado de México

Figure 1. 9: Unknown Author. *Nuestra Señora de los Remedios (also known as Nuestra Señora de la Visitación)*, ca. 1520. Main Altarpiece of the church of the Visitación, Tepepan, Mexico City

Figure 1. 10: Unknown Author. *Nuestra Señora de los Remedios (also known as Nuestra Señora de la Visitación)*, ca. 1520. Façade of the church of the Visitación, Tepepan, Mexico City

Figure 1. 11: Unknown Author. *Nuestra Señora de la Fuensanta*, ca. 1480. Santuario de Nuestra Señora, Coín, Málaga

Figure 1. 12: Unknown Author. *Nuestra Señora de las Batallas*, ca. 12th century. Crypt of Seville's cathedral, Seville

- Figure 1. 13:** Unknown Author. *Nuestra Señora de Gracia*, ca. 13th century. Sanctuary of Nuestra Señora, Carmona, Seville
- Figure 1. 14:** Unknown Author. *Nuestra Señora del Villar*, ca. end of 12th century. Monasterio de Santa María de Carrizo, León
- Figure 1. 15:** Unknown Author. *Nuestra Señora de Pandorado*, ca. 13th century. Pandorado, León
- Figure 1. 16:** Unknown Author. *Nuestra Señora de las Aguas*, ca. 13th century. Monasterio de Gradefes, León
- Figures 1. 17:** Unknown Author. *Nuestra Señora de la Salud*, ca. 1540. Basílica de Nuestra Señora de la Salud, Pátzcuaro, Michoacán
- Figures 1. 18:** Unknown Author. *Nuestra Señora de la Salud* (without clothes), ca. 1540. Basílica de Nuestra Señora de la Salud, Pátzcuaro, Michoacán
- Figure 1. 19:** Unknown Flemish Author. *Saint Lucy*, ca. 1500. Puntallana church, Canary Islands
- Figure 1.20:** Unknown Author. *Modern Copy of Our Lady of Remedios* (detail), 2011. Picture by Author
- Figure 1. 21:** Unknown German Author. *Maria im Ahrenkleid*, ca. 1460. Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich
- Figure 1. 22:** Unknown Author. *The virgin Tota Pulchra*, early sixteenth century. Church of San Saturnino, Artajona, Navarre
- Figure 1. 23:** Pyeter Damcart. *Assumption of the Virgin*, ca. 1500. Main altarpiece of Seville Cathedral
- Figure 1. 24:** Unknown Author. *Assumption of Mary*, ca. 1550. Parroquia de Asunción de María, Milpa Alta, Mexico City
- Figure 1. 25:** Unknown Author. *Assumption of Mary*, ca. 1620. Print included in friar Luis de Cisneros' *Historia de el Origen...de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios*, published in México, by Juan Blanco de Alcaçar, 1621
- Figure 1. 26:** Unknown Author. *Nuestra Señora de Zapopan*, ca. 1550. Shrine of Our Lady, Zapopan, Jalisco
- Figures 1. 27 and 1. 28:** Unknown Author. *Nuestra Señora de los Remedios around 1930, before the 1940 restoration*. Collection of Coordinación de

Monumentos Históricos del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia,
Mexico City

Figure 1. 29: Unknown Author. *Apparition of Our Lady of Remedios*, 18th century.

Museo de la Casa Profesa, Mexico City

Figure 1. 30: Unknown Author. *Preparing Drawing for brass medals*, 18th century.

Archivo Histórico del Distrito Federal, Mexico City

Figure 1. 31: Manuel de Villavicencio, active 1753-1788. *Finding of Our Lady of*

Remedios. Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City

Figure 1. 32: Unknown Author. *Finding of Our Lady of Remedios*, ca. 1771. Detail of

the Summary of Indulgencias granted to the Confraternity of Our Lady of

Remedios (The full summary is reproduced in **Figure E: 4**). Archivo

Histórico del Distrito Federal, Mexico City

Figure 1. 33: Frontispiece of *Descripción de la Venida y Buelta de la Milagrosa Imagen de*

Nuestra Señora de los Remedios by Alfonso de Ena, published in Mexico by
Juan Ruiz in 1668

Figure 1.34: Frontispiece of *Métrica Relación de la Solemnidad con que esta Ilustre*

ciudad recibió la Milagrosa Imagen de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, by

Alfonso Carrillo de Albornoz y Guzmán published in Mexico by the heirs of

Juan Ruyz in 1678

Figure 1. 35: Frontispiece of *Acordes rendimientos, afectos numerosos que continuando*

con su devoción escribe el Bachiller D. Diego de Ribera presbítero a la

duodécima vez que la milagrosa imagen de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios

vino a la ciudad de México a 30 de Mayo de 1678 published in Mexico by

Bernardo Calderon's widow in 1678

Figure 1. 36: Frontispiece of *Descripcion de la solemne venida de la imagen milagrosa*

de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios a esta nobilissima ciudad de Mexico este

presente año de 1685 by Pedro Muñoz de Castro published in México by

Juan de Ribera in 1685

Figure 1. 37: Frontispiece of *La milagrosa invención de un tesoro escondido* by

Francisco de Florencia published in Mexico by Maria de Benavides in 1685

Figure 1. 38: Juan Correa. *Our Lady of Remedios*, ca. 1700. San Pedro de la Rúa parish church, Estella, Navarra

Figure 1. 39: Unknown Author. *Our Lady of Remedios*, 1636. Detail of the Summary of Indulgencias granted to the Confraternity of Our Lady of Remedios (The full summary is reproduced in **Figure E: 3**). Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City

Figure 1. 40: Unknown Author. *Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, Patrona y Especial Protectora de la Ciudad de México*, ca. 1795. Museo Soumaya, Mexico City

Figure 1.41: Unknown Author. *Our Lady of Remedios*, ca. 1809. Included in the novena *Iris Americano* by Josef María Deza published in Mexico by Imprenta de Arizpe in 1809

Figure 1. 42: Unknown Author. *Our Lady of Remedios with apparitions* in the frontispiece of *Amoroso Canto que con reverentes afectos continuando su devoción escribe el Bachiler Don Diego de Ribera Presbitero a la Novena Venida que hizo a esta Nobilissima Ciudad de Mexico la Milagrosa Imagen de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios* published in Mexico, by Bernardo Calderón's widow in 1663

Figure 1. 43: José Navarro. *Miracle of the column performed by Nuestra Señora de los Remedios* ca. 1689, detail of *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe Altarpiece*. Church of San Jerónimo Tlacoahuaya, Oaxaca



Figure 2.1: Unknown Author. *Banner of Hernán Cortés*, ca. 1518. Museo Nacional de Historia, Mexico City

Figure 2.2: Unknown Author. *Santa Cruz Map, also known as the Uppsala Map* (detail), ca. 1555. Uppsala University, Uppsala

Figure 2.3: José Juárez, attribution. *Translation of the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe to the first chapel and first miracle*, ca. 1650. Museo de la Basílica de Guadalupe, Mexico City

Figure 2.4: José Juárez, attribution. *Procession from Tlatelolco to Tepeyac requesting Our Lady of Guadalupe's help in time of the epidemic of Cocolixtle*, ca. 1650. Museo de la Basílica de Guadalupe, Mexico City

- Figure 2.5:** Unknown Author. *The three Graces*, 1st century CE (Roman copy of a Hellenistic Greek original, wall painting from Pompeii). Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, Naples
- Figure 2. 6:** Sandro Boticcelli. *Primavera* (detail), ca. 1478. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence
- Figure 2.7:** Unknown Peruvian Author. *Miraculous apparition of the Virgin in Cuzco*, 17th century. Complejo Museográfico Enrique Udaondo, Luján,
- Figure 2.8:** Baccio Baldini. *The Tiburtine Sibyl*, ca. 1510. The Illustrated Bartsch. Vol. 24, Early Italian Masters
- Figure 2.9:** Unknown Author. *Sibyl Persica*, ca. 1505. Included in Felippo di Barbieri's *Sibyllarum de Christo vaticinia* published in Venice by Bernardinum Benalium in 1505
- Figure 2.10:** Unknown Author. *Sibyl Delphica*, ca. 1505. Included in Felippo di Barbieri's *Sibyllarum de Christo vaticinia* published in Venice by Bernardinum Benalium in 1505
- Figure 2.11:** Unknown Author. *Sibyl Cumana*, ca. 1505. Included in Felippo di Barbieri's *Sibyllarum de Christo vaticinia* published in Venice by Bernardinum Benalium in 1505
- Figure 2.12:** Manuel Caro. *Miracle of Virgin of Ocotlán*, 1781. Shrine of Nuestra Señora de Ocotlán, Tlaxcala
- Figure 2. 13:** José Navarro. *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe Altarpiece*, ca. 1689. Church of San Jerónimo Tlacoahuaya, Oaxaca
- Figure 2. 14:** Lucas van Leyden (1494-1533). *Esther Before Asuerus*, 1518. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
- Figure 2.15:** Antonio Tempesta (1555-1630). *Miriam Leading the Song of Praise at Deliverance* (Exodus 15:20). The Illustrated Bartsch. Vol. 35: Italian Masters of the Sixteenth Century
- Figure 2. 16:** Samuel Stradanus. *Indulgence Sheet for Those Who Help Refurbishing the*

Shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe, ca. 1622. Museo Franz Mayer, Mexico City

Figure 2. 17: Samuel Stradanus. *Indulgence Sheet for Those Who Help Refurbishing the Shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe* (detail), ca. 1622. Museo Franz Mayer, Mexico City

Figure 2.18: Frontispiece of *Historia de el principio y origen...de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios* by Luis de Cisneros published in México by Juan Blanco de Alcaçar in 1621

Figure 2. 19: Frontispiece to the second edition of *La milagrosa Invención de un tesoro Escondido* by Francisco de Florencia published in Seville by the Imprenta de las Siete Revueltas in 1745

Figure 2. 20: Frontispiece of *Lo Máximo en lo Mínimo* by Ignacio Carrillo y Pérez, published in México by Mariano de Zuñiga y Ontiveros in 1808



Figure 3.1: Enrico Martínez. *Map showing the draining of the Lake of Mexico* (detail), ca. 1608. Archivo General de Indias, Seville

Figure 3.2: Luis Márquez Romay. *The shrine of Our Lady of Remedios* (detail), ca. 1930. Collection of Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas-UNAM, Mexico City

Figure 3. 3: *Plaque locating the exact site of the finding of the statue.* Shrine of Our Lady of Remedios' interior. Picture by author

Figure 3. 4: Unknown Author. *Caracol*, eighteenth century structure, part of the hydraulic system to bring water to the shrine of Our Lady of Remedios. Picture by author

Figure 3. 5: Unknown Author. *Aqueduct close to the shrine of Our Lady of Remedios.* Watercolor from ca. 1780. Archivo Histórico del Distrito Federal, Mexico City

Figure 3. 6: Mayahuel in *Fejévary-Mayer Codex*

Figure 3. 7: Mayahuel in *Borgia Codex*, 6

Figure 3. 8: Mayahuel in *Laúd Codex*

Figure 3. 9: Mayahuel in *Codex Borbonicus*

Figure 3. 10: Mayahuel in *Codex Ríos*

Figure 3. 11: Mayahuel in *Codex Vatican B*

Figure 3. 12: Mayahuel in *Codex Borgia*, 68

Figure 3. 13: *Some of the towns summoned to the 1751 festival within the Toluca and Mexico valleys.* Map of the *Intendencia de México*, taken from Dorothy Tanck Estrada, *Atlas ilustrado de los pueblos de Indios: Nueva España, 1800*, 110-111.

Figure 3. 14: *Political Division in 1786 showing the Alcaldías Mayores, marking those 30 where the towns summoned in 1751 to the Remedios' main festival were located.* Map drawn by Reginald Piggott, taken from Peter Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain*, 16.

Figure 3. 15: *Native Languages in 1519, marking the area where the towns summoned in 1751 to the Remedios' main festival were located.* Map drawn by Reginald Piggott, taken from Peter Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain*, 6.

Figure 3. 16: José María Velázquez. *Nuestra Señora de los Remedios*, 1824. Bryce and Elaine Bannatyne Collection, Santa Monica, California



Figure 4: 1: Unknown author. *View of Mexico City*, ca. 1760. Museo Nacional de Historia, Mexico City



Figure E. 1: Unknown Author. *The three Coats of Arms at the Shrine of Our Lady of Remedios*, 1671. Archivo Nacional de Indias, Seville

Figure E. 2: Unknown Author. *The three Coats of Arms at the shrine of Our Lady of Remedios* (detail), 1671. Archivo Nacional de Indias, Seville

Figure E. 3: Unknown Author. *Summary of Indulgencias granted to the Confraternity of Our Lady of Remedios*, 1636. Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City

Figure E. 4: Unknown Author. *Summary of Indulgencias granted to the Confraternity of*

Our Lady of Remedios, 1771. Archivo Histórico del Distrito Federal, Mexico City

Figure E. 5: Unknown Author. *Patente de la Cofradía de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios y Caridad established at the Saint Catherine Martyr church*, ca. 1753. Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City

Figure E. 6: Unknown Author. *Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, Patroness of Mexico City*, 18th century. Collection of Pablo Amador, Mexico City

Para Marta Isabel, a setenta años de
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Para Miguel Ángel, tan vivo
como siempre en mi corazón.

Para Bebuah Sophia, por la confianza
que implica tu existencia.

Para Matías, por tus ojos de luz y tu sonrisa.
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INTRODUCTION

The sacred geography of the territory now known as Mexico was, during the period of Spanish rule (1521-1821), comprised of numerous cult images, many of which were believed to be miraculous. Marian and Christological statues, along with others depiction of saints, were important constituents of New Spanish society as they were the focus of devotional, economic, and political practices. Those works were at the intersection of belief and material culture, and thus functioned as the link between the numinous and the earthly.

This dissertation examines the cult of one such miraculous image: Our Lady of Remedios (Figure 1). Choosing this specific cult statue as a case study was not arbitrary: the Virgin of Remedios was named first patroness of New Spain's capital in 1574, when the city council took over the patronage of her shrine and a confraternity was founded to better disseminate the cult. As a consequence, the statue was carried through Mexico City's streets fifty-seven times in three hundred years (an average of one procession every five years), thus outnumbering any other religious event that was not part of the liturgical calendar. Our Lady of Remedios' shrine was located roughly seven miles northwest of the capital, at the site where Hernán Cortés and his soldiers allegedly rested and found solace while fleeing Mexico City the night of June 30, 1520 during the so-called *Noche Triste* battle, a key moment of the conquest of the Mexica empire.¹

¹ The battle of *Noche Triste* was the only occasion when the Spaniards fell to the Mexica. That battle took place when the Spaniards decided to flee the city during the night and were discovered by the locals. Cortés had just returned from the port of Veracruz where he defeated the forces of Pánfilo de Nárvaez, a Spanish soldier loyal to Diego de Narvaez, the governor of Cuba and former supervisor of Cortés. While Cortés was away, Pedro de Alvarado, second to Cortés, attacked the Mexica as they were performing a religious ritual. Upon returning to the city, Cortés decided to leave when he felt his situation was compromised after Moctezuma, the Mexica *Tilatoani*, or ruler, was "accidentally" killed by his own men. The Spanish army and its Tlaxcaltecan allies left the city through the Tacuba Avenue, as they were being chased by the Mexica; at some point, for unknown reasons, the Mexica stopped the pursuit, which in the Spanish



Figure I. 1: *Our Lady of Remedios during the festival of September 1st, 2011, Basílica de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, Naucalpan, Estado de Mexico. Picture by author*

The fame of Our Lady of Remedios as the *Socia Belli*² who helped defeat the Aztec grew even stronger when chroniclers started to spread the idea that she had also appeared

perspective was due to the protection of the Virgin Mary. According to the chronicles, the Spanish stopped that night at the Totoltepec Hill, where the shrine of the Virgin of Remedios is located (See Chapter Two). After spending a night and a day recovering there, where they were allegedly fed and assisted by the local indigenous population, the Spaniards were able to escape the valley with the help of the Indians of Tlaxcala, their main allies, who also fought alongside them during the final siege of the all-powerful Mexico-Tenochtitlan. Officially, the city fell to Cortés on August 13, 1521, a day that coincided with the feast of Saint Hippolyte, who was henceforth named patron of the conquest.

² For the term *Socia Belli* as a symbolic partner in wartime derived from the image of the Roman deity of war *Bellona*, see Máximo Gómez Rascón, *Theothókos: Vírgenes medievales de la Diócesis de León* (León: Edilesa, 1996).

miraculously in the midst of the battle, along with the figure of Saint James, throwing dust into the Indians' eyes.³ Because of this, I argue that the cult that developed around Remedios was always attached to the memory of the conquest and thus was a celebration of the subsequent founding of Mexico City as a colonial entity. This dissertation approaches the history of Our Lady of Remedios from an art-historical perspective, and therefore considers both the material aspect of the Spanish sixteenth-century statue, as well as the ways in which it was presented to its devotional audiences (in Mexico City's cathedral, at the shrine, and during its processional life). This approach draws on the work of both art historians and historians, including Hans Belting, David Freedberg,⁴ and Peter Burke, Michel Camille,⁵ and Felipe Pereda, who in many ways have emphasized the relevance of considering the function, ritual context, and response that devotional audiences granted to cult images. In keeping with their approach, I assume that religious objects function as avenues of the sacred, and that they need be considered within that realm, even when also used for political purposes. This is what has led me to attempt to place Our Lady of Remedios within the ritual context in which she belongs, both spatial

³ This legend of Marian apparitions during battles against infidels became common in the context of the Reconquista. See Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003).

⁴ Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image Before the Era of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in The History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

⁵ Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001); Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

and spiritually, and try to consider as much as possible the devotional gaze with which her devotees engaged her.⁶

The span of this dissertation connects the two most popular moments in the history of Our Lady of Remedios: the conquest that initiated the colonization process, and the moment when the Spanish rule began to collapse, as represented in two paintings (Figures 2 and 3). The first one features the most famous iconography of this miraculous image, showing her under a maguey plant, as legend has it that the Indian *cacique* (Indian nobleman) Juan Ce Cuautli Tovar found the statue around 1540, twenty years after it was hidden there by the Spanish conquistador Juan Rodriguez Villafuerte, who brought it from Spain to protect him while in battle. The second one shows Remedios as *La Generala* (female general), symbolizing the role she was believed to play in 1810 as protector of the Spanish army that fought against the rebellion headed by the priest Miguel Hidalgo which led to the independence of Mexico. If in earlier images Remedios is a statue found in a local landscape by a local indigenous man in the post-conquest context (Figure 2), at the end of the colonial period she is depicted with the military regalia with which the statue was adorned to highlight her belligerent role (Figure 3).

⁶ Another major theoretical influence of this dissertation is the introduction (not signed) of the anthology *La imagen religiosa en la monarquía hispánica: Usos y espacios*, ed. María Cruz de Carlos Varona (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2008).



Figure I. 2: Miguel Cabrera, (1695-1768). *Finding of Our Lady of Remedios*, ca. 1750.
Church of Merced de las Huertas, Mexico City



Figure I. 3: Unknown Author. *Exvoto de las hijas de San Ignacio*, early nineteenth century.
Museo de las Vizcaínas, Mexico City

Indeed, these two moments represent the most common ways in which Our Lady of Remedios was traditionally understood. However, this oversimplification had turned her role into “a source of misunderstandings,”⁷ as the historian William B. Taylor has recently argued. Thus, the aim of this study is to show the intricacies, and even contradictions, of the image’s unique context to more fully grasp the relevance of this Marian cult in the social life of New Spain’s capital.

An important decision in developing this study was to avoid as much as possible references with the most popular Marian image of Mexico: the Virgin of Guadalupe. This decision was made to avoid continuing to view Remedios as Guadalupe’s enemy. This dichotomy Guadalupe-Remedios was born mainly out of the role that both images played during the war of Independence, where Remedios was conceived as *La Gachupina*, the foreigner, the imposed Virgin, in contrast to Guadalupe who was the *Criolla*, or local image, seen as the banner of the independents army and more than apt to represent the identity of the new nation. However, since the cult of Guadalupe has been studied in much detail, I constantly allude to certain elements shared by the two cults.

Based mainly on Friar Luis de Cisneros, who wrote the first chronicle of Our Lady of Remedios, which also stands as the first Marian chronicle to be written in the Americas,⁸ but adding elements from other authors, the legend regarding the origin of Our Lady of Remedios included the following moments:

⁷ William B. Taylor, "La Virgen de Guadalupe, Nuestra Señora de los Remedios y la cultura política del periodo de la Independencia," in *México en tres momentos, 1810-1910-2010: Hacia la conmemoración del bicentenario de la Independencia y del centenario de la Revolución Mexicana: Retos y perspectivas*, ed. Alicia Mayer (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México-Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas-Comisión Universitaria para los Festejos del Bicentenario de la Independencia y del Centenario de la Revolución Mexicana, 2007)

⁸ Luis de Cisneros, *Historia de el Principio y Origen, Progresos, Venidas a México y Milagros de la Santa Ymagen de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios Extramuros de México*, edited by Francisco Miranda (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán, 1999 [1621]).

1. Spanish soldier Juan Rodríguez Villafuerte brings the statue of Our Lady of Remedios to the New World.
2. Hernán Cortés places the statue atop the Main Temple of Mexico-Tenochtitlán. Through her intercession rain falls, to the surprise of the Mexica.
3. When the Indians try to remove the statue from the temple, their hands get stuck on it. This is considered the first miracle performed by the Virgin.
4. Our Lady of Remedios appears during the *Noche Triste* battle of June 30, 1520, casting dust in the eyes of the Mexica as the Spaniards were fleeing Mexico-Tenochtitlán,. The Spaniards recover from the defeat at a *cu* (temple) located in the Totoltepec hill thanks to the protection for the Virgin, which is considered is her second miracle.
5. Juan Rodríguez Villafuerte leaves the statue in the place where the Spaniards recovered from the defeat, before a Tlaxcaltecan man shows them the way back to Tlaxcala to plan the final siege of the Mexica capital. None of the accounts state how the soldier recovered the statue, allegedly placed at the top of the temple.
6. A cacique named Juan Ce Cuautli Tovar has visions of a woman while walking at Totoltepec hill. He recognizes that visual image as the woman who appeared to him and his fellow soldiers when they were chasing the Spaniards during the Noche Triste battle.
7. He communicates his visions to the Franciscan friars of Tacuba, but they do not believe him.
8. While helping build the San Gabriel Church in Tacuba town, a Franciscan temple, Juan is hurt by a pillar that falls over his head. The Virgin preventing him from

dying and healed him miraculously with a belt that she handed to him. This is the first miracle performed to Juan.

9. Juan finds the image under—or in—a maguey around 1540. During the next 12 years Juan keeps the statue at his home, offering it food and water, and adorning the domestic altar where he placed her with flowers. Despite his solicitude, the statue continually goes back to the hill where he found her. Juan puts the statue in a box and sleeps on it, trying to prevent the statue from escaping to the hill.
10. Not understanding why the Virgin is not pleased at his home, Juan asks the help of the schoolmaster of Mexico City's cathedral, don Álvaro Tremiño, who visits the statue in Juan's home, suggesting he should take it to the church of the town of San Juan Totoltepec to be venerated in a more proper place. The statue stays in San Juan for about a year.
11. Juan falls terribly ill for unknown reasons. About to die, he asks his family to take him to the shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe, where he asks the Virgin Mary for help. The Virgin reproves him: "Why are you coming to my house after you send me away from yours? You should have left me there where you found me instead of taking me to a strange site." The second recovery of his health is the second miracle performed for Juan.
12. Juan conveys the Virgin's request to the people of San Juan, who agree to build a small chapel on the top of the hill, exactly where the statue was found and the *cruz* was placed. For some chronicles this primitive chapel was built years earlier following the wish of Hernán Cortés himself.

13. A black boy named Julián, the slave of Gabriel López, the first *mayordomo* (caretaker) of the chapel, is the first one to see the appearance of angels at the top of the Totoltepec hill building a chapel. This vision recurs for many years the night of August 21, the feast of Saint Hippolyte. This is the third miracle of Our Lady of Remedios, which signals her true character of Remedios as *Socia Belli*.
14. In early 1574 Juan García de Albornoz, the main architect of Mexico City, finds out about the statue and its fame, requesting the city council to take over the image's tutelage to prevent the image from falling into oblivion. In November of that same year, the patronage is granted to the city by Martín Enriquez (fourth viceroy of New Spain who ruled from November 5, 1568 until October 3, 1580). The city council refurbishes the chapel in 1575, and few month later a confraternity is founded to control and promote the cult and a year later same year that

Our Lady of Remedios' Historiography

This study represents the first comprehensive examination of the cult of Our Lady of Remedios. I examine devotional practices in tandem with the aesthetic elements of both the statue and the cult, as well as the social implications of the processional life of the Virgin, and the political and economic role of the confraternity established in 1575 to help promote the cult to this statue. Yet, my work is indebted to several historians.

During the twentieth century the first historians to devote more significant attention to Our Lady of Remedios were Jesús García Gutiérrez and Miguel Flores Solís.⁹ Although

⁹ Miguel Flores Solís, *Nuestra Señora de los Remedios* (Mexico City: Editorial Jus, 1972); Jesús García Gutiérrez, *Datos históricos sobre la venerable imagen de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios de México* (Mexico City, unknown publisher 1940).

their books set up to provide a historical account of the image,¹⁰ they are strongly tinged with a devotional feeling that recalls the chronicles written during the colonial period studied in detail in Chapter Two. Nevertheless, they both provide useful data. García Gutiérrez, for instance included the number of processions made by the statue to Mexico City (discussed in Chapter 4), and the list of all chaplains at the shrine. Flores Solís discussed the role of the Virgin as the patroness of the first diocese of New Spain, established in 1518, and provided valuable comparisons with other images in other areas in Mexico, that also share the name of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios like those venerated in Zacatecas (allegedly another image brought by the conquistadors), San Luis Potosí, Comonfort (Guanajuato), Guadalupe (Durango), and Talpuhahua (Michoacán).

Although García Gutiérrez briefly mentioned the confraternity of Our Lady of Remedios in his text, the first studies that attempted to analyze its political and economic structure were the B.A. theses by Jesús Antonio García Olivera and Anabell Violeta Rodríguez Apreza from the 1990s.¹¹ Both studies were based on the rich documentation at Mexico City's Historical Archive (Archivo Histórico del Distrito Federal, AHDF), which contains a wealth of information about the meetings of the confraternity, the process of elections of its leading members, and the financial records from the late seventeenth century up to 1857, when the brotherhood was dissolved. Rodríguez Apreza's study, however, unfortunately, did not include a critical evaluation of the documents,

¹⁰ García Gutiérrez appears to have been a member of the Spanish Academy of History, according to how he is listed in his book.

¹¹ Jesús Antonio García Olivera, *Nuestra Señora de los Remedios: Su culto y cofradía* (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, B. A., 1991); Anabell Violeta Rodríguez Apreza, *Cofradía de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios* (Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia, B. A., 1999).

even if it presented useful tables that synthesized the information.¹² García Olivera's main argument was far more adventurous. He aimed to prove the cult's strong links to the Otomí culture located at the Totoltepec hill, and interpreted the numerous processions that brought the statue of Remedios into Mexico City from its distant shrine as an appropriation of the cult by the Spanish crown. Both ideas were subsequently developed by other historians.

The historian Linda Curcio-Nagy, for instance, proposed that the Spanish crown symbolically seized the cult and image, downplaying the role of the city council as the official steward of the statue and shrine.¹³ She perceived a transformation of the image, from "Native Icon to Protectress of the City to Royal Patroness," an argument, based on my findings, that is not entirely accurate. Nonetheless, her study is valuable insofar as she is the first American historian to devote attention to the cult. However, it is the historian William B. Taylor who has gone furthest in analyzing the cult. Although he emphasized the local character of the image, at the same time he made evident its broader relevance in New Spain by contextualizing the development of the cult in relation to the history of the Spanish Empire as a whole. In this way he successfully has integrated the "politics of faith" with the true devotional underpinnings of the cult. Taylor is also the first author to consider in detail the alms that were collected at the Remedios shrine, as well as other

¹² Rodríguez Apreza subsequently wrote her master's thesis on the development of the cult in contemporary Mexico. See Anabell Violeta Rodríguez Apreza, "La permanencia del culto a nuestra Señora de los Remedios" (Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Iztapalapa, M. A., 2001).

¹³ Linda A. Curcio-Nagy, "Native Icon to Protectress to Royal Patroness: Ritual, Political Symbolism and the Virgin of Remedies," *The Americas* 52, no. 3 (January 1996): 367-391. This article stems from her dissertation, completed in 1993 at Tulane University, and subsequently published as *The Great Festivals of Colonial Mexico City: Performing Power and Identity* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004).

types of revenues, to suggest the popularity of the cult within the population of Mexico City and its environs.¹⁴

Taylor's interest on Remedios developed out of his work on the Virgin of Guadalupe. However, he has argued, for many years, that the sacred landscape of New Spain was much more complex and that it extended well beyond this famous image, and that the flurry of other devotions were not perceived as antagonist, but instead as complementary to Guadalupe. Based also on comparisons with Guadalupe, three other historians have contributed to our understanding of Remedios. One of the richest studies is by the historian Francisco Miranda.¹⁵ To the material at AHDF he added documents from Archivo General de Indias (AGI) and the Archivo General de la Nación (AGN) that helped him sketch out a more complex panorama of the early development of the cult up to 1649. He pointed out the significant role that the indigenous communities that lived around the shrine played in the first stage of the cult's evolution. Along the same lines, the historian Solange Alberro focused on Remedios in comparison to Guadalupe in a 1997 article, explaining that if Guadalupe became much more popular than Remedios it was because she was considered to be made by divine hands, whereas Remedios was said only to have appeared to an Indian, leaving a statue left behind.¹⁶ Alberro argued that the first image that Cortés placed on a Indian temple or *cu* in Yucatán, upon his landing

¹⁴ The section about Remedios is based on his 2007 article (see note 8 of this introduction).

¹⁵ Francisco Miranda, *Dos cultos fundantes: Los Remedios y Guadalupe, 1521-1649: Historia documental* (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán, 2001). It was recently republished as *La Virgen de los Remedios. Origen y desarrollo de un culto. 1521-1684* (Zamora: Morevallado Editores, 2009).

¹⁶ Solange Alberro, "Remedios y Guadalupe: De la unión a la discordia," in *Manifestaciones religiosas en el mundo colonial Americano*, ed. Clara García Ayuardo and Manuel Ramos Medina (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia-Universidad Iberoamericana, 1997). See also María Dolores Bravo Arriaga, "Los Remedios y Guadalupe; dos imágenes rivales y una sola virgen," *Revista de la Universidad de México*, no. 499 (1992), which takes the same comparative approach.

from Cuba, was a statue of Our Lady of Remedios, and that from that moment on, this image of Mary was believed to be able to bring rain. She also noted that the earliest mention of the shrine at Totoltepec is 1528, and accepted that common view the location was inhabited by Otomí people and hence also known as Otomcapulco. In her book *El águila y la cruz: orígenes religiosos de la conciencia criolla. México, siglos XVI-XVII* of 1999, Alberro also discussed the Otomí presence in the cult's practices related to Remedios, and argued that her legend and iconography, including the local maguey plant betrayed the direct influence of the image of Mayahuel, the Aztec deity of *pulque* (the fermented drink extracted from the maguey).¹⁷ I developed this idea further (with my colleague Edgar García Valencia) based in the visual representations of the goddess Mayahuel in early colonial codices, instead of relying as did Alberro, on ethnography of contemporary devotional practices.¹⁸ In that study we focused on the iconographic program of the shrine's walls of 1595 (which I reconstruct in all detail in Chapter Two), and that in 1946 was first introduced to the scholarly world through an article by the art historian Federico Gómez Orozco.¹⁹ This article did not interpret the program at all, but

¹⁷ Solange Alberro, *El águila y la cruz: orígenes religiosos de la conciencia criolla. México, siglos XVI-XVII* (Mexico City: El Colegio de México-Fideicomiso Historia de las Américas-Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1999).

¹⁸ Édgar García Valencia and Rosario Inés Granados Salinas, "Remedios contra el olvido. Emblemática y conquista en los muros del primer santuario mariano de América," in *Imagen y Cultura. La Interpretación de las imágenes como historia cultural. Actas del VI Congreso Internacional de la Sociedad Española de Emblemática*, ed. Rafael García Mahiques and Vincent Francesc Zuriaga Senent (Gandía: Generalitat Valenciana-Universitat Internacional de Gandía, 2008). This paper was the starting point for many of the ideas developed in this dissertation.

¹⁹ Federico Gómez de Orozco, "Las pinturas de Alfonso de Villasana en el santuario de los Remedios," *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas de la UNAM* IV, no. 14 (1946).

was a fundamental documentary source at the time of its appearance, as it made available the description made by Cisneros long before the by Miranda was published in 1999.²⁰

From an art-historical perspective, the statue of Our Lady of Remedios has received little attention. The art historian Manuel Toussaint, for example, barely mentioned the sculpture in his crucial study of *Arte Colonial*.²¹ The art historian Aline Ussel described the statue only in her work on statues of the Virgin Mary in New Spain, but very succinctly so.²² In 2000, the Mexican art historian Elena Estrada de Gerlero, provided the first more critical approach to the image, based on documents from the AHDF that considered its materiality and the way the sacredness of the sculpture was perceived during the eighteenth century.²³ However, it was Derek Burdette, in his M. A. thesis of 2007 who offered the first study that considered the aesthetic and ritual context of the statue.²⁴ In terms of the importance of the shrine, there are only two studies that focused on its geographical context, both written in 2006.²⁵ And only one scholar has focused on the collection of jewels and ecclesiastic garments of the statue.²⁶

²⁰ Cisneros, *Historia*.

²¹ Manuel Toussaint, *Arte colonial en México* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México-Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, 1948).

²² Aline Ussel, *Esculturas de la Virgen María en Nueva España, 1519-1821* (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia-Museo Nacional de Historia, 1975).

²³ Elena Isabel Estrada de Gerlero, "Nuestra Señora de los Remedios. Criterios novohispanos sobre la restauración de la imágenes," in *Historia del arte y restauración* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México-Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, 2000).

²⁴ Derek Burdette, "Seeing Sanctity: The presentation and Perception of the Image of the Virgin of Remedies in Early Colonial Mexico" (Tulane University, M. A., 2007).

²⁵ Francisco Xavier Mayén Anguiano, *Otoncalpulco y Totoltepec. Un ejemplo de arqueología histórica* (Toluca: Instituto Mexiquense de Cultura, 2006); Jaime González García, "Pedazos de historia urbana. La zona de Los Remedios," *Esencia y Espacio. Escuela Superior de Ingeniera y Arquitectura, unidad Tecamachalco del Instituto Politécnico Nacional* 3, no. 23 (2006).

²⁶ Guadalupe Ramos de Castro, "Nuestra Señora de los Remedios de México: Aportaciones al estudio de su orfebrería," *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología*, no. 62 (1996).

The study of miraculous images in colonial Mexico

Despite the abundant number of cult images, the study of religious practices in New Spain has privileged mainly one: Our Lady of Guadalupe. This has to do with the divine origin attributed to the painting, believed to be impressed in 1531 on the cloth of the Indian Juan Diego, but also with an intellectual movement that placed her at the center of a proto-national sense of identity.²⁷ As Taylor has pointed out, although that process started in the second half of the seventeenth century, it was truly not until the late eighteenth century that her cult became translocal and massive. The Nahua background of this Marian cult might also be considered among the reasons that made the cult grow to the point that today it is the most popular Marian cult in Latin America.

From 1996 onwards, there have been an increasing number of investigations seeking to revise this “guadalupecentrism” that has tended to characterize the study of religious practices in New Spain. The art historian Ilona Katzew’s study on the Virgen de la Macana, a cult promoted in the Franciscan missions of New Mexico, and historian Rodrigo Martínez Baracs’ study on Our Lady of Ocotlán in the region of Tlaxcala, are among the pioneering analyses that focus attention on other miraculous images that developed beyond the capital.²⁸ Among other most relevant studies on diverse cult

²⁷ See among others, David Brading, *Mexican Phoenix: Our Lady of Guadalupe: Image and Tradition Across Five Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Jaime Cuadriello, "El Obrador Trinitario o María de Guadalupe creada en idea, imagen y materia," in *El divino pintor: la creación de María de Guadalupe en el taller celestial, Exhibition Catalogue* (Mexico City: Museo de la Basílica de Guadalupe-Museo de Historia Mexicana, 2000).

²⁸ Ilona Katzew, "La Virgen de la Macana. Emblema de una coyuntura franciscana," *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Eséticas de la UNAM*, no. 72 (1998); Rodrigo Martínez Baracs, *La secuencia tlaxcalteca: Orígenes del culto a Nuestra Señora de Ocotlán* (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2000). For a compelling study of the first representation of Mary in New Spain as part of a tribute list (that is, outside of a devotional context per se), see Thomas B. F. Cummins, "The Madonna and the Horse: Alternative Readings of Colonial Images," in *Native Artists and Patrons in Colonial Latin America*, ed. Emily Umberger and Tom Cummins (Tempe: Arizona State University, 1995).

mages, stand out those focusing on Marian images in the states of Queretaro, Yucatan, and Tlaxcala,²⁹ or on the adoption of “international” images like Nuestra Señora del Sagrado Corazón and the Immaculate conception,³⁰ as well as certain miraculous crucifixes such as those venerated in Totolopan and Ixmiquilpan (which was moved the Santa Teresa church in Mexico City).³¹ However, it is William B. Taylor’s most recent book that shows the relevance that the topic has gained in the last few years. In his words, “[Cult] images were a vital medium of divine presence in the world and often regarded as essential to personal and collective well-being.”³² And indeed, the study of these images is of utmost importance as they were at the underpinnings that set the colonial society in motion. Taylor’s desire to give as much weight to documents as to images is admirable, especially since he is a social historian. As he noted in his recent book *Shrines and Miraculous Images*, the aim of his study was “to put the pictures, as a means of communication, on the same plane with written texts and spoken words, as they surely were to their original audience.”³³

²⁹ Eduardo Espíndola Alvarado, *El pueblo de indios de San Gaspar de los Reyes y el culto a la Virgen de Belén en Cadereyta* (Querétaro: Fomento Histórico y Cultural de Cadereyta, 2004); Stella María González Cicero, *Nuestra Señora de Izamal: Reina y patrona de Yucatán: Retrospectiva histórica de la sacralidad de Izamal y el culto Mariano* (Mexico City: Fomento Cultural Banamex 2006); Jaime Cuadriello, "La Virgen como territorio: Los títulos primordiales de Santa María Nueva España," *Colonial Latin American Review* 19, no. 1 (2010).

³⁰ Jaime del Arenal Fenochio, "Una devoción Mariana francesa en México: Nuestra Señora del Sagrado Corazón," *Relaciones* 19, no. 76 (1998); Iván Martínez, Martha Reta and Lenice Rivera, *Un privilegio sagrado: La Concepción de María Inmaculada: Celebración del dogma en México, Exhibition Catalogue* (Mexico City: Museo de la Basílica de Guadalupe, 2005).

³¹ William B. Taylor, "Two Shrines of the Cristo Renovado: Religion and Peasant Politics in Late Colonial Mexico," *The American Historical Review* 110, no. 4 (2005); Jennifer Scheper Hughes, *Biography of a Mexican Crucifix: Lived Religion and Local Faith From The Conquest to The Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Javier Otaola Montagne, "El caso del Cristo de Totolapan. Interpretaciones y reinterpretaciones de un milagro," *Estudios de Historia Novohispana* 38, 2008.

³² Taylor, *Shrines and Miraculous Images*, 7.

³³ *Ibid*, 6.

The interest in studying miraculous images is also shown in the increasing number of theses and dissertations written on the topic in Mexico, the United States, and Canada. Although many of them are still in progress, these ongoing research projects demonstrate that this topic is growing to consider areas beyond the Valley of Mexico and the early period of colonization that followed the military conquest of the Indian populations. Among the studies coming out from Mexico there is Lenice Rivera's research on Nuestra Señora de la Luz, a painting that was brought to New Spain by the Jesuits directly from Sicily in the seventeenth century;³⁴ Bertha Pascacio's analysis on the development of the cult of Our Lady of Izamal in the southeastern state of Yucatan;³⁵ Mónica Pulido Eseveche's dissertation on the mythical past of Valladolid-Morelia that considers the significant icon of Nuestra Señora de la Salud of Pátzcuaro;³⁶ and Nain Alejandro Ruiz Jaramillo's study on Nuestra Señora de la Bala, which has significantly added to the study of the sacred landscape of Mexico City, as this particular Marian devotion was considered to be one of the four bastions that protected the city.³⁷ There are also studies on Nuestra Señora de Tecaxic, an sixteenth-century image made almost

³⁴ Lenice Rivera, "La novísima imagen de la madre Santísima de la Luz: Origen, programa, sistema y función de una devoción jesuítica, 1717-1732" (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, B. A., 2010).

³⁵ Bertha Pascacio, "'Mama Linda': Reina y Patrona de Yucatán. La Virgen de Izamal: Análisis histórico de una Imagen de culto" (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, M.A., 2012).

³⁶ Mónica Pulido Eseveche, "La ciudad transfigurada: Imaginarios urbanos, devoción y espacio sagrado en Valladolid de Michoacán. Siglo XVIII." (UNAM, Ph.D., in progress).

³⁷ Nain Alejandro Ruiz Jaramillo, "Nuestra Señora de la Bala, virgen protectora del Oriente de la Ciudad de México" (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, B. A., 2007). Also by the same autor, "El santo entierro y sepulcro de Cristo en una cueva del Cerro de la Estrella: Reflexiones, discusión y estudio en torno a la escultura fundacional del Señor de la Cueva de Iztapalapa," (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, M. A., 2011), which complements his first study and provides a full panorama of the sacred landscape of this eastern region of Mexico City, best known for the yearly celebrations of Holy Week, and its massive representation of the *Via Crucis*. So relevant is this festival that it soon to be included in the UNESCO Intangible Heritage List.

certainly by an indigenous artist, and on the Via Crucis of Amecameca, a shrine dedicated to exalt the passion of Christ.³⁸ In Canada, a comparison between Ocotlán and Guadalupe was written in 2008 by Stephanie Rendino.³⁹

Another important study is Cristina Cruz Gonzales' dissertation, which "provides a genealogy of Franciscan image theory in the New World [by interrogating] the Franciscan propagation of miracle-working objects" in the eighteenth century, including Nuestra Señora del Pueblito, patroness of Querétaro.⁴⁰ Similarly, Derek Burdette's detailed study of the statues of Christ believed to be miraculous also adds to our knowledge of miraculous images in New Spain's capital, providing a diverse panorama that for the most part has been considered as fully Marian.⁴¹ In addition, there is Denise Fallena's comparative study of three images believed to be crucial for the Puebla-Tlaxcala region: Nuestra Señora de la Asunción, La Conquistadora, and Nuestra Señora de los Remedios of Cholula.⁴² As I will explain later in this Introduction, this last Marian

³⁸ Ma. Eugenia Rodríguez Parra, "Nuestra Señora de los Angeles de Tecaxic " (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, M.A., 1996); Rigel García Pérez, "De la cueva al sacromonte: Cuerpos y territorios el Santo Entierro del Amacameca " (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, M.A., 2008).

³⁹ Stephanie Rendino, "Our Lady of Ocotlan and Our Lady of Guadalupe: Investigation into the Origins of Parallel Virgins" (Université de Montreal, Ph. D., 2008). One more dissertation was about to be finished on the important cult of the Huatulco Cross (Oaxaca), one of the earliest in New Spain. The author was Ximena Osegueda, a Ph. D. candidate at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver. Regrettably, she was murdered in December 2011, one of the many innocent victims of the so-called Mexican drug war

⁴⁰ Cristina Cruz González, "Landscapes of Conversion: Franciscan Politics and Sacred Objects in Late Colonial Mexico" (University of Chicago, Ph. D., 2009).

⁴¹ Derek Burdette, "Miraculous Crucifixes and the Making of Mexican Colonialism" (Tulane University, Ph.D., in progress). See also the recent study focusing on the Christ of Chalma: Natalia Ferreiro Reyes-Retana, "Entre la retina y el mundo" (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, M. A., 2011.).

⁴² Denise Fallena, "Tres imágenes de fundación y conquista en los valles centrales de Puebla-Tlaxcala: La Conquistadora de Puebla, la Virgen de la Asunción de Tlaxcala y Nuestra Señora de los Remedios de Cholula" (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Ph. D., in progress). The author wrote her master's thesis on La conquistadora in 2008. For another master's thesis on the same miraculous image, see María Elena de la Concha Maurer, "Una virgen trascendente: la *conquistadora*" (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, M. A., 2010).

image is not a derivative of the one that I focus on in this study—nor is the one venerated in Zitácuaro, even if they share the same name.⁴³ In sum, there are around ten major publications and more than thirteen master's theses and dissertations on miraculous images, proving that the subject is increasing as a way to understand the internal modes by which the colonial society actually developed.⁴⁴

Our Lady of Remedios in context

Just as it is necessary to place this dissertation within its historiographic context, it is also essential to create a frame of reference for the devotion to Our Lady of Remedios, and to understand the origins of the cult before it reached the New World. The most important characteristic of this specific Marian cult is that it is generic, that is to say, that there are different cult images in different locations with this name but that are not derivative from one another or from a single “original” image. The name “Nuestra Señora de los Remedios” however, is closely linked to “Nuestra Señora del Buen Remedio”, as used by the Order of Trinitarians, founded in 1198 by Saint John of Math and Saint Felix of Valois. This order's main purpose, like that of Mercedarians, was the redemption of

⁴³ Moisés Guzmán Pérez, *Nuestra Señora de los Remedios de San Juan Zitácuaro: Historia y tradición de un culto mariano* (Morelia: Universidad Michoacana de San Nicolás Hidalgo, 1999).

⁴⁴ The interest in miraculous images is also growing in Spain. See, for example, Javier Portús Pérez, *El culto a la Virgen en Madrid durante la Edad Moderna* (Madrid: Biblioteca Básica Madrileña, 2000), and the compilation of texts *La imagen religiosa en la monarquía hispánica: Usos y espacios*. There are also a number of recent studies of miraculous images in Peru and Nueva Granada. See Olga Isabel Acosta Luna, *Milagrosas imágenes marianas en el Nuevo Reino de Granada* (Madrid-Frankfurt am Main Iberoamericana-Vervuert, 2011); and Magdalena Vences, "Manifestaciones de la religiosidad popular en torno a tres imágenes marianas originarias: La unidad del ritual y la diversidad formal," *Latinoamérica. Revista de estudios latinoamericanos* (2009), where she discusses the case of Marian images of Chiquinquirá (Colombia), Guadalupe (Mexico), and El Quinche (Ecuador). By the same author, see also: "La gestación de un sistema iconico mariano en Hispanoamérica: Estudio comparativo de dos casos" (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Ph. D., 2006), a comparative study of Chiquinquirá and Nuestra Señora de la Antigua, which was originally venerated in Seville. See also Verónica Salles-Reese, *From Viracocha to the Virgin of Copacabana: Representation of The Sacred at Lake Titicaca* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997).

Spanish captives who were imprisoned by the Moors during the Crusades.⁴⁵ The visual image most commonly associated with this devotion depicts the apparition of the Virgin to Saint John: she is holding the baby Jesus to the viewer's right, while offering the saint a little bag of money to pay the ransom of his fellow Christians (Figure 4). It is not known when or how this iconography was established.



Figure 1. 4: Unknown Author. *Nuestra Señora de los Remedios*, also called *Virgen del Buen Remedio*. Patroness of the Trinitarian order, late eighteenth century. Convent of Trinitarias, Burjasot, Valencia

In Spain, the presence of Our Lady of Remedios is large, even if it does not constitute the largest Marian cult. As seen in Appendix 1, there are currently 165 towns with Remedios as their main patroness, but in many of them the cult did not developed until the

⁴⁵ Héctor H. Schenone, *Santa María* (Buenos Aires: Editorial de la Universidad Católica Argentina, 2008).

eighteenth century. One of the oldest images depicting Our Lady of Remedios is a painting from the early fifteenth century located at the *trascoro* of Seville's cathedral that, according to the art historian Chandler Post, is of Siennese influence (Figure 5).⁴⁶ As happens with Marian imagery in general, the identification of this image as Remedios is only through the inscription underneath the main figure, depicted seated while receiving the prayers of a kneeling and anonymous petitioner, almost certainly the patron of the painting.⁴⁷



Figure I. 5: Unknown Sevillian Author. *Santa María de los Remedios*, early fifteenth century. *Trascoro* of the Cathedral of Seville

⁴⁶Chandler Rathfon Post, *A History of Spanish Painting* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930), vol. 5, 316.

⁴⁷ I have been unable to find information regarding a cult or confraternity relevant to the social life of the port city.

In terms of Marian shrines dedicated to Our Lady of Remedios, that of Fregenal de la Sierra in the Andalusian region of Badajoz stands out as one of the oldest. The legend of the image venerated there is part of the shepherd's cycle, defined by the historian William Christian, Jr. as those tales that, in the context of the reconquest of the Arabs, recount how Marian images were found by humble figures—a shepherd, old man, or a child—signaling where a Marian shrine should be built.⁴⁸ As in many other cases, the historical data regarding when this cult actually started is difficult to trace, and there is an ongoing debate as to the exact date when the shrine was first built. Some scholars assume that it was in 1497, while others more generally note that it was simply in the early sixteenth century, as she was named patroness of the city in 1506.⁴⁹ If the first date is accurate, it might mean that the founder of the cult was Bishop Juan Rodríguez Fonseca (1451-1524), ambassador of the Catholic Kings to the Low Countries, bishop of Badajoz from 1497, and the first chief of the *Consejo de Indias* (Council of Indies) that regulated the earliest policies towards the New World.⁵⁰ The image is considered to be a late medieval sculpture, while the child dates from the nineteenth-century (Figures 6 and 7). I have not been able to trace when the figure of the child was added or why, and if

⁴⁸ For more on the shepherds' cycle, see William A. Christian Jr., *Apparitions in Late Medieval and Renaissance Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 19-21. See also Victor Witter Turner and Edith L. B. Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), 41.

⁴⁹ "Santuario de los Remedios de Fregenal de la Sierra," *Senderos de Extremadura*, no. 8 (2000), http://www.alexur.net/Senderos/numero8/fregenal_sierra/fregenal.htm. First accessed on October 16, 2011.

⁵⁰ Among the extensive literature regarding Fonseca, see Rosario Inés Granados Salinas, "Sorrows for a Devout Ambassador. A Netherlandish Altarpiece in Sixteenth century Castile," *Potestas. Revista del Grupo Europeo de Investigación Histórica* no. 1 (2008). See also Tess Knighton, "Marian Devotions in Early Sixteenth century Spain: The Case of the Bishop of Palencia, Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca (1451-1524)," in *Uno Gentile et Subtile ingenio: Studies in Renaissance Music in Honour of Bonnie J. Blackburn*, ed. Gioia Filocamo M. Jennifer Bloxam, and Leofranc Holford-Strevens (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009).

there was a previous one that was replaced. Interestingly, the shrine is located 3.73 miles away from Fregenal; processions to take the statue to the city were made only every twenty-five years.⁵¹ This image was crowned on April 27, 1906, and was later on considered patroness of the Royal Spanish Army.



Figure I. 6: Unknown Author. *Nuestra Señora de los Remedios*, ca. 1497. Shrine of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, Fregenal de la Sierra, Badajoz



Figure I. 7: Unknown Author. *Nuestra Señora de los Remedios* ca. 1497 (without clothes). Shrine of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, Fregenal de la Sierra, Badajoz

The shrine of San Cristobal de La Laguna in Tenerife Island is another major devotional site of Our Lady of Remedios in Spain. The statue venerated there was allegedly made around 1500 in Seville. Originally, the sculpture was a depiction of the Expectation of Mary, but the child was added at an unknown date in the seventeenth century to expand

⁵¹ <http://www.virgenremedios.org/>, first accessed September 29, 2011.

the cult (Figures 8 and 9).⁵² In 1818 she became patroness of Tenerife. Before and after that date, it was common practice for the statue to be taken in procession through the city, but the ritual ended in the second half of the twentieth century due to the fragile state of the work.⁵³



Figure I. 8: Unknown Sevillian Author. *Nuestra Señora de los Remedios*, ca. 1500. Shrine of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, San Cristobal de La Laguna, Tenerife



Figure I. 9: Unknown Sevillian Author. *Nuestra Señora de los Remedios*, ca. 1500 (without clothes). Shrine of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, San Cristobal de La Laguna, Tenerife

Our Lady of Remedios has been also venerated in locations within Latin America. In the viceroyalty of Peru there are at least four main statues with her name: one in Lima—at the San Marcelo Church—and three in Cuzco. The one in Cuzco’s cathedral is within a

⁵² Francisco Caballero Mujica and María Jesús Riquelme Pérez, *Guía para visitar los santuarios marianos de Canarias* (Madrid: Encuentro, 1999); José de Viera y Clavijo, *Noticias de la historia general de las Islas de Canaria* (Madrid: La Imprenta de Blas Román, 1772).

⁵³ http://cofrades.pasionensevilla.tv/profiles/blogs/la-si-catedral-de-la-laguna?xg_source=activity. First accessed September 29, 2011.

collateral altarpiece.⁵⁴ The image at the Hospital del Espiritu Santo used to depict Remedios seated, but at some point it disappeared, leaving behind painted copies as the only proof of the sculpture's existence; example of this is the copy now at La Almudena church, painted by the Quechua painter Marcos Zapata (Figure 10).⁵⁵ The Remedios from the convent of Santa Catalina is the most important of all, as the nuns have been in charge of its promotion for a long time. The convent church was built in 1605 above the Acllahuasi, the temple where the Inca virgins were dedicated to venerating the sun (Figure 11). The last image of Our Lady of Remedios in Peru I want to mention is that located at the town of Canincunca, 26.1 miles (42 km.) from Cuzco. It is a mural painting from the seventeenth century that at times has been identified as the Virgin of Candlemmas, which proofs again that the iconography of Remedios is still open to confusion, as it does not rely on a close set of iconographical elements (Figure 12).

There was a small cult of Our Lady of Remedios in Buenos Aires, Argentina, with two images associated to religious orders devoted to taking care of orphan girls and the ill. Schenone identifies them as statues meant to be dressed, with the child on the left-hand side, but he does not provide more information regarding their dates of manufacture. In Colombia there are two images of Our Lady of Remedios, one in Cali and another in Rio Hacha. According to legend, the statue from Cali was first venerated in a natural niche by the local Indian population. After 1580, when the Mercedarians discovered the local devotion, the statue was taken to Cali and placed in the Mercedarian church.

⁵⁴ Schenone, *Santa María*, 489.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*



Figure I. 10: Marcos Zapata, c. 1710-1773.
Virgen de los Remedios del Espíritu Santo. Church of La Almudena, Cuzco



Figure I. 11: Unknown Author. *Virgen de los Remedios*, ca. 1650.
Convent of Santa Catalina, Cuzco



Figure I. 12: Unknown Author. *Virgen de los Remedios*, seventeenth century. Church of Canincunca, Urcos

In the viceroyalty of New Spain, there were other images venerated under the name of Our Lady of Remedios. As mentioned earlier, they were not directly connected the one worshiped outside of Mexico City. The most relevant ones are in Zitácuaro and Cholula. The one in Zitácuaro (Michoacán) is the oldest one (Figure 13), and was allegedly brought from Spain by an *encomendero* named Juan Velázquez de Salazar. According to the legend, the Virgin herself decided she wanted to stay in that town, and directed the mule on which the statue was carried to its main church where it became impossible to remove the mule. The sculpture is only carved on the upper part, having a coarse piece of wood at the place of the feet. It is not known whether this is how the original image was made, or if the statue was modified to facilitate the use of dresses.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 489.



Figure I. 13: Unknown Author. *Nuestra Señora de los Remedios*, ca. 1530.
Shrine of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, Zitácuaro, Michoacán

The image of Remedios venerated in Cholula is a statue carved as an Immaculate Conception that was modified by adding the child and a strange element over her head to keep the crown in its place; the dress and the hair were cut to facilitate the use of garments. The church where it is located was built on top of a huge pyramid around 1592 by the Franciscan friars who were in charge of evangelizing the people of the region (Figure 14). The first document that shows the *ermita* (or small church) is the so-called Codex Cholula dated from around 1610. The major impetus for promoting the cult came from Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, the bishop of Puebla who was later appointed archbishop of New Spain and interim viceroy. Palafox was the first to establish

parallelisms with the Virgin of Remedios in Mexico City, and to promote processions down the hill in times of drought and epidemics.⁵⁷

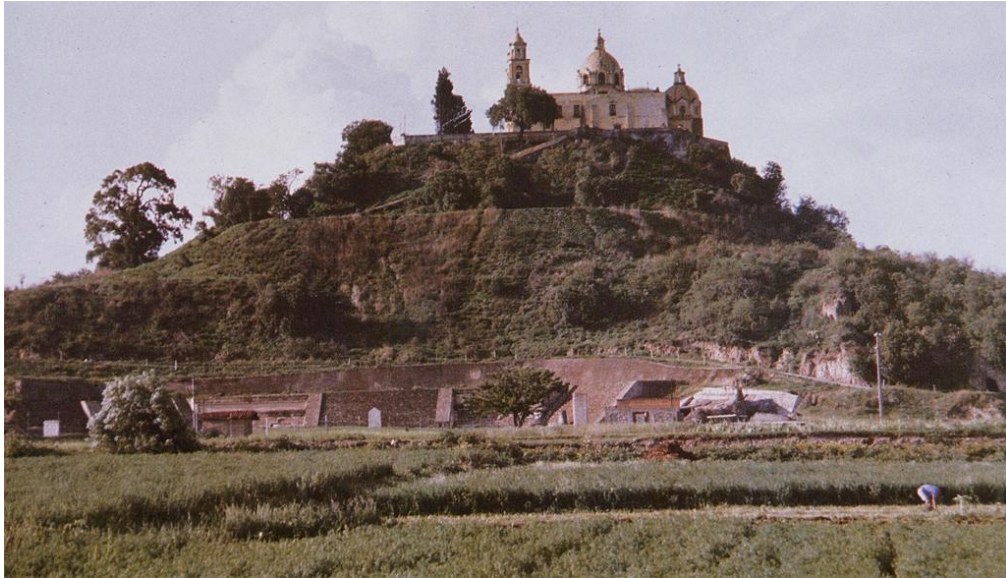


Figure I. 14: Unknown Author. *Shrine of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios of Cholula (Puebla)* on top of the old pyramid, built in the early seventeenth century. Collection of the University of California, San Diego

Chapter description

Chapter One: Sacred Materiality focuses on the materiality of the image of Our Lady of Remedios venerated in Naucalpan. I discuss the Spanish origin of the image, arguing why it cannot be Flemish. I also draw attention to the statue's main characteristic: namely that Mary and the Child are created of two different pieces of wood. Until now, this important aspect of the sculpture has been overlooked, reason why I discuss it in detail. In this chapter I also discuss the ways in which the statue's sacredness was evoked through the use of veils and ornate tabernacles. I consider as well the rituals that enhanced its sacredness and the restrictions or freedom in touching the sculpture according to the

⁵⁷ I thank Denise Fallena for furnishing me all the above information, which is part of her ongoing research on this cult image. See Fallena, "Tres imágenes de fundación."

liturgical calendar and the political context. In the last part of this chapter I discuss the images—paintings and prints—that depict the statue, and how such reproductions of her likeness contributed in spreading her sacrality beyond the shrine where it was primarily displayed.

Tracing the origins of the legend surrounding any given cult-image is always a difficult task. However, it is possible to identify the appearance of key elements of the mythical narrative through the close reading of the main sources that shaped the cult and its legend over time. With that in mind, *Chapter Two: The Legend in the Making* analyzes the chronicles made during the colonial period, in an effort to assess the underpinnings of the Remedios legend. The heart of this chapter, however, is the full reconstruction of the mural paintings made in the shrine by painter Alonso de Villasana in 1595, which were described by the Mercedarian friar Luis de Cisneros in his chronicle of the image, in what constitutes one of the earliest examples of *ekphrasis* in colonial literature.⁵⁸ The mural program was certainly unique: it told the history of Remedios in combination with images of sibyls, biblical prophets, and Greco-Roman deities, and a series of original Marian emblems that celebrated the Immaculate Conception of Mary. I can now assert that the program was the earliest visual example in the Americas to represent the controversial dogma regarding the conception of the Virgin Mary. The mural paintings also included *octavas* (poems in stanzas of eight hendecasyllable verses), recently attributed to the Spanish poet Fernán González de Eslava that described the role of Remedios during the conquest and celebrated the first miracles performed by her.

⁵⁸ “Ekphrasis” was, in the perspective of the historian Ruth Webb, not only a description of visual images, but the rhetoric exercise of bringing any topic to the audience in the most vivid way possible aiming to persuade them of almost any argument. Ruth Webb, *Ekphrasis: Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009).

Unfortunately, the mural decorations were destroyed starting 1616, making Cisneros' description the only extant documentation of that distinctive group of images. In this chapter, I have carefully analyzed Cisneros' text in an effort to reconstruct the shrine's complex visual program. In addition, I have succeeded in identifying the source for the poems associated with the sibyls depicted in the program.

Once Mexico City's authorities refurbished the shrine in 1575, it became the subject of extensive indigenous pilgrimages. *Chapter Three: Indigenous Devotion at the Shrine of Remedios* investigates the importance of the shrine as the main place where the indigenous piety developed. I provide a detailed description of the main altar of the shrine where Remedios was on display most of the time. The festivities celebrated there at the end of August brought huge amounts of alms to the confraternity, and important fact for continuing to promote her devotion among the indigenous population. Thanks to the archival documentation I was able to consult at the Archivo Histórico del Distrito Federal (AHDF), I am able to show that the reach of the cult of Remedios, was much larger than generally anticipated, and that it transcended the valley of Mexico to incorporate the populations near the Puebla and the Pachuca regions. This chapter also deals with the early inclusion of indigenous elements in the Remedios legend, including the presence of the cacique Juan Ce Cuautli Tovar, as the alleged discoverer of the statue, and the maguey were the image of the Virgin was discovered. Following previous studies, I suggest that the integration of this plant in both the legend and the iconography of Our Lady of Remedios is closely connected to the figure of *Mayahuel*, the pre-Hispanic goddess of the fermented beverage extracted from the maguey plant known as *pulque*.

Chapter Four: Processions Shaping Mexico City's Symbolic Geography considers in detail the fifty-seven times that the statue of Our Lady of Remedios left her shrine and was brought to Mexico City. After comparing the work of twelve colonial and contemporary authors, and carefully examining their data against the information included in the city council accounts and the surviving financial documents of the confraternity of Our Lady of Remedios, I argue that the image was moved from its shrine fifty-seven times from 1588 to 1881. The travels responded to different interests. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the processions were mainly social petitions for heavenly protection in difficult times of drought, epidemics, and famine caused by the lack of rain. In the eighteenth century, the processions were also to implore for divine protection for the Spanish Crown and its royal fleet. I claim that the ritual of bringing the statue from the shrine varied little over the years, and that it remained associated with the same devotional, political, and historical circumstances. I also reconstruct the route and elements of the processions—such as music and indigenous performances—and analyze how such this tiny effigy was perceived by all sectors of colonial society as the mixed during public processions.

The *Epilogue: Mexico City's Appropriation of the cult* focuses on the urban devotion of Our Lady of Remedios by directing attention to the city council and the confraternity. It traces the political context of the cult and evaluates the economic conditions in which it developed. It also considers the urban setting that allowed the cult to grow so connected to the city after Mexico City's council (*cabildo*) declared the Virgin of Remedios the first patron saint of Mexico City in 1574, calling upon the Spanish conquest over the Mexica as the main justification. From that moment on, the

city authorities fought for their right to possess the image and manage its cult against the mendicant orders and ecclesiastical authorities, including the archbishop himself. These constant quarrels never included the Crown, as it was understood that the king and the viceroy, as his symbolic personification in the Americas, had granted the city stewardship over the shrine. This constant subordination to the king becomes even more evident in her main feast, traditionally celebrated in late August, that gradually changed to September 1st to honor the memory of viceroy Gaspar Melchor Baltasar de la Cerda, 8th Count of Galve, who ruled from November 20, 1688 to February 26, 1696, and who allegedly was protected by Remedios during his trip back to Spain in 1696. The image's constant display at the cathedral in Mexico City, sometimes for years at a time, made evident the symbolic ownership of the image by the city authorities, as well as the strong devotion from all social strata of the urban population. Yet, it is likely that the confraternity devoted to the Virgin, founded in 1575 to promote the cult, was restricted to members of the city council.

The last part of the epilogue discusses the role played by Our Lady of Remedios during the war of Independence and beyond. In October 1810, when the conflict started, devotion to Our Lady of Remedios increased in Mexico City because it was believed that she protected the city from being seized by the priest Miguel Hidalgo's popular army. At that time, the statue was brought to the capital and was kept in Mexico's Cathedral until the end of the war in 1822. Once independence from Spain was obtained and the young nation started its new life, Remedios was even called "National Protectress." During those years that she was kept in the city, however, devotion to her weakened in the vicinity of the shrine. Despite efforts to revitalize local devotion at the site of the shrine,

it continued to decline. By the last third of the nineteenth century, devotion to the image was also radically diminishing in the capital, and by the beginning of the twentieth century it had almost disappeared. Nevertheless, from 1940 on the cult recovered and nowadays more than ten thousand people still gather at the shrine of Our Lady of Remedios throughout the year, especially during the Holy Week and on September 1st to celebrate her main festivity. In my dissertation, however, I do not address the image's more recent devotional life. Instead, this monographic study is more closely focused on a miraculous image that has generally been overlooked in the history of colonial religiosity, despite the image's great symbolic relevance for the society of its time.

Chapter One:

Sacredness of wood

An inscription welcomes the visitor when entering Our Lady of Remedios' *camarín*.¹ Placed in 1993 by Vivaldo Oregel, the priest who was in charge of the shrine in the late twentieth century, this inscription leads the visitor up the stairs to the back of the tabernacle where he or she can closely admire the statue of Mary. Oregel placed the inscription to invite others to actively contemplate the cult image of Mary and to become acquainted with her most celebrated feature: her face.

La imagen de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios que veneramos aquí desde 1575 es una talla de madera estofada del siglo XV que fue traída de España por Juan Rodríguez Villafuerte, soldado de Hernán Cortés, quien la ocultó en esta montaña. En 1540 la encontró el indígena Ce Cuautili quien empezó a venerarla en su casa hasta 1553. Ella mide 26 cm. y el niño 8. Ya por 1675 le sobreponen los vestidos con que se le reconoce. “No tiene siempre el mismo semblante como persona viva, majestuoso y noble, disgustada y terrible, amable y comprensiva, señora y niña; risueña y alegre”. Obsérvala, sigue intacta y bella. Imítala, invócala: es la Madre de Dios.

[The image of Our Lady of Remedios that we venerate here is a wooden piece with *estofados* from the fifteenth century brought from Spain by Juan Rodríguez Villafuerte, one of Hernán Cortés' soldiers, who hid it in this mountain. In 1540, the image, was found by *Ce Cuautili*, an indigenous man who venerated it at his home until 1553. The Virgin measures 10.2 inches while the Child only 3.1. Around 1675, she started to be dressed in the garments with which she can be recognized. “She does not always show the same face as she is like a living person: she can be majestic and noble, upset and dreadful, kind and understanding; a woman and a lass at the same time, cheerful and happy.” Observe her: she is undamaged and still beautiful. Imitate her, pray to her: She is the Mother of God]

The last part of the inscription, where the statue's physiognomy is praised, is based in Remedios' first chronicle written by Mercedarian friar Luis de Cisneros. In his *Historia*

¹ The *Camarin* in Remedios' shrine was finished in 1692 (Francisco Miranda, *Dos cultos fundantes: Los Remedios y Guadalupe* (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán, 2001), 188). It is a room behind the main altar that was explicitly built to hold the extensive collection of dresses possessed by the image and to provide a place to change her clothes with decorum. Nowadays, it functions more as a chapel used to facilitate a closer view of the image, especially at certain times of the day when the image is turned backwards to the church's nave.

de el principio y origen ... de la Santa Ymagen de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios published in 1621, Cisneros extolled Mary's facial features as an example of *zoografía*, or "animated writing".² The relevance of the physiognomy, present in both the inscription and other chronicles,³ is not surprising for two reasons. First, because the beauty and changing characteristics of the image's countenance was a recurring theme in many previous Marian narratives.⁴ Second, because the face and hands were—and still are—the only visible parts of the sculpture when on display at the shrine (Figure 1). The remaining parts of the statue have been covered by lavish clothes most likely beginning around 1550, when the public cult seems to have begun, and not in 1675 as the *camarín* inscription states.⁵ The face's relevance is a reference to the physicality of the image, and thus stands as the best place to begin this study, which seeks to analyze from an art-historical perspective the importance of the cult that developed around this tiny sculpture.

² Luis de Cisneros, *Historia de el principio y origen*, ed. Francisco Miranda (Mexico City: El Colegio de Michoacán, 1999 [1621]), 73. See *Chapter Two* for a detailed discussion of the term.

³ Friar Francisco de Florencia, for instance, in Remedios' second chronicle (*Milagrosa invención de un thesoro escondido ...* (Sevilla: Imprenta de las Siete Revueltas, 1745 [1685]), 9), acclaimed the statue's facial features as the main aspect of the statue that enthralled observers and provoked intense devotion, while Ignacio Carrillo y Pérez, the third chronicler of Remedios also praised the liveliness of her appearance in his *Lo máximo en lo mínimo* (Mexico City: Biblioteca Enciclopédica del Estado de México, 1979 [1808]), 48.

⁴ Javier Portús, "Verdadero retrato y copia fallida. Leyendas en torno a la reproducción de imágenes sagrada," in *La imagen religiosa en la monarquía hispánica: usos y espacios*, ed. María Cruz de Carlos Varona (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2008), 241-251, especially 246 and 247.

⁵ Dressing statues of Mary remained a common practice despite the control that the Third Mexican Council tried to enforce in 1585 by saying that clothes should be kept to minimum and never used outside the churches: "Las imágenes que en lo sucesivo se construyan, si fuere posible, o sean pintadas, o si se hacen de escultura, sea de tal manera que de ninguna suerte se necesite adornarse con vestidos, y las que ya existieren actualmente tengan designadas sus vestiduras propias. Y cuando fuere necesario vestir o adornar de cualquier modo a las imágenes, no se lleven para este efecto fuera de las Iglesias", "Third Mexican Council," In *Concilios Provinciales Mexicanos. Época Colonial. Edición en CD* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México-Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 2004), Book 3, Title XVIII, § IX. For more on the indigenous devotion at the shrine see *Chapter Three*.



Figure 1.1: Unknown Author, *Our Lady of Remedios*, ca. 1500. Basílica de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, Naucalpan, Estado de Mexico

Hence, this first chapter starts considering the physical aspects of the image through a discussion of its aesthetic value and iconography based on firsthand observations of the original and of a recently made replica, detailed examination of photographs, and a comparison to other sculptures of similar date and origin. As a result of considering what I think its most important physical feature, I hypothesize not only about its provenance, but also and most importantly, about changes that might have affected its materiality. In the second part of the chapter, I consider how the sacredness of this most significant piece of material culture was built, aiming to understand how the sacrality of the statue was praised and protected in colonial Mexico. Therefore, beside rituals of consecration, I also consider how restorations and the physical handling of the image were perceived as ways of endangering its sacred aura. The third part of this chapter considers some examples of how Our Lady of Remedios was depicted in both paintings and engravings,

since these were the main modalities through which numerous devotees became acquainted with the materiality of the statue. Considering such representations certainly sheds light on the reception this cult image had, and allows for an understanding of how the devotion disseminated and was supported by means of this visual material.

THE STATUE OF OUR LADY OF REMEDIOS

The sculpture venerated at the shrine on Totoltepec hill is indeed a small piece (Figure 2). Although the inscription in the *camarín* states that it is only 10.2 inches in height (26 cm), it is actually slightly larger at 10.6 inches (27 cm). It is indeed a polychrome wooden figure with a gilt mantle, but it is not an *estofado*, meaning that the gold was not scraped to intentionally increase the imitation of a fine fabric.⁶ The sculpture venerated at the shrine on Totoltepec hill is indeed a small piece (Figure 2).



Figure 1.2: Unknown Author, *Our Lady of Remedios* (without clothes), ca. 1500. Basílica de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, Naucalpan, Estado de Mexico

Although the inscription in the *camarín* states that it is only 10.2 inches in height

⁶ For a description of the *estofado* technique, see Marjorie Trusted “Exotic Devotion: Sculpture in Viceregal America and Brazil, 1520-1820,” in *The Arts in Latin America, 1492-1820. Exhibition Catalogue* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2006), 252.

(26 cm), it is actually slightly larger at 10.6 inches (27 cm). It is indeed a polychrome wooden figure with a gilt mantle, but it is not an *estofado*, meaning that the gold was not scraped to intentionally increase the imitation of a fine fabric.⁷ The sculpture depicts Mary standing as *Theotokos*, the mother of Jesus, by holding the Child with her left arm, in what might be the most common feature of the Virgin's iconography.⁸ The weight is well balanced in the statue as both feet, covered by rounded shoes, are visible under the skirt. Remedios' right arm bends at the waist, with her hand almost at the level of her shoulder and her fingers open as if holding an object. Taking advantage of this feature, a scepter is most often placed within her fingers. Her left arm is also bent, but it extends to the viewer with a wide-open hand, palm up, to hold the child figure. While her oval-shaped head is aligned with her body, which presents her face directly to the viewer, her gaze is turned slightly to her right, the beholder's left. Her facial features remain very fine in structure despite being highly intervened during a restoration that took place in 1940, when the color of the whole statue was consolidated. There is no clear evidence of what the original colors were, but in that year a light brown was chosen for the slightly curly, long hair that follows the shoulders' contour and is carved within the piece. The clothes' paint was also modified, but the original shape of the carving was respected. Thus, nowadays the shirt of bulky sleeves and squared neckline on the top is painted in bright red, while a gilt mantle with green interiors wraps around the middle part of the

⁷ For a description of the *estofado* technique, see Marjorie Trusted "Exotic Devotion: Sculpture in Viceregal America and Brazil, 1520-1820," in *The Arts in Latin America, 1492-1820. Exhibition Catalogue* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2006), 252.

⁸ For more on the development of the iconography of Mary as *Theotokos*, see Hans Belting, *Likeness and presence: a history of the image before the era of art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994). For the historical development of *Theotokos* in theology, see among other authors, Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: a history of the Virgin Mary* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 40-76.

statue. This piece of cloth drops as if held by pins located close to the armpits, creating U-shaped lines that reach the garment's inferior edge in an horizontal line where a garland stands out as the only decoration. In its lower part, the statue shows a brown skirt; carved circular lines convey the idea of movement in this part of the dress.

The Child is nude and seated with his legs crossed. His hair, also painted in light brown after the restoration of 1940, presents the same detail as Mary's, except with a lock of hair on his forehead. Chubby cheeks, small eyes and mouth form his round face. His shoulders are not well defined, but the arms are wide open and semi-flexed at the level of his belly. He holds a blue globe in his left hand while giving a blessing with his right hand as revealed by the extension of his thumb, index, and middle fingers, opposed to the ring and baby fingers that are folded inward towards his palm.

The art historian Manuel Toussaint mentioned in 1948 that the statue of Our Lady of Remedios had no aesthetic value whatsoever, and if it deserved attention, it was only because it was the oldest of all the Marian statues brought by the conquistadors.⁹ He complained of its small size and of the robes the statue was always shrouded in. This observation reveals that Toussaint did not see the sculpture up close, but only when it was on display at the shrine. In his description, he did not speak about its date or place of manufacture. The historian Francisco Miranda on his part, considered the statue was Flemish or German.¹⁰ Such a provenance would be supported by a reference at the margin of Francisco de Florencia's 1685 chronicle where the image was identified as a gift that the soldier Juan Rodríguez Villafuerte—the conquistador who allegedly brought the

⁹ Manuel Toussaint. *Arte Colonial en México* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1990 [1948]), 24-25.

¹⁰ Miranda, *Dos Cultos Fundantes*, 36.

statue into Mexico—received from his brother after military service in Flanders.¹¹

Considering that the size of Remedios is similar to that of *La Conquistadora*, another cult image that was also brought by the conquistadors that has been proved to be of Flemish origin (Figure 3),¹² it would be reasonable to assign Remedios' sculpture the same provenance, that is, Mechelen, the capital of the Low Countries under the rule of Archduchess Margaret of Austria.



Figure 1.3: Unknown Author from Mechelen. *La conquistadora*, ca. 1500.
Church of San Francisco, Puebla City

¹¹ In the body of the text, however, Florencia only mentioned that the brother was a soldier in Germany and Italy (*Milagrosa Invención*, 18, parr. 29). Neither did Cisneros in his *Historia* mention a Flemish origin.

¹² *La Conquistadora* is an image of Mary holding the Child still venerated at the church of San Francisco in Puebla City that, according to friar Juan deTorquemada, was among the gifts by which Hernán Cortés publicly thanked the Tlaxcaltecas for their help in the siege of México Tenochtitlán. This statue was identified as one of those *poupées de Malines* by art historian Xavier Moysen (*Estofados en la Nueva España* (Mexico City: Ediciones de Arte Comermex, 1978),11-12). Denisse Fallena confirmed the identification by comparing it with other Mechelen examples. See her “La imagen de la Virgen María en la conquista. El caso de la Conquistadora de Puebla,” (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, M. A., 2008).

The pieces known as *poupées de Malines* never surpassed a height of 14.9 inches (38 cm.) and were mass-produced to fulfill the need of private and domestic devotional practices in the early sixteenth century. The art historians Bernardo García García and Fernando Grilo, among other scholars, have identified the following as the main characteristics of these figures: the curvilinear movement of their sculpted bodies which is the result of the *contraposto* position that presents their weight as if were all on only one foot, the delicacy of their facial features as characterized by slim eyebrows and tiny lips, the richness of their hairdos that sometimes show the intentionality of placing a crown upon the head, and the use of oak wood as the main material (Figures 4, 5 and 6).¹³



Figure 1. 4: Unknown Author. *Poupée de Malines*, ca. 1500. De Pauw-Muller Antiquairs, Gent



Figure 1. 5: Unknown Author from Mechelen. *The Virgin and Child*, ca. 1500-1510. The Victoria and Albert Museum, London

¹³ *Imagens de Malines: coleção Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga* (Lisboa: O Museu, 1976); Bernardo J. García García, *El fruto de la fe: el legado artístico de Flandes en la Isla de la Palma* (Madrid: Fundación Carlos de Amberes, 2004); Fernando Grilo, *O Brilho do norte: escultura e escultores do da Europa em Portugal. Época manuelina* (Lisboa: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses-Ministério da Cultura-Instituto Português do Património Arquitectónico-Instituto Português de Museus, 1997).



Figure 1. 6: Unknown Author from Belgium. *Virgin and Child*, early 16th century. Saint Louis Art Museum, Saint Louis

However, the statue of Our Lady of Remedios clearly does not share these characteristics. In comparison to the Mechelen examples, she seems rather static—the result of showing the two front parts of her shoes with no *contraposto*, and having the arms in a different position, extended from the body. Despite sharing with them the same small scale she is not as graceful as her Flemish counterparts. Another main difference between the Mechelen’s *poupées* and Remedios can be observed in the child’s features. The figure of Jesus appears within his mother’s arms in the Flemish sculptures, either lying down or seated in her hand, but he is never presented with crossed legs. Moreover, in most cases the child is draped within the Virgin’s own mantle, whereas the one venerated at Totoltepec is completely nude (when it is not dressed by the superimposed garments, of course). There are examples of Jesus depicted as a naked toddler also of Flemish origin,

but they always show him standing, completely independent from Mary's figure. The art historian Willy Godenne established in the 1950's the typology for the so-called "children of Flanders" (Figure 7): they are always presented in upright position in a classical *contraposto* and are approximately 15.7 inches height (40 cm.). They have a lock of hair that falls on their foreheads and are most often depicted following the medieval model of *Salvator Mundi*, with one hand gesturing a blessing and the other holding a globe. The child statues were also made for private devotion and it is most likely that if they outnumbered their "Virgin and Child" counterparts, it was mainly because they were common objects found in nunneries across Europe. It is worth pointing out that a few of them are still the focus of massive cults, like the Holy Child of Cebu in the Philippines Islands, or the so-called *Fundador*, an image of Christ venerated in the Carmelite convent of Villanueva de Jara in Cuenca, Spain.¹⁴ However, even if the Remedios' child shares some elements like the lock of hair, and the *Salvator Mundi*'s features, it seems doubtful that the cult image venerated in Totoltepec hill is a Flemish original, although its Flemish spirit is unquestionable.

¹⁴ The Infant Jesus of Prague is also modeled after a Flemish original; supposedly, the core of the statue is carved out of wood, covered with linen, and the surface is modeled in coloured wax.
http://www.pragjesu.info/en/statue_infant_jesus.htm, first accessed December 17, 2010.



Figure 1.7: Unknown Author from Mechelen. *The Child Jesus*, ca. 1500. Musée du Louvre, Paris

The art historian Aline Ussel stated that Remedios was evidently a Spanish statue, as the inscription of the *camarín* stresses, but she did not indicate a specific place of manufacture.¹⁵ Along the same lines, the art historian Elena Estrada de Gerlero has shown that, at least from the late eighteenth century, it was believed that the Remedios statue was made from Spanish wood.¹⁶ To prove this, the researcher relied on a document of 1797, which still exists in Mexico City's historical archive (Archivo Histórico del Distrito Federal, hereafter AHDF) among the confraternity papers:¹⁷ there, Santiago

¹⁵ Aline Ussel, *Esculturas de la virgen María en Nueva España, 1519-1821* (Mexico City: Secretaría de Educación Pública-Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia-Museo Nacional de Historia, 1975).

¹⁶ Elena Isabel Estrada de Gerlero, "Nuestra Señora de los Remedios. Criterios novohispanos sobre la restauración de la imágenes," in *Historia del Arte y Restauración* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2000).

¹⁷ AHDF, Vol. 3902, exp. 48. The confraternity was founded in 1575 aiming to help a stronger dissemination of the cult, but its ordinances were only accepted in 1579 (Miranda, *Dos cultos fundantes*, 64-72). For further details see the *Epilogue*.

Cristóbal Sandoval and Joaquín Esquibel,¹⁸ two artists masters at the newly founded *Academia de San Carlos*, determined the wood's provenance based on its light color. Unfortunately, these two experts did not describe the materials employed any further. Nevertheless, the Spanish origin of Remedios is plausible to assert by both the historical and the stylistic evidence we have at hand. There is no real consensus, however, on from which exact part of Spain the statue could have come. Estrada de Gerlero argued that, based on its "formal features," it was most likely made in Castile, the region of central Spain. This author, however, did not fully described what those features were. Considering that additional places in Spain allowed local artists access to Flemish models, it is necessary to consider other possible locations where Remedios may have been fabricated. The city of Seville, in the southern region of Andalucía, seems to be the most probable place because of the many artists active in that city who appropriated northern visual traditions in their work. One main example of this aesthetic mingling is the motive of a freestanding Jesus child. In Seville, this model, having originated in Flanders, developed into a prototype in its own right during the fifteenth century. The best example of how this model became completely Sevillian is the Child of the archconfraternity of the Cathedral's *Sagrario*, made by Juan Martínez Montañez in 1606 that still is a subject of deep veneration.¹⁹

¹⁸ Santiago Cristóbal Sandoval was the director of Sculpture of the Academy; he made the sculptures of the west tower of the cathedral. Joaquín Esquibel painted portraits of all members of the brotherhood of Cristo de Burgos between 1781 and 1785. See Inmaculada Rodríguez Moya, *La mirada del virrey: iconografía del poder en la Nueva España* (Castellón de la Plana: Universitat Jaume I, 2003); and *Catedral. Historia de la Fábrica Material. La fachada principal y las torres*, in *Arquidiócesis de México*: <http://www.arquidiocesismexico.org.mx/Hist%20Fabrica%20Material%20Fachada%20principal%20y%20torres.html>, first accessed January 16, 2011.

¹⁹ See Emilio Gómez Piñol, "El Niño Jesús del a Sacramental del Sagrario Hispalense: Introducción al estudio de la Génesis de un prototipo distintivo de la escultura sevillana," in *Actas del Coloquio Internacional El Niño Jesús y la Infancia en las Artes Plásticas. Siglos XV al XVII. IV Centenario del Niño*

Although discussing the location where the statue of Our Lady of Remedios was made is of utmost importance in an art-historical study like this one, I want now to highlight what I consider to be the statue's most remarkable feature—the fact that it is formed of two pieces that can be separated (Figure 8). Hitherto, studies have overlooked this important aspect. The earliest mention of this characteristic appears in friar Agustín de Vetancurt's chronicle of the Franciscan order written in 1697 that includes references to all Marian images of Mexico City.²⁰ When referring to a copy of Remedios that was made few years after the conquest following the order of the Franciscan friar Peter of Gent, he made clear the copy was *in two parts* like the original.²¹

Jesús del Sagrario, 1606-2006 (Sevilla: Archicofradía del Santísimo Sacramento del Sagrario de la Catedral de Sevilla, 2010).

²⁰ Agustín de Vetancurt, *Teatro mexicano* (Madrid: J. Porrúa Turanzas, 1960-1961 [1697]), 362.

²¹ According to the legend the statue arrived in 1526 to the Tepepan Visitation Church after being for some years at the main Franciscan convent, and having been momentarily relocated in the Xochimilco church. Despite the fact Gante arrived in New Spain in 1523, the date suggested seems too early to accept because by then, Gante was still living in Texcoco. Thus, it is more probable to think that the image was made years later, as part of the activities of the School of San José de los Naturales, founded in 1527; it was located next to the main Franciscan Convent in Mexico City and it became most noted for training indigenous people in the arts according to the values of the Western visual tradition (http://www.arts-history.mx/sitios/index.php?id_sitio=421110&id_seccion=990098, first accessed, December 23, 2010).



Figure 1. 8: Unknown Author. *Our Lady of Remedios without the Child*, ca. 1500.
Basilica de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, Naucalpan, Estado de México

However important this reference to Remedios as known to be a two-piece statue in the late seventeenth century, it needs to be evaluated carefully because the alleged copy is a statue, still venerated at the Visitation church in Tepepan, at the south of Mexico City's, that presents significant differences in shape and material from Remedios.²² The same

²² For more on the copy made by Gent, see Patricia Díaz Cayeros, "Escultura en contexto: la Virgen de Tepepan y otras imágenes marianas", paper delivered at *Encrucijada, First International Conference of Viceregal Sculpture* at Oaxaca City, November 2008. I thank the author for providing me a copy of her unpublished essay. See also Rosa María Uribe Rivera, "Tepepan, arte e historia" (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, MA, 1998).

difference applies with regard to the statue that stands above the façade's main arch, once considered to be the Gante's copy (Figures 9 and 10).²³



Figure 1. 9: Unknown Author.
Nuestra Señora de los Remedios
(also known as *Nuestra Señora de la Visitación*),
ca. 1520. Main Altarpiece of
the church of the Visitación,
Tepepan, Mexico City.
Picture by Author



Figure 1. 10: Unknown Author.
Nuestra Señora de los Remedios
(also known as *Nuestra Señora de la Visitación*),
ca. 1520. Façade of the
church of the Visitación,
Tepepan, Mexico City.
Picture by Author

The 1797 document published by Estrada de Gerlero to which I referred earlier, makes evident that the separateness of the image was acknowledged. It also shows that it could cause serious problems. The testimony provided by the two masters of sculpture from the *Academia de San Carlos* was part of a series of legal proceedings that followed the

²³ Manuel Toussaint, "El Arte Flamenco en Nueva España. Discurso de recepción como miembro de la academia mexicana de la historia, 10 de febrero de 1949", <http://www.acadmexhistoria.org.mx/MiembrosDIS.html>, first accessed December 27, 2010.

allegation that the original child had been stolen and that the one in the altar was a fake.²⁴ In this context, the sacredness of the object was believed to have been in jeopardy, and thus extreme secrecy was required in order to protect the cult. Only the artists who were to examine the statue of Remedios and that of the two infants that were in dispute, along with the city authorities and the shrine's chaplain, knew about the alleged replacement. In the end, the case was solved without having any repercussions. The artists Santiago Cristóbal Sandoval and Joaquín Esquivel agreed that the child on the altar was the original, because it was the one that shared the same stylistic features and material observed in the Virgin's figure. With their assessment the cult's validation was freed from risk.

Why would a cult image that depicts Mary as the loving mother of God was made in two parts? Why would an image of Remedios' relevance be allowed to be in danger of having one of its two pieces secretly exchanged or lost? What would be the implications of such a distinctive trait in the study of the statue's historicity? Both Cisneros and Florencia state that soldier Juan Rodríguez de Villasana carried it within his armor.²⁵ However, the separateness of Our Lady of Remedios' statue would imply that most likely she did not come to Mexico as one of those images the conquistadors used to carry to protect them while in battle. Spaniard soldiers during the reconquest of the Spanish Peninsula in battles against the Moors more commonly carried the protective statue in the saddle's tree of their horses, the reason why such images were known as *vírgenes*

²⁴ The alleged substitution was supposed to have taken place during one of the many visits that the cult image was allowed to do to private homes during her extended sojourns in Mexico City that followed the *novenas* at the Cathedral. See *Chapter Four* for more on the context of those *venidas* and processions that accompany them.

²⁵ Cisneros, *Historia*, 46. Florencia (*Milagrosa Invención*, 18) said that the statue functioned as a shield for his chest.

arzoneras (Figures 11 and 12).²⁶ Due to their intended use, they were always small and always carved in a single piece. Among the most critical examples of this kind of images are Nuestra Señora de Cabeza (patroness of Jaén, measuring 13.7 inches or 35 cm. high), Nuestra Señora de Fuensanta (patroness of Coín (Málaga) only 4.3 inches or 11 cm. high—allegedly a late Gothic statue), Nuestra Señora de Valle Saldaña (that allegedly belonged to King Alfonso I the Catholic, conqueror of Galicia and León in the eighth century), and the so-called Nuestra Señora de las Batallas (a French ivory statue from the thirteenth century venerated in the crypt at Seville’s cathedral, which according to the legend was carried by King Ferdinand III, the Saint).²⁷ It is thus simply inconceivable that a religious piece that was intended to be transported while in battle, would be carved in two different pieces, being in constant jeopardy of losing one of its components, and thus putting at risk its devotional purpose.²⁸

²⁶ The saddle tree is the base on which the rest of the saddle is built. Thus, it is the tree size that actually determines its fit on the horse's back as well as the size of the seat for the rider. <http://eclectic-horseman.com/content/view/218/33/>, first accessed December 20, 2010.

²⁷ Ferdinand III was also supposed to be the one who initiated the custom of placing images of Mary at the gates of all conquered cities. See Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and crusade in medieval Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 203. For more details about the each of these images, see Juan Carlos Torres Jiménez “Génesis Histórica del Santuario de Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza,” *Mirando al Santuario* 19 (2005), <http://mondasemanasanta.blogspot.com/2010/09/monda-y-la-virgen-de-la-fuensanta-1.html>, <http://www.turismoenpalencia.com/articulo.php?id=17>, and http://leyendasytradiciones.blogspot.com/2008_10_01_archive.html (all accessed on October 2, 2010).

²⁸ Both Cisneros and Florencia mentioned that Rodriguez de Villafuerte brought the image within a tinplate case in order to protect it. It could be argued that with such element, the hazard of loosing one of the two parts would be diminished, but in my perspective, even then the devotional use of the image would have been unnecessarily in jeopardy.



Figure 1.11: Unknown Author.
Nuestra Señora de la Fuensanta, ca. 1480.
Santuario de Nuestra Señora, Coín, Málaga



Figure 1.12: Unknown Author.
Nuestra Señora de las Batallas, ca. 12th century.
Crypt of Seville's cathedral, Seville

Therefore, if Remedios was not a conqueror's *arzonera* as it is in two parts, it is necessary to examine, first, images made of two separate components and then, other possible explanations for this feature. Indeed, there are many Marian images in the Hispanic world that present the Child separated from the Virgin. Most of them, however, were made during the late sixteenth century or later, when the images were explicitly manufactured to wear dresses; at that time the dissociation of the two main elements of Mary and her son was in response to the requirements of this specific practice that became an integral part of Baroque aesthetics.²⁹ During the first two decades of the sixteenth century, when Remedios is allegedly to have been sculpted—if not earlier, as Ussel has suggested—it was uncommon to carve the figure of the child separately from

²⁹ See Susan Verdi Webster, *Art and ritual in Golden-Age Spain: Sevillian confraternities and the processional sculpture of Holy Week* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 59, for a discussion on processional images that were made to specifically wear fancy garments.

that of the Virgin.

Given how uncommon it was for Marian sculptures venerated in either public or private spaces to have two separate components, one can hypothesize the possibility that the Remedios' statue was transformed in some way to actually become a representation of the Virgin Mary as the Mother of God. As mentioned in the Introduction regarding Nuestra Señora de los Remedios of Fregenal de la Sierra and San Cristóbal de La Laguna, the reuse and physical transformation of cult images was common practice at the beginning of the sixteenth century on both sides of the Atlantic.³⁰ Nuestra Señora de Gracia, patroness of Carmona, a town 23.61 miles (38 km.) away from Seville, is another example of this practice in the Old World (Figure 13).



Figure 1. 13: Unknown Author. *Nuestra Señora de Gracia*, ca. 13th century. Sanctuary of Nuestra Señora, Carmona, Seville

³⁰ Personal communication of Fanny Unikel, head of the Sculpture Conservation Department at Escuela Nacional de Conservación y Restauración Manuel del Castillo Negrete during a session of the Seminar on Viceregal Cult Images at UNAM that I organized with some colleagues. April, 2011. See also note 34 of this chapter.

According to the chronicles written to sustain the cult of this miraculous image—all of which are based on a now lost seventeenth century manuscript—the statue was composed using a Romanesque statue of Mary (most likely from the end of the thirteenth century) depicting her seated on a bench, to which was added one of those fifteenth-century “Children of Flanders” mentioned earlier. When the addition of the young Jesus took place, the hands of the original Marian image were also replaced with new carvings. The result was highly effective: the statue, attired in Baroque dresses to hide the differences in period between the two sculptures, became the subject of a massive cult in the sixteenth century.³¹ Other “old” Marian sculptures suffered more aggressive physical alterations in the form of considerable scraping for the sake of “modernizing” them and facilitating the use of garments. That is the case of the medieval statues of Nuestra Señora del Villar, Nuestra Señora de Pandorado, and Nuestra Señora de las Aguas, among others in the diocese of León (Figures 14, 15 and 16).³² In New Spain there it is known that Nuestra Señora de la Salud—a corn cane sculpture that is patroness of Patzcuaro,³³ suffered a similar scraping of her sculpted robes around 1690, supposedly also to facilitate the use of dresses (Figures 17 and 18).³⁴

³¹ Information taken from the official website of the brotherhood of Nuestra Señora de Gracia, Carmona’s patroness. <http://www.galeon.com/virgendegracia/iconografia.htm> (first accessed on December 5, 2010).

³² Máximo Gómez Rascón, *Theotókos: vírgenes medievales de la Diócesis de León* (León: Edilesa, 1996), 128, 130, 219, and 220.

³³ For the description of the technique of *pasta de caña* or corn cane, see Pablo Amador Marrero, *Traza española, ropaje indiano: el Cristo de Telde y la imaginería en caña de maíz* (Telde: Ayuntamiento de Telde, 2002), 62.

³⁴ Pedro Sarmiento, *Breve noticia del origen y maravillas de la milagrosa imagen de Nuestra Señora de la Salud* in Manuel Toussaint, *Pátzcuaro* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1942 [1742]), 242. See also Mónica Pulido Etseveche’s dissertation, still in progress, *La ciudad transfigurada: Imaginarios urbanos, devoción y espacio sagrado en Valladolid de Michoacán. Siglo XVIII*. According to Denise Fallena, similar transformations took place in the early seventeenth century statue that is venerated in Cholula as Nuestra Señora de los Remedios; see her dissertation, also in progress, *Tres imágenes de*

Figure 1. 14: Unknown Author.
Nuestra Señora del Villar, ca. end of 12th century.
Monasterio de Santa María de Carrizo, León



fundación y conquista en los valles centrales de Puebla-Tlaxcala: La Conquistadora de Puebla, la Virgen de la Asunción de Tlaxcala y Nuestra Señora de los Remedios de Cholula. Franciscan friar Angélico Chávez pointed out also significant alterations suffered in the statue of Our Lady of Conquest, patroness of New Mexico, whose arms were cut to leave room for puppet-like limbs added sometime before 16800; see his *Our Lady of Conquest* (Santa Fe: Sunstone Press, 2010 [1948]), 31. The image of Mary venerated in Tepepan parish church also suffered a physical transformation before 1730, not in terms of slashing parts but instead adding a figure of Saint Francis as *Altas Seraphicus* with the clear intentionality of linking the statue with the Immaculate Conception dogma through an iconography established by an engraving by Peter Paul Rubens (Díaz Cayeros, “Escultura en contexto”). For more on this iconographical type of Saint Francis as column, see Cristina Cruz González, "Landscapes of Conversion: Franciscan Politics and Sacred Objects in Late Colonial Mexico. " (University of Chicago, PhD, 2009). Based in these and many other examples, my colleagues at the Seminar of Viceregal Cult Images at Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México and I have concluded that, in most cases and at both sides of the Atlantic, the activation of a massive cult was preceded by a physical transformation of the miraculous image in question.



Figure 1. 15: Unknown Author.
Nuestra Señora de Pandorado,
ca. 13th century.
Pandorado, León



Figure 1. 16: Unknown Author.
Nuestra Señora de las Aguas, ca. 13th century.
Monasterio de Gradefes, León



Figure 1. 17: Unknown Author.
Nuestra Señora de la Salud, ca. 1540.
Basilica de Nuestra Señora de la Salud,
Pátzcuaro, Michoacán



Figure 1. 18: Unknown Author.
Nuestra Señora de la Salud (without clothes), ca. 1540.
Basilica de Nuestra Señora de la Salud,
Pátzcuaro, Michoacán

What kind of transformations might the image of Our Lady of Remedios have suffered that could help explain its two components? My first hypothesis was that the statue was originally made as a female saint that was transmuted into a representation of Mary by adding her most vital attribute: the child Christ. This idea was based on the shape of the sculpted body of Remedios, where the right arm is presented flat at her waist's height as was common in Flemish and Sevillian statues of Saint Lucy or Saint Agatha, a feature that enabled them to display their attributes, eyes or breasts, respectively. The statue of Saint Lucy venerated in the Puntallana church in the Canary Islands is a Flemish example from the late fifteenth century that is worth attention because it depicts the sculpted body in a similar gesture to that of Remedios (Figure 19). However, the way in which the mantle is carved in Remedios' figure—covering the

shoulders—makes it unquestionably a Marian piece and the transformation from a saint figure improbable.³⁵



Figure 1. 19: Unknown Flemish Author.
Saint Lucy, ca. 1500.
Puntallana church, Canary Islands

Thus, my second hypothesis to explain why the child is detachable from Mary's figure considered that the image was originally carved as an archaic representation of the Assumption, that is, with strong elements of the virgin *Tota Pulchra*. This supposition was also based in the flat position of Remedios' left arm, but incorporated the observation of a shallow depression at the center of the statue (Figure 20), and the shape of the golden mantle, that looks as if held by pins underneath the Virgin's armpits, which

³⁵ Although statues of all Virgins, saints included, shared the use of mantles in general, only Mary was conventionally depicted with the mantle covering shoulders or even the head. Gómes Rascón, *Theotókos*, 38-40.

is not at all common in Marian statuary where the Virgin is holding the baby Jesus.³⁶



Figure 1.20: Unknown Author. *Modern Copy of Our Lady of Remedios* (detail), 2011. Picture by Author

The fact that the main festival of Our Lady of Remedios was (during most of the colonial period) celebrated in August, in the *octava* following the Feast of the Assumption, supports this second hypothesis. More important is the reference provided by Juan Antonio Pichardo in his unpublished chronicle of Our Lady of Remedios of 1808, ca., about August 15, 1575—day of the Assumption of Mary—as the day of the opening of

³⁶ The depression detail was observed in an exact replica of the original purchased in March 2011 at Our Lady of Remedios' shrine. The copy is one the few authorized by the sanctuary's authorities, made by a workshop of artisans from Zacatlán de las Manzanas in the neighboring state of Puebla. Because a close study of the sacred original was not yet permitted at the time of writing this dissertation, this replica has substantially helped validating my arguments. Both features, shape of the mantle and concavity, are also evident in the pictures of the original published in the 2008 edition of Florencia's chronicle edited by Teresa Matabuena Peláez, and Marisela Rodríguez Lobato (Mexico City: Universidad Iberoamericana, 2010), 74 (figure 8).

the church refurbished by the city council.³⁷ As the art historian Suzanne Stratton has confirmed, both the *Tota Pulchra* and the Assumption were iconographic types deeply rooted in the Spanish spirit of the time. As visual antecedents of the representation of the Immaculate Conception dogma, they shared many features of late fifteenth century imagery: both of them, for instance, depicted a standing Virgin with her hands' palms meeting at her chest.³⁸ The earliest European representations of the *Tota Pulchra* are of particular interest for my argument: they show the Virgin with falling mantles in front of her abdomen in similar ways to that visible in Remedios' sculpture, but covered by Mary's folded forearms (Figures 21 and 22).³⁹ Pyeter Dacrat's main figure at the altarpiece at Seville Cathedral (made around 1500) and the image at the Franciscan convent of Milpa Alta at the south of contemporary Mexico City (Figures 23 and 24) are good examples of how these features were also shared in the Assumption iconography of the period.⁴⁰ Another printed example that is worth considering is the one that appears within the first chronicle of Our Lady of Remedios written friar Luis de Cisneros at the end of 1616 and printed only five years later (Figure 25). Although it is just an

³⁷ Juan Antonio Pichardo, *Historia del Santuario de los Remedios*, Manuscript R-9, Edmundo O'Gorman Collection, Benson Latin American Collection, The University of Texas at Austin, ca. 1808.

³⁸ Suzanne L. Stratton, *The Immaculate Conception in Spanish art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Manuel B. Trens, *María, iconografía de la Virgen en el arte español* (Madrid: Editorial Plus-Ultra, 1947).

³⁹ According to Stratton "the earliest known visual representation of this complex image of the Immaculate Conception [surrounded by symbols of her Immaculacy taken from the Song of Solomon] is an engraving from a book of hours *à l'usage de Rouen* printed in Paris in the shop of Antoine Vérard in 1503. The print was reproduced soon thereafter" in 1505, 1513, and 1519 (Figure 21). "Engravings such as these were obviously key to the dissemination of the composition, but would be surprising if they were not in turn based on a painting or sculpture dating from before 1503." "The image of the *Virgin tota pulchra* was adopted in Spain almost as soon as it appeared in France" (Stratton, *Ibid*, 39 and 40). The author identifies the Assumption iconography's main feature as the crescent moon and the angels surrounding Mary in clear reference to the Apocalyptic Woman described by St John in the last book of the Bible.

⁴⁰ The Assumption type transformed from the mid sixteenth century and during all the seventeenth century, incorporating Mary gazing up and with arms open to the sky.

illustration in the document, the print is indeed an important paratext that may allow knowing how the original statue might have looked.⁴¹



Figure 1. 21: Unknown German Author.
Maria im Ahrenkleid, ca. 1460.
Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich



Figure 1. 22: Unknown Author.
The virgin Tota Pulchra, early sixteenth century.
Church of San Saturnino, Artajona, Navarre

⁴¹ Françoise Crémoux, "El Paratexto de los libros de fundación y de milagros en los siglos XVI y XVII. Un recorrido en el Corpus Mariano." In *Paratextos en la literatura española, Siglos XV-XVIII*, edited by Pierre Civil Michel Moner, and María Soledad Arredondo (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2009). The paratext is the concept used in literary criticism to refer to all kind of material, visual or written, that frames the main text, and that in most cases, was added by the editor or the publisher.



Figure 1. 23: Pyeter Damcart.
Assumption of the Virgin, ca. 1500.
Main altarpiece of Seville Cathedral



Figure 1. 24: Unknown Author.
Assumption of Mary, ca. 1550.
Parroquia de Asunción de María,
Milpa Alta, Mexico City



Figure 1. 25: Unknown Author. *Assumption of Mary*, ca. 1620.
Print included in friar Luis de Cisneros' *Historia de el Origen...de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios*,
published in México, by Juan Blanco de Alcaçar, 1621

Thus, I speculate that the original Remedios' statue was somehow similar to that of Our Lady of Zapopan, a sixteenth-century image made in *pasta de caña* around 1550 (Figure 26).⁴² I argue that Remedios' folded arms were removed, which explains the depression at the center of the body. In its place, a new pair was added so the child could sit and the scepter could be held; this would explain its flatness and rigid character. As a result of this, the upper part of the mantle that before was depicted as if it were placed underneath the forearms, was left in the bizarre U-shape we now see coming from the armpits.



Figure 1. 26: Unknown Author.
Nuestra Señora de Zapopan, ca. 1550.
Shrine of Our Lady, Zapopan, Jalisco

Needless to say, an image of the Assumption based on certain elements of the *Tota Pulchra*, could easily fit into the legend of Remedios being transported in the saddle of Villafuerte's horse as a cult image for individual devotion. Of course, this hypothesis would imply that the Child was added in New Spain. Santiago Cristóbal Sandoval and Joaquin Esquibel, the two artists who examined the cult image in 1797, stressed that both

⁴² Patricia Díaz Cayeros, "Imágenes escultóricas en sus contextos ornamentales," paper presented at *Encrucijada. Segundo Coloquio Internacional de Escultura Virreinal* at Puebla City, October, 2010.

Jesus and Mary were made from the same kind of Spanish wood. If their observation was correct, it would be necessary to consider the possibility that the child was also made in the Old World and brought to the New as an object of devotion in its own right, which is unlikely due to its seated position and attributes (globe and blessing sign). Therefore, a third possibility needs to be considered: that the original statue was actually holding the baby (in similar ways to the image showed in Figure 4) and that the carving I am suggesting only consisted of separating both figures to facilitate the use of garments, which would also explain the depression at the statue's center and the resulting shape of the mantle. However, the child's back, which—at least in the modern reproduction—shows no flatness whatsoever, reason why this supposition seems difficult to accept. The fourth and last hypothesis I am to consider is the possibility that both statues, Virgin's and child's, were actually manufactured in New Spain. In the end, however, only a sophisticated technical analysis of the Remedios' statue and its materials would be likely to determine the origin of the two pieces and illuminate the sculpture's assembly process.

The period I suggest for the alteration to have taken place is the decade of the 1550s, when Mercedarian friar Luis de Cisneros stressed that the public cult to Our Lady of Remedios began.⁴³ The modification hypothesis would help to understand why in the so-called Uppsala map made around 1550-55, the shrine that appears at Totoltepec shows the name of Our Lady of Victory and not to Remedios.⁴⁴ The change in nomenclature

⁴³ Cisneros, *Historia de el principio*, 65; and Miranda, *Dos cultos fundantes*, 53.

⁴⁴ Carmen Medina, "De Tenochtitlan a Uppsala – La historia del Mapa de México," in *Proceedings from I Coloquio de Cultura Mexicana at Uppsala University*, October 2007, <http://www.naua.se/Mexico07/Pub/Ponencias.php> (first accessed December 17, 2010). It is worth noting that Our Lady of Remedios is indeed mentioned in later chronicles of the conquest, such as those written by Diego Durán, Francisco Cervantes de Salazar and most importantly, Bernal Díaz del Castillo. The fact that these three texts were written after the decade of 1560 makes me wonder if they did not apply the name of Remedios that was common at the time they were writing, disregarding the original appellative of the

would then have coincided with the changes performed to the statue, where the arms were transformed, the child was added, and fancy dresses started to be used in the manner that the public devotional practices would preferred at the time. Bearing in mind that some scholars have considered that also the 1550s also were the only plausible period in which a Marian sculpted image could have been replaced by the famous painted image of Our Lady of Guadalupe at the Franciscan chapel at Tepeyac hill,⁴⁵ we can see that this mid-sixteenth century was a period particularly crucial for the discussion and activation of miraculous images in New Spain. The historian Edmundo O’Gorman has stated that during those years there was a major confrontation between two perspectives regarding the cult of relics, saints, and Marian images.⁴⁶ The Counter-Reformation ideas that were promoted by the Council of Trent perceived these elements as aids to enhance popular devotion, as valid external manifestations of faith; while theologians of Erasmian influence thought that these elements were frivolous distractions that prevented true religious feelings. In O’Gorman’s perspective, this debate was at the foundation of the dispute that took place between archbishop Alonso de Montúfar and the Franciscan provincial Francisco de Bustamante concerning the Guadalupe apparitions’ validity and the origin of the painted image, which the Franciscan clearly stated was made by an

shrine. Father Acosta refers to the shrine as dedicated to Our Lady of Socorro. For more on this discussion see Miranda, *Dos Cultos Fundantes*, 37-53, and *Chapter Two*.

⁴⁵ Francisco de la Maza, *El guadalupanismo mexicano* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica-Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1984 [1953]). See also David. A. Brading, *Mexican Phoenix: Our Lady of Guadalupe: image and tradition, 1531-2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 329.

⁴⁶ Edmundo O’Gorman, *Destierro de sombras* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1986).

Indian named Marcos.⁴⁷ In the case of Remedios, it is possible that Álvaro de Tremiño, the Cathedral's schoolmaster alleged to be the advisor of the statue's discoverer Juan Ce Cuatli Tovar, or even bishop Montúfar, could have been behind its physical transformation.⁴⁸ Whoever the intellectual authors were, such alteration—if ever made—did not occur with the intention to fool either the Spanish population or the newer Christians. As in the case of the Guadalupe's substitution, it would have responded to a mentality in which the images were believed to be animated entities, with lives of their own. Performing physical transformations to them was—and still is—the best way to make them more accessible. In the early colonial period such alterations were not thought to place the image's sacredness in jeopardy. We shall analyze now then, how that sacrality was symbolically built once the colonial period has settled.

RITUALS OF SACREDNESS

In 1575, the image of Our Lady of Remedios was placed at the heart of a shrine that had been refurbished by Mexico City's council. From that moment on, a fancy tabernacle protected the statue's materiality. As I will mention in Chapter Three, it was covered by curtains: two in 1616, three in 1684,⁴⁹ that made the statue available to the gaze of her

⁴⁷ See Serge Grusinky, *La guerra de las imágenes. De Cristobal Colón a "Blade Runner"* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1994), 102-113. See also Miranda, *Dos Cultos Fundantes*, 243-278.

⁴⁸ I have not been able to find more information regarding Álvaro de Tremiño besides that provided by Miranda, who was able to prove he was in Mexico City in 1552 (*Ibid*, 207). Dominican friar Alonso de Montúfar was appointed Archbishop of Mexico in 1551, but arrived only three years later to New Spain. His rigid character has been the subject of several studies, which also highlighted his interest in reforming the Catholic Church in the New World in the most orthodox terms. With that in mind, he organized the first two councils of the Mexican Church in 1555 and 1565, where regulations of image-making were included. See *Concilios Provinciales Mexicanos*. For biographical notes on Montúfar, see Ó Gorman, *Destierro de Sombras*, and Miranda, *Dos Cultos Fundantes*.

⁴⁹ As described by Cisneros, and Florencia in his respective chronicles. See *Chapter Three*.

devotees only during the most important feasts of the liturgical calendar. This was common practice for many other cult images as well: it established a symbolic distance that enhanced the statue's sacred value.⁵⁰ Despite this tradition of avoiding closeness with the holy image, there were many times when Remedios' statue was touched. These handling practices took place mainly during the fifty-seven processions that brought the statue to Mexico City's cathedral, especially to place it on the platforms and/or the carriage in which the statue made the travels.⁵¹ Besides the processional ritual, the most important occasion for taking the image out of her tabernacle was when a new chaplain was appointed to the shrine. This ceremony was repeated at least during the entire seventeenth century. It consisted in bringing together the main authorities of the confraternity, the newly appointed chaplain, and the sacristan in a closed-door ceremony. The confraternity administrator would give the tabernacle's keys to the chaplain, who then would go up to the silver case, open the window, take the image, go down the stairs, and present it to the privileged audience.⁵²

Although it was common, the touching of the image was condemned. As early as 1616, in the context of the third visit of the image to Mexico City, friar Luis de Cisneros already expressed his concern that this practice would affect the sacredness of the image, arguing that most cult images were not moved from their sanctuaries. He also lamented about the "indecent" act of a woman who touched the image: that was a deplorable

⁵⁰ Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, chapter 3.

⁵¹ See *Chapter Four*.

⁵² AHDF, Vol. 3895, exp. 2, appointment of Luis Ximenes de Urrea as chaplain of Our Lady of Remedios' shrine in August 1688. For a detailed description of the confraternity structure, see *Epilogue: Mexico City's Appropriation of the cult*.

behavior even if motivated by deep devotion.⁵³ A few years later, archbishop friar Payo de Rivera complained that the city council allowed certain individuals to touch the image. His criticism of this practice was one of his main arguments in the 1671 quarrel against the city council, which I discuss later on the Epilogue, when he tried to prove the council's mishandling of the sanctuary.⁵⁴

The conservation state of the statue constitutes the best evidence of how the constant handling of the image affected its materiality. In July 2, 1758, the confraternity's rector, Joseph Francisco de Cuebas y Aguirre, suggested retouching the image after observing that the statue was in poor condition, especially the varnish on the face of the child.⁵⁵ Although he promised to proceed with all respect for the piece and only under the strict vigilance of the city and ecclesiastical authorities, the authorization to take action remained on hold for more than four years, which suggests how sensitive the topic was. In November 19, 1762, chaplain Manuel Rodríguez de Larrea argued in a letter to the confraternity authorities that retouching the image was unnecessary, as the cult did not depend on the physical conditions of the figures. He even asserted that, when looked at from a close distance, those imperfections disappeared. He stressed that the Virgin had an uncanny beauty—*una rara hermosura*—that caused her facial features to constantly change, as has been noticed by many people as it was part of Remedios' miraculous nature. According to the chaplain:

⁵³ Cisneros, *Historia*, 195.

⁵⁴ Santiago de Curi Calday, Archbishop Payo de Rivera' secretary, copied some of those permits by which the chaplain Ignacio de Oviedo was instructed to open the tabernacle. AHDF, Vol. 3895, exp 3, 26-29.

⁵⁵ AHDF, Vol. 3900, exp. 23.

estas mutaciones de semblante no son nuevas cuando ya el Padre Francisco de Florencia de la Compañía de Jesús en el tratado que dio a al Republica de Nuestra Milagrosoisma Ymagen con el titulo de Invencion de un Thesoro escondido en el campo a la página 110 num 168 bastamente hace noticia lo antiguo que es en la señora el que variara de aspectos.

[these variations in her face are not at all new, as they were mentioned by friar Francisco de Florencia from the Company of Jesus in the treatise he wrote praising our most miraculous image titled *Invencion de un Thesoro escondido en el campo*. In page 110 paragraph number 168, he informs about how these constant changes in her countenance have been noticed for a long time.]⁵⁶

Later on in his letter, the chaplain refused to support retouching the image, because of its potential to endanger the cult: he believed that cleaning or repairing the statue would transform it into a newer statue with no tradition, which would hurt the devotees' beliefs. In his opinion, they might mistrust it and consider it the result of a terrible exchange performed by the English, conceived as eternal enemies of the Catholic faith and therefore, of the Spanish crown.⁵⁷ The chaplain further argued that retouching was not necessary because the sculpture did not appear to have been attacked by termites or any other insect that would pose a real menace to the statue's structure. He also mentioned that,

que en el espacio de veinte ocho años de mantener en este santuario siempre ha visto assi el rostro de la Señora como el del Niño de la misma forma que en la ocasión presente se persibe a excepción de este ultimo quinquenio que ha hechado de ver el resalte del barniz en mas aumentó y el defecto de una partecita del ojo de la santa Ymagen. Júzgalo sea ocasionado a las repetidas bajadas y subidas con el manoseo de una indiscreta devoción de muchos fieles, como assi mismo, de que al tiempo y quando la visten se andan con algun lienzo mojado limpiándole el rostro lo que si practicaran en el interior del cuerpo tuviera resalte, con que a estas

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* The clear reference to Florencia's chronicle provides a major reference regarding the chronicle's reception, allowing a better understanding of how such text was key in expanding and shaping the cult. See *Chapter Two*.

⁵⁷ The idea that the English as the enemies of the Catholic faith grew attached to its role as main attackers of the Spanish fleet. See on this respect Batholome Navarro de San Antonio, *Sermón que en el Segundo Día del Novenario que en agitación de Gracias por la Seguridad de Enemigos conque navegó la Flota hasta el Puerto de la Havana ymplorando llegue con ella a España hizo a la Santísima Virgen en su Milagrosa Imagen de los Remedios trayéndola con estos motivos desde su Santuario Extramuros de México a la Santa Iglesia Metropolitana* (México: por los herederos de la Viuda de Francisco Rodríguez Lupercio, en el Puente de Palacio, 1702).

demostraciones y comedimientos atribuye el resalte y no a la antigüedad de la santa Imagen, cuya conservación poco más o menos de trescientos años ha hecho el Altísimo, contra la inclemencia de los tiempos y admitido y no concedido ser el resalte originado de su antigüedad es notorio a VSI al ver la señora permanecido por espacio de veinte años introducida en un Maguey privada de resguardo en el cerro y sitio en que hoy tiene su templo.

[in the twenty-eight years I have served as chaplain of the shrine, I have always seen the faces of the Virgin and the Child in the same way they look today, except for that aspect in the Child's varnish and that flaw close to the Holy Image's eye. All these issues have been caused, in my view, by *the excessive handling of an indiscreet devotion of the image that have brought it up and down far too many times [from her tabernacle], and mainly from cleaning her face with a wet cloth every time the garments are changed*. The defects observed in the image are certainly caused by these practices and definitely not by its old age. During the last three hundred years God himself has preserved it, as it is evident in the protection it received in those twenty years it stayed within the *Maguey*, exposed to the weather's severity in the top of this hill where the shrine is now located].⁵⁸

The city's authorities appointed Miguel Francisco de Lugo y Terreros as attorney to determine the outcome of the rector's request to have the image restored. After considering the chaplain's opinion and researching if other cult images as important as Remedios were ever altered, he determined on October 27, 1764, that retouching the image was not acceptable based on the risk that modifying the image might debilitate its cult and, as a result, the image's materiality did not receive any care on that occasion. It is not surprising then that Ignacio Carrillo y Pérez in his 1808 chronicle complained that the face of both Mary and Child were seriously damaged to the extent that their facial features had almost vanished.⁵⁹ However, out of devotion he still praised their beauty. In contrast, Madame Calderón de la Barca, the English wife of the first Spanish ambassador to Mexico whose real name was Francis Erskine Inglis, used frank words to refer to the statue. She simply could not understand how such an *ugly* image could be so deeply venerated by the most important ladies of the young republic of Mexico to the extent of

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, the emphasis is mine.

⁵⁹ Carrillo, *Lo máximo en lo mínimo*, 48.

visiting Remedios' shrine on a daily basis despite its distant locations.

The image is a wooden *doll* about a foot high, holding in its arms an infant Jesus, both faces *evidently carved with a rude penknife*; two holes for the eyes and another for the mouth. This doll was dressed in blue satin and pearls with a crown upon her head and a quantity of hair fastened on to the crown. *No Indian idol could be much uglier. As she has been a good deal scratched and destroyed in the lapse of ages, Calderón [my husband] observed that he was astonished that they had not tried to restore her a little.* To this the priest replied, that several artists had attempted to do it, but that each one of them had sickened and died.⁶⁰

There is no information regarding whether or not there were actual attempts to restore the image once Mexico was born as a republic after achieving independence from Spain in 1821. Calderón de la Barca's comments were most likely only a detached account with little understanding of the local catholic practices and not a tendency to belittle the Mexican people. Yet the tale of people getting ill and dying when trying to retouch the image—which most likely was not true—reveals that even in the nineteenth century the sacred aura of the statue was preserved by avoiding any intervention that could affect its materiality. As a result, by the early twentieth century, Remedios was indeed in terrible condition, as can be seen in a series of photographs (Figures 27 and 28). In 1940, in the context of the fourth centennial of the alleged finding of the statue by Juan Ce Cuautli Tovar, a deep restoration was finally allowed. Although it was perceived that this restoration brought back most of the sculpture's features, some scholars have questioned it mainly because the original was extensively retouched and it is not clear which technical criteria were used.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Fanny Calderón de la Barca, *Life in Mexico*, ed. Howard T. Fischer and Marion Hall Fisher (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1966), 211-212. The emphasis is mine.

⁶¹ I have been unable to trace the name of the people in charge of that restoration. Scholars at the *Encrucijada* conference, most of them experts on Colonial Sculpture, agreed in October 2010 on the poor quality of the restoration. One detail that was perceived then was the color used in the upper and lower parts of the clothes: when painted in two different colors, red and brown, they look as if they depicted a blouse and a skirt disregarding that a most common feature in Marian imagery is the use of a tunic to cover her body, underneath the mantle. This one piece of garment thus, should have been painted in one single color.



Nuestra Señora de los Remedios.



Figures 1. 27 and 1. 28: Unknown Author.
Nuestra Señora de los Remedios around 1930, before the 1940 restoration.
Collection of Coordinación de Monumentos Históricos del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico City

COPIES OF THE SACRED

Beyond its own materiality, Our Lady of Remedios' cult was enhanced and expanded by paintings, prints, engravings, medals, and even sculptures produced as devotional paraphernalia. Most of the kind of material that has survived is from the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In all of them, the cult image appears dressed, showing a triangular shape as if the statue was carved in wood with her clothes on, regardless if the type of scene depicted is an apparition, a finding in the *maguey*, or a "true portrait". Since almost all Marian images in the baroque Hispanic world were depicted in this manner,⁶² the characteristic *maguey* or adjunct inscription indicating Remedios title became the only means by which to distinguish Remedios from other Marian representations or *advocaciones*.⁶³ The obvious lack of intentionality to depict Remedios as the real object venerated under the garments in her shrine informs how devotion to the Virgin Mary developed as one massive cult. As the historian William B. Taylor has pointed out, Remedios, as much as Guadalupe in Extremadura, Montserrat in Catalunya, or Our Lady of Ocotlán in Tlaxacala, were supposed to be venerated as personifications/incarnations of the historical/biblical Virgin Mary.⁶⁴ Thus, the best way to visually stress this unity among the different Marian *advocaciones* was, in my view, through images that were closely similar to one another. It was in that sense that the Spanish term *simulacro* was

⁶² Javier Portús Pérez and Jesusa Vega, *La estampa religiosa en la España del Antiguo Régimen* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1998).

⁶³ In Spanish, the term "advocaciones" is the best word to refer to the many different images of Mary. Although this word is not possible to fully translate into English, Barbara Duncan used the term "advocations" in her text "Statue Paintings of the Virgin", In *Gloria in excelsis. The virgin and Angels in Viceregal Painting in Peru and Bolivia. Exhibition catalogue* (New York: Center for Inter-American Relations, 1986).

⁶⁴ William B. Taylor, *Our Lady of Guadalupe and Friends: the Virgin Mary in Colonial Mexico City* (Berkeley: Doe Library, University of California, 1999).

used to refer to the images of Mary, and thus, as the art historian Patricia Díaz Cayeros has recently mentioned, Mary's uniqueness was preserved in all her representations.⁶⁵ All the cult images, as simulacrum of the sacred original, could then receive veneration of *dulia*—honor paid to the saints—without the risk of falling into idolatry. The lack of visual individualization between different cult images also seems related to a topic recently highlighted by the art historian Javier Portús—one that appears constantly in various chronicles of Spanish Marian images: the belief that it was impossible for any artist to depict the divine presence within any material image.⁶⁶ From my perspective, the use of a model that made all devotions look the same—in triangular shape, crowned, and without emphasizing any individual features—was the best visual strategy to acknowledge such human incapacity while showing respect for the historical/biblical Mary.

Not surprisingly then, Remedios was depicted in most of the devotional paraphernalia that copied her image, as the triangular statue she is actually not. That is the way she is depicted in the anonymous painting now held at *Museo de la Casa Profesa* in Mexico City (Figure 29). This painting has been interpreted as the moment of the statue's *invención*, the moment when Juan Ce Cuautli Tovar found the wooden sculpture in the maguay. However, I suggest that it might depict an apparition (in the sense of a mystical vision) of Remedios before the actual discovery of the sculpture because of the unbalanced dimensions of the figures and because the space in which the two characters

⁶⁵ Díaz Cayeros, "Imágenes escultóricas." Her perspective is based in Victor Stoichita's notion of *Simulacrum* as opposed to *Icon*, presented in his book *The Pygmalion Effect: from Ovid to Hitchcock* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2008).

⁶⁶ Javier Portús, "Verdadero Retrato"

appear is clearly differentiated.⁶⁷



Figure 1. 29: Unknown Author.
Apparition of Our Lady of Remedios, 18th century.
Museo de la Casa Profesa, Mexico City



Figure 1. 30: Unknown Author.
Preparing Drawing for brass medals, 18th century.
Archivo Histórico del Distrito Federal, Mexico City

A similar representation is shared by the engraving made as a model for the brass medals

⁶⁷ See Victor Stoichita, *Visionary Experience in the Golden Age of Spanish Art* (London: Reaktion Books, 1995).

commissioned by the confraternity of Our Lady of Remedios in the late eighteenth century (Figure 30).⁶⁸ In both images the cacique appears on his knees, with arms extended in one case and closed over his chest in the other, equally overwhelmed by the vision. Contrastingly, the discovery of the statue is clearly evident in an engraving made by Manuel Villavicencio I have located at the Mexico National Archive (Archivo General de la Nación, hereafter AGN). In this print (Figure 31), Juan Ce Cuautli Tovar's surprise is more vividly depicted and the materiality of the image is more convincingly illustrated. The inscription alludes to the apparitions (or visions) that preceded the actual finding of the statue:⁶⁹

El año de 1540 nueve después de la prodigiosa aparición de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe pasando por el cerro de Othoncapulco un indio cazique llamado D. Juan del Águila se le aparecía NS de los Remedios en el ayre, y le decía hijo búscame en este puesto y después de algunas apariciones de estas la hallo *debajo de su maguey* y [la] llevó a su casa.

[In the year of 1540, nine after the miraculous apparition of Our Lady of Guadalupe, while walking by the Othoncapulco hill, a cazique Indian named Don Juan del Águila used to see apparitions of Our Lady of Remedios [who appeared] in the air. And she said to him "look for me at this site" and after a few of these apparitions, he found her [image] *underneath the maguey* and took her to his home]

There is another printed image that falls between the two above-mentioned kind of

⁶⁸ AHDF, Vol. 3900, exp. 14. It was recently published in William B. Taylor, *Shrines and Miraculous Images: Religious Life in Mexico before the Reforma* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2010).

⁶⁹ On April 1771, Villavicencio was notified along with the most important publishers and engravers of the city (Phelipe Ontiveros, Joseph Nogal, Joseph Antonio Ortuño, and Maria Agustina de Mesa widow of don Francisco Gutierrez, among others) that he was not allowed to print images of Our Lady of Remedios without the authorization of the confraternity (AHDF, Vol. 3901, exp. 26). For more on the importance of this printmaker, see Kelly Donahue-Wallace, "Printmakers in Eighteenth-Century Mexico City: Francisco Sylverio, José Mariano Navarro, José Benito Ortuño, and Manuel Galicia de Villavicencio," *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas*, 78 (2001). From the same author, "Nuevas aportaciones sobre los grabadores novohispanos," in *Proceedings of III Congreso Internacional del Barroco Americano*, eds. José Manuel Almansa, Ana Aranda Bernal and Ramón Guitierrez (Seville: Universidad Pablo De Olavide, 2001).

representations, the visual image/apparition and the physical finding of the statue. It is the one located at the top of the confraternity's summary of indulgences that also functioned as a membership certificate for the brotherhood (Figure 32).⁷⁰



Figure 1. 31: Manuel de Villavicencio, active 1753-1788. *Finding of Our Lady of Remedios*. Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City



Figure 1. 32: Unknown Author. *Finding of Our Lady of Remedios*, ca. 1771. Detail of the Summary of Indulgencies granted to the Confraternity of Our Lady of Remedios (The full summary is reproduced in **Figure E: 4**). Archivo Histórico del Distrito Federal, Mexico City

I have located this last example at AHDF among the confraternity documentation. It displays the Remedios' sculpture in the midst of the maguey as a massive statue that, despite its size, is still able to communicate with the discoverer without overwhelming him. The inscription underneath, however, also emphasizes the distinction between

⁷⁰ This summary was printed in 1771 in the press of Joseph Fernandez Jáuregui (AHDF, Vol. 3901, exp. 26), see *Epilogue*. In 1794 Francisco Antonio Valdez received 64 pesos for printing similar *villetes de indulgencias* (AHDF, Vol. 3915).

apparitions and the statue's finding in the same words used in Villavicencio's print. The only variance with the previous inscription is the indication of place where the image was found, making clear why the two representations are different.

El año de 1540 nueve después de la prodigiosa aparición de NS de Guadalupe pasando por el cerro de Othoncapulco un indio cazique llamado D. Juan del Águila se le aparecía NS de los Remedios en el ayre, y le decía hijo búscame en este puesto y después de algunas apariciones de estas la hallo *en el centro de un maguey* y la llevó a su casa.

[In the year of 1540, nine after the miraculous apparition of Our Lady of Guadalupe, while walking by the Othomcapulco hill, an Indian *cazique* named Don Juan del Águila used to see apparitions of Our Lady of Remedios in the air. And she said to him "look for me at this site" and after a few of these apparitions, he found her [image] *in the midst of a maguey* and took her to his home]

As it is evident in all these images, the maguey plays a significant role in terms of how the statue is visually presented. As I argue in Chapter Three, it is feasible that the maguey was introduced as a way of linking Remedios to Mayahuel, the Pre-Columbian goddess of *pulque*—the drink of the Gods made out of the *aguamiel* found in the maguey's heart. As shown in figures from Codex Borbonicus, and many of the Codex Borgia group (Figures 3. 6 to 3. 12), Mayahuel was venerated in Pre-Columbian times in the midst of a maguey, depicted as one of the seven Mother Goddesses who was especially in charge of breastfeeding newborns.⁷¹

As I mentioned in the Introduction, the portrayal of the so-called *invención*—or finding of the statue—is now the most popular image within Remedios' iconography. However, it was not the only one favored within the devotional paraphernalia produced at the confraternity's request: the so-called *verdaderos retratos*—portraits of the cult image depicted as if on display within the main altar at her shrine—were also important vehicles

⁷¹ Oswaldo Gonzalves de Lima, *El maguey y el pulque en los códices mexicanos* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1978).

to enhance the cult.⁷² These “true portraits” are one of the most remarkable examples of the relationship between different artistic media, since they represent sculpted images in two-dimensional formats. Although some of them are truly realistic, the *verdaderos retratos* did not function as real *trompe l'oeil* or *trampantojos* because they did not aim to trick the viewer, but merely intended to show the cult image’s materiality in order to make it accessible to the devotees that, for any reason, cannot be in the presence of the original.⁷³

Two examples depict Our Lady of Remedios in her altar. The first one is a print used as frontispiece for the 1685 edition of Florencia’s chronicle, and in at least four other publications that celebrated in playful verses the arrival of Remedios in the Cathedral in 1685, 1668, and 1678 (twice) (Figures 33 to 37).⁷⁴ Both the Virgin and the Child are shown with rich crowns, but Mary’s head is also enhanced by a halo of light; both figures also show vast heads of hair, perhaps a visual reference to the wigs of natural hair that were added to the statues at some point during the early seventeenth century.⁷⁵

⁷² The documentation of the confraternity clearly stated the differences between *estampas con maguey* and *estampas* (that I assume are *verdaderos retratos*), making clear that the two iconographical types were equally popular: the two were printed on one eighth, fourth, or half of a paper sheet and were sold for the price of half, one, and two *reales* (an eighth of a peso). AHDF, Vol. 3895, exp. 2, and 3901, exp. 39.

⁷³ The art historian Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez argued otherwise in his article “Trampantojos a lo divino,” *Lecturas de Historia del Arte* III (1992). For him, the *verdaderos retratos* were indeed to deceive the beholder in order to make him feel the sacred presence of the image.

⁷⁴ These chronicles, which were pointed out to me by Ilona Katzew, are discussed in *Chapter Four*.

⁷⁵ I have not found within the confraternity papers any mention of the wigs, but it is clear they were used, as shown in Figure 27, starting at some point in the late seventeenth century.



Figure 1.33: Frontispiece of *Descripción de la Venida y Buelta de la Milagrosa Imagen de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios* by Alfonso de Ena, published in Mexico by Juan Ruiz in 1668



Figure 1.34: Frontispiece of *Métrica Relación de la Solemnidad con que esta Ilustre ciudad recibió la Milagrosa Imagen de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios*, by Alfonso Carrillo de Albornoz y Guzmán published in Mexico by the heirs of Juan Ruiz in 1678



Figure 1. 35: Frontispiece of *Acordes rendimientos, afectos numerosos que continuando con su devoción escribe el Bachiller D. Diego de Ribera presbítero a la duodécima vez que la milagrosa imagen de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios vino a la ciudad de México a 30 de Mayo de 1678* published in Mexico by Bernardo Calderon's widow in 1678



Figure 1. 36: Frontispiece of *Descripcion de la solemne venida de la imagen milagrosa de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios a esta nobilissima ciudad de Mexico este presente año de 1685* by Pedro Muñoz de Castro published in México by Juan de Ribera in 1685



Figure 1. 37: Frontispiece of *La milagrosa invención de un tesoro escondido* by Francisco de Florencia published in Mexico by Maria de Benavides in 1685

Mary and Jesus are flanked by two censers, two candle holders with candles lit, and on top, four of the many metal *ex-votos* in the shape of body parts (arm, heart, leg, and head) called *presentallas* that were given to the image as a public acknowledgement after a miraculous cure had taken place and were actually placed inside her tabernacle.⁷⁶ In such a print, with attributes that could be found around many other cult images, it is the inscription underneath that identifies Our Lady of Remedios.

The second example of a *verdadero retrato* I want to discuss is a painting made around 1700 by Juan Correa, the mulatto painter who has been considered one of the

⁷⁶ See *Chapter Three* for a full description of the tabernacle.

greatest painters in New Spain.⁷⁷ Here, the statue of Remedios is shown dressed in rich garments that match the sophisticated curtains to the sides (Figure 38), shown as if just opened for our enjoyment of the sacred original; the altar is covered by a lavish frontal decorated with a lily, an obvious reference to the immaculate conception of Mary.⁷⁸

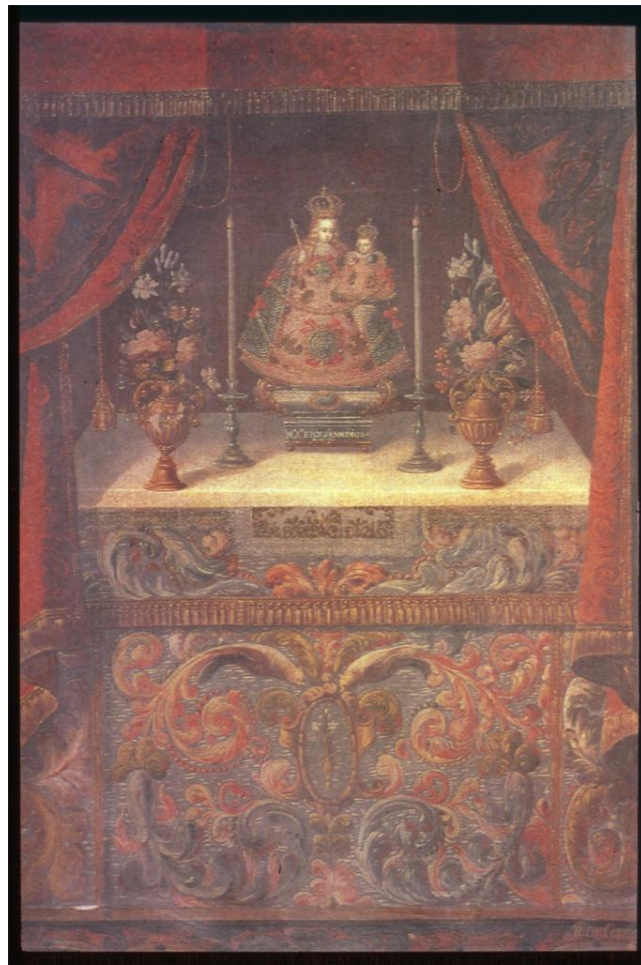


Figure 1. 38: Juan Correa. *Our Lady of Remedios*, ca. 1700. San Pedro de la Rúa parish church, Estella, Navarra

The painting is now at the San Pedro de la Rúa parish church in the city of Estella, province of Navarra in Spain. There is information about a second painting by Correa

⁷⁷ See Elisa Vargas Lugo, *Juan Correa: Su vida y su obra* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1985).

⁷⁸ See the entry of the painting by Elisa Vargas Lugo in *México en el mundo de las colecciones de arte* (Mexico City: Azabache, 1994), Vol. 1-234.

that depicts Our Lady of Remedios almost in the same way located in a neighboring town, although it is not known who took both paintings to Spain. According to the art historian Pilar Andueza, both paintings arrived in Spain as part of the *tornaviaje*, that is, the household goods that Spaniards brought back to the peninsula after making their fortunes in the New World.⁷⁹ Correa's signature in this painting allows us to consider the hierarchy of those who commissioned the painting from one of the most prominent painters of the late seventeenth century. The inscription on the pedestal where the image stands unmistakably identifies this image as Our Lady of Remedios of Mexico, making it impossible to confuse her with any of the many other Remedios venerated locally in Spain mentioned in Appendix 1. Thus, Correa's painting enables us to have a better sense of how this local cult expanded to the Old World once it was adopted and transformed by Mexico City's population, who were its primary audience.⁸⁰

There are other examples of the *vera efigie* type that shows Our Lady of Remedios in a less sumptuous environment, depicting the statue on a neutral background. For instance, I have located at the AGN a 1636 print by Bernardo Calderón where Remedios is portrayed in ornate robes, crowned and with an intense halo of light coming from behind her body (Figure 39).⁸¹ As in previous examples, the identification of the depicted cult image is through an inscription underneath the rather static and unexpressive figure that, however, is framed by a complex design of vegetable forms, birds and human faces.

⁷⁹ Personal communication at *Encrucijada, International Conference on Viceregal Sculpture*, October 2010. Andueza, professor at the Department of History of Art at Universidad de Navarra, is an expert on the migration of people from Navarra and the Basque country to New Spain.

⁸⁰ See *Chapter Three* and *Epilogue* for discussion on the geographical span of the cult of Mexico's Remedios.

⁸¹ AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 4926, exp. 26.

The importance of this print lies in the fact it was included at the center of the sheet on which it was published all the indulgences granted in 1576 by Pope Gregory XIII to the Confraternity of Our Lady of Remedios, only a year after its foundation.



Figure 1. 39: Unknown Author. *Our Lady of Remedios*, 1636.
Detail of the Summary of Indulgencies granted to the Confraternity of Our Lady of Remedios
(The full summary is reproduced in **Figure E: 3**). Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City

Another *verdadero retrato* also related to the concession of indulgencies is a print now in Museo Soumaya's collection in Mexico City where the cult image is depicted dressed in a richly decorated garment with pearls, with both a crown and a scepter (Figure 40). The faces of four cherubs in the top corners, and the luxurious pedestal that includes the figure of the moon, allude to the Immaculate Conception of Mary dogma in the figure of Our Lady of Remedios. The pedestal was included in the actual display at the shrine at an unknown date and is in use even today (Figure I. 1). The inscription at the bottom clearly

identifies her as Mexico City’s patroness and its “special protectress”—*patrona y protectora*. It also refers to the eighty days of indulgences granted by archbishop Alonso Nuñez de Haro (1729-1800) to whoever prayed the *Salve Regina* imploring “the exaltation of the Catholic Faith and satisfaction of all the Church’s needs” while having at hand either a medal or a print—like this one, I suppose—with the true portrait of Our Lady of Remedios.⁸²



Figure 1. 40: Unknown Author. *Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, Patrona y Especial Protectora de la Ciudad de México*, ca. 1795. Museo Soumaya, Mexico City

A most relevant true portrait of Our Lady of Remedios is the one used in the 1809 edition of the *Iris Americano*, a booklet intended to guide the nine days of devotional

⁸² The inscription says that such benefits were granted on July 5, 1794, but other sources consider that the indulgencies were granted in the Archbishop’s house in Tacubaya three days later following the request of Pasqual Cobian, treasurer of the confraternity (AHDF, Vol. 3901, exp. 26).

exercises called *Novenas* (Figure 41).⁸³ The fact that this print was used in this kind of text, small enough to fit the hands of the devotee, makes it one of the most popular of the corpus compiled here.



Figure 1.41: Unknown Author. *Our Lady of Remedios*, ca. 1809. Included in the novena *Iris Americano* by Josef María Deza published in Mexico by Imprenta de Arizpe in 1809

One last example of Our Lady of Remedios' *verdadero retrato* is the *ex-voto* commissioned in 1813 by the female students from the Jesuit Colegio de las Vizcaínas (Figure I.3). She was depicted here dressed with a rather simple garment but with an evident red stripe and sword as her military insignia, items that were placed by the nuns from the San Jerónimo nunnery in 1808 as a response to the Napoleonic invasion of Spain.⁸⁴ Years later, in the context of the father Miguel Hidalgo's rebellion that grew to

⁸³ Joseph Hilgers, "Novena." In *The Catholic Encyclopedia* Vol. 11 ((New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1911). <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/11141b.htm>, first accessed December 17, 2009

⁸⁴ Taylor, *Miraculous Images*, 171.

be the Independence movement, the military character of Remedios was enhanced and she was called *La Generala*, gaining fame as the patroness of the Royal Army.⁸⁵

The last print I want to refer to is a unique example that combines the apparition and *verdadero retrato* iconographic types (Figure 42). It is a print used as the frontispiece in Diego de Ribera's *Amoroso Canto*, a poetic description of the 1663 procession of Our Lady of Remedios to Mexico City in hopes of rain. Remedios is depicted in the center with scepter, crown, halo surrounding her head, and a rich pedestal to emphasize her high place in heaven's hierarchy.



Figure 1. 42: Unknown Author. *Our Lady of Remedios with apparitions* in the frontispiece of *Amoroso Canto que con reverentes afectos continuando su devoción escribe el Bachiler Don Diego de Ribera Presbitero a la Novena Venida que hizo a esta Nobilissima Ciudad de Mexico la Milagosa Imagen de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios* published in Mexico, by Bernardo Calderón's widow in 1663

The portrait is combined with four scenes in the corners that portray important parts of

⁸⁵ See Taylor, *Shrines*, and the *Epilogue* of this dissertation.

her legend, much in the same way later used in Figure 3: 16, that is, following the visual scheme used in the imagery of Our Lady of Guadalupe where the corners are usually occupied by representations of the apparitions of Mary to Indian Juan Diego at Tepeyac hill.⁸⁶ In the upper left corner of this print, Remedios is depicted as a vision: her image is protecting a man who fell from his horse that was scared by a dog. In the bottom right corner, Remedios, depicted again as an immaterial image, protects a vessel from shipwreck. At the upper right corner, Remedios is healing Juan Ce Cuautli Tovar, the finder of her statue, who according to Cisneros was severely wounded after a column fell on him while helping build the Franciscan convent of Tacuba. The image is closely similar to a painting from a collateral

retablo dedicated to Our Lady of Guadalupe, signed by painter José Navarro in 1689, located at the church of San Jerónimo Tlacoahuaya in the southern state of Oaxaca (Figure 43). In the bottom left of the print, Remedios is depicted not as a vision as was the case in the other three small representations, but as the actual statue. The representation follows Cisneros' narrative and shows Juan Ce Cuautli Tovar holding the

wooden box where he placed it soon after he found it in the midst of a maguey plant that



Figure 1. 43: José Navarro. *Miracle of the column performed by Nuestra Señora de los Remedios* ca. 1689, detail of *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe Altarpiece*. Church of San Jerónimo Tlacoahuaya, Oaxaca

⁸⁶ Jaime Cuadriello, *Maravilla americana: Variantes de la iconografía guadalupana, siglos XVII-XIX* (Mexico City: Patrimonio Cultural del Occidente, 1989).

is also seen in the background of the picture. It is worth mentioning that all these four scenes were part of the mural program painted by Alonso de Villasana on the shrine walls in 1595 described in Chapter Two, which is proof of the relevance of this program in the conformation of the official narrative of Our Lady of Remedios.⁸⁷

Last but not least, I would like to bring attention to the so-called *peregrina*, a copy of the original statue of Our Lady of Remedios, made to visit different towns in order to expand the cult and obtain alms to support the shrine.⁸⁸ The earliest mention of this copy appears in a report made in 1670 for 1700 pesos that were collected by a Pedro López using the pilgrim copy.⁸⁹ Taking into consideration that in those years the average of alms collected during the August feast of the Indians was 479 pesos, this amount of money was considerable. In 1731 and 1737, the yearly amount collected with the *peregrina* copy went down to 362 pesos, which does not necessarily imply a decline of the cult but a series of problems regarding the collector, who a few years later complained of the intensive work the collecting involved and requested some extra people to help him.⁹⁰ The inventory of all the items pertaining to the shrine made in September 1675 described the *peregrina* as a statue about 9.5 inches (24 cm., see

⁸⁷ Painter Alonso de Villasana made a series of ten paintings in 1595 illustrating the most crucial scenes of Remedios legend, which I study extensively in *Chapter Two*. According to archival documentation, it is likely the canvases remained hanging on the shrine walls until the end of the eighteenth century, but the complex mural decoration that complemented them with representation of sibyls and prophets, allegorical images of Mary, as well as scenes of her life, was destroyed starting in 1616, when a mayor refurbishment of the shrine took place. We know of them through an extensive description included in Cisneros chronicle (See Appendix 2).

⁸⁸ Florencia, *Milagrosa Invención*, 123, par.187.

⁸⁹ AHDF, Vol. 3895, exp. 3

⁹⁰ AHDF, Vol. 3895, exp. 2 and Vol. 3898, exp 8.

Appendix 4),⁹¹ a bit smaller than the original. It is known that it was replaced whenever it got damaged.⁹² The copy was adorned with crowns that were previously used by the original, but were considered too old to be used any longer by it.⁹³ Florencia mentioned that the people that took the copy on its trips always took care that it was welcomed with pomp, but he did not mention how it was consecrated, if consecrated at all.⁹⁴

Conclusion

The statue of Our Lady of Remedios is one of the oldest Marian images in Mexico. This small sculpture of allegedly Spanish origin is composed of two different figures, Mary and Child. Such a feature is not at all common in early sixteenth-century imagery, one reason why a technical analysis of its materiality is desirable. Such an examination would not compromise the cult that has enhanced the statue for more than four hundred and fifty years. On the contrary, it would deepen our understanding not only of the statue's origins, but also of the historical development of this devotion so crucial for the history of Mexico. Until that inspection is done, with the permission and under supervision of the ecclesiastical authorities of the shrine, there is only room for speculation. This chapter has presented four hypotheses to explain Remedios' statue's main feature—the separateness of the child from Mary's figure—arguing that the original sculpture

⁹¹ AHDF, Vol. 3895, exp. 3. Significantly, the copy was not appraised.

⁹² In 1812, for instance, 25 pesos were given to Luis Romero to pay him for the statue he made to replace la *peregrina*. Interestingly enough, the documentation stresses that this copy was placed in the main altar whenever the original was in the city. This substitution most likely took place only in the nineteenth century. AHDF, Vol. 3916 exp. 366. In 1814, one image was placed in the niche at the main altar, while an old copy was kept at the *camarín*. AHDF, Vol. 3895, exp. 2.

⁹³ For crowns reused in 1694, see AHDF, Vol. 3896.

⁹⁴ In the September festivities of 2011, a *peregrina* was taken into procession through the streets close to the shrine. Supposedly, it is a nineteenth-century image, but still people touched it in order to get closer to the sacred aura of the original. I do not know if this is the only *peregrina*, or if there are more.

suffered a substantial transformation at the moment of the activation of the cult, that is, in the 1550's. The alteration I assume the most feasible consisted in converting a statue depicting the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, with folded arms in front of her chest, into the Remedios we know now, with a rather flat left arm where Jesus sits. Thus, an image of Mary as Mother of God was completed, and therefore, Remedios became the earliest representation of a loving mother for all who sought her intercession. It is necessary to insist that the act of reshaping the statue was neither an act of vandalism, nor an action to deceive those who would become Remedios devotees. Performing physical transformations in cult images has been a common practice in the Western world for the sake of magnifying the devotion to the Virgin Mary. It is still carried out in many towns, as the contemporary evidence provided by conservators shows. The sacredness of an object was not in jeopardy because the changes were done in order to exalt even more the holiness of the depicted character. In short, the object that was transformed in the sixteenth century was originally made for individual devotion and the changes performed were to expand its influence, converting it into an image at the center of a vast popular cult. The consecrated statue, however, once in its tabernacle, was more difficult to alter in its materiality. That is what the documents related to possible repaintings and restorations imply: at least by the end of the eighteenth century the mentality had changed, and retouching and restoring the statue were believed to be radical changes that could endanger the cult because such interventions would remove the past, that is, the memory of its cult, from it. However, on many occasions, devotees were allowed to touch the consecrated statue, which, paradoxically, was on display covered by curtains most of the time in order to increase the symbolic distance to it. The complex relation between

touching and a hidden gaze for the sacred object are aspects that we would need to investigate much further for a deeper understanding of the devotional practices in New Spain.

The ways in which the sacred materiality of Our Lady of Remedios was described and depicted visually also enriches our knowledge of such devotional practices in modes written documents cannot. That is why it is so important to consider the copies made to portrait Remedios' sacred original along with it. The images considered in this chapter's third section, for instance, allow discussion of different forms of identity that those images sought to confirm: while the indulgencies summaries were to show that an individual belonged to Remedios' confraternity or at least proved their devotion to this particular cult image, Correa's painting tells the history of appropriation, that is, the recognition of a place where individual fortune was made. Medals and devotional prints like that made by Villavicencio, or those included in the novenas' booklets, aid an understanding of the ways in which devotees actually adopted and lived the cult to Our Lady of Remedios, a sphere that otherwise would remain unknown. Moreover, as these copies were key in shaping the memory of the cult, they provide an excellent way to unravel the process by which certain elements, like the discovery within the maguey, were made into the legend's "official" narrative.

Chapter Two

The Legend in the Making

The history of miraculous images is never easy to reconstruct. The origin of these artifacts is obscure as it is in the incertitude of its genesis that their holy character is grounded. However difficult it is to reconstruct the moment when the historical met the myth, or when the facts gave birth to the legend for that matter, it is worth trying to unveil the process by which the two elements converged in the life of a given cult image.

This chapter aims to reconstruct how the legend of Our Lady of Remedios, which was described in the introduction, took shape by pinpointing how certain elements were introduced in the narratives of particular authors. For the sake of making the process more accessible for the reader, I have structured the chapter in chronological order starting with those narratives written in the sixteenth century. Thus, the first section discusses how authors like Hernán Cortés, Francisco López de Gómara, Francisco Cervantes de Salazar, friar Bernardino de Sahagún, Bernal Díaz del Castillo, and friar Juan de Torquemada highlighted the site where Remedios' shrine is located. Needless to say, many more authors considered the conquest in their work, but I consider here only those who have helped to shape the story of this particular miraculous image. That is why I also include a brief consideration of the Uppsala map, which sheds light on the initial period of the shrine. The last and longest part of this first section is dedicated to the paintings made in 1595 by Alonso de Villasana to adorn the shrine's interior. Although a substantial part of it was destroyed starting in 1616, I was able to reconstruct the whole plan through the description included in the chronicle made by friar Luis de Cisneros, which I also discuss in detail in the second section of this chapter. I should warn the

reader, just as much Cisneros himself did regarding his own description, that this passage is tedious. However, as an art historian, I considered of much relevance to highlight the foundational role images had, as it is was here, in this lost iconographical program, that the legend of the discovery of the image was narrated in full for the first time.

The second section of this chapter contemplates the seventeenth-century accounts. Besides the chronicle that Cisneros published in 1621, I discuss the work of Baltasar Dorantes de Carranza, Captain Ángel Betancur, friar Juan de Grijalva, friar Francisco de Pareja, and friar Agustín de Vetancurt. Special attention is paid to the work of Francisco de Florencia, not only because of the of the author's fame as an eminent Jesuit priest, but also because his chronicle regarding this Marian image was widespread and helped codify the legend within the general public.

The third section briefly comments on works like *Escudo de armas* by Cayetano Cabrera y Quintero, *Zodiaco Mariano* by Francisco de Florencia and Francisco de Oviedo, and *Baluartes de México* by Mariano Fernández de Echeverría y Veitia. These publications added few new elements to the legend of Remedios; however, they certainly determined the sacred geography of the city and the viceroyalty in general and it is important to consider how they influenced this particular tale. The same can be said of a lesser known chronicle written by Francisco de Berrio Lorenzot that was never published, but was written by a member of the confraternity and the city council. Last but not least, in the section related to the nineteenth century, I refer to Ignacio Carrillo y Pérez, Juan Antonio Pichardo, and Juan Bautista Díaz Castillo.

SIXTEENTH-CENTURY SOURCES

Hernán Cortés is said to have used a banner with an image of Our Lady during the conquest of Mexico-Tenochtitlan (Figure 1). It depicts the Virgin in a half-size portrait, with hands together at her chest, looking to the left of the spectator. She wears a halo of stars and a crown, while dressed in a pink tunic with a blue mantle covering her shoulders. Because of these features, it has been suggested that Mary is represented as the Immaculate Conception, although for some authors it was a depiction of Our Lady of Merced, based on the close relationship the conqueror had with friar Bartolomé de Olmedo, a Mercedarian who is believed to have arrived in New Spain with Cortés as his confessor.



Figure 2.1: Unknown Author. *Banner of Hernán Cortés*, ca. 1518.
Museo Nacional de Historia, Mexico City

Regardless of how deep his devotion to the Virgin Mary was, in Cortés' letters to king Charles V there is almost no mention of her. In the first letter, written on July 10, 1519, he stressed how he encouraged the caciques from Yucatán to receive the new faith

he was bringing, leaving “a wooden cross ... and an image of Our Lady the Virgin Mary.”¹ In the second letter, from October 30, 1520, he also mentioned how he placed images of Our Lady at the Templo Mayor of Tenochtitlan as a substitution for those idols that he had tossed.² Yet, in his detailed account of the conquest, he did not mention any apparition of Mary, or Saint James for that matter, during his escape from Mexico-Tenochtitán, which, according to his own record, occurred six days after Saint John the Baptist’s day, that is, June 30.³

Cortés briefly mentioned that, after passing Tacuba, he and his soldiers were able to go to a hill where there was a tower and a fortified house, where they could barricade themselves for the night, until a Tlaxcaltecan man showed them the way out of the valley.⁴ Almost thirty years later, Francisco de Gómara, former chaplain of Cortés, identified in his chronicle *Historia de la Conquista de México*, published in Zaragoza in 1552, that this site was the same hill where the shrine of Our Lady of Remedios was located.⁵ However, in the so-called Uppsala map, made around 1550–55 to be sent to king Philip II, the shrine at Totoltepec appears as Our Lady of Victory (Figure 2).⁶

¹ Hernán Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*, ed. Anthony Pagden (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986 [1524]), 18.

² *Ibid.*, 106.

³ Gómara and Bernal said that the battle took place on July 10. *Ibid.*, 478-479, n2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 139-140.

⁵ Francisco López de Gómara, *Historia de la conquista de México* (Mexico City: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1943 [1552]), 314-315: “Cortés, que venía detrás para llevar a todos los suyos adelante ... peleó hasta llegar a un cerro alto, donde está una torre y templo que ahora llaman por eso Nuestra Señora de los Remedios. En aquél templo que tenía razonable aposento se fortaleció.”

⁶ See Carmen Medina, “De Tenochtitlan a Uppsala – La historia del Mapa de México,” in Proceedings from I Coloquio de Cultura Mexicana at Uppsala University, October 2007, <http://www.naua.se/Mexico07/Pub/Ponencias.php>, first accessed December 17, 2010.



Figure 2.2: Unknown Author. *Santa Cruz Map*, also known as the *Uppsala Map* (detail), ca. 1555. Uppsala University, Uppsala

Francisco Cervantes de Salazar also referred to this nomenclature in his *Crónica de la Nueva España*, written between 1558 and 1566:⁷ according to him, the name changed to Nuestra Señora de los Remedios because “it was there where the Spanish army found remedy.”⁸

It is worth mentioning that Cervantes allegedly wrote his chronicle supported by the 130 conquistadors living in Mexico City, who strongly disagreed with López de

⁷ Juan Miralles Ostos, “Prólogo”, XX, in Francisco Cervantes de Salazar, *Crónica de la Nueva España* (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1985 [m. ca. 1558-1566]).

⁸ Cervantes, *Crónica*, 507.

Gómara for praising the glories of Hernán in detriment of those who fought at his side.⁹ Thus, if it is true that Cervantes' main sources were those same people who won the city only a few years before, it is feasible to consider that a change in the name of the primitive *ermita* at Totoltepec actually took place, as he stressed. This idea is echoed in Bernal Díaz del Castillo's work: around the same time that Cervantes was writing his chronicle,¹⁰ Díaz mentioned that the site was dedicated to Nuestra Señora de los Remedios once Mexico-Tenochtitlan surrendered to the Spaniards, as it was there that they found refuge and those who were injured started to be cured.¹¹

While friar Diego Durán in his *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España*, written at the end of the sixteenth century, had already mentioned the site as Our Lady of Remedios,¹² in the famous work by his contemporary friar Bernardino de Sahagún, the site where the Spaniards found rest once the Mexica had stopped chasing them appeared as "Otonteocalco". Interestingly, Sahagún recorded that the Spaniards were fed at that site by an Otomí principal named Otoncoatl and his people.¹³

⁹ Miralles, "Prólogo", XXII. According to this author, Cervantes copied large sections from Gómara's work, but also benefited from the chronicles by conquerors Andrés de Tapia and Jerónimo Ruiz de la Mota. Cervantes also mentioned among his sources Martón Lopez, who was the builder of the *bergantines* that facilitated the siege of Tenochtitlan.

¹⁰ Miralles considered that Cervantes's *Crónica* was taken to Spain around fourteen years before Bernal finished his *Historia*. *Ibid*, XXXVII.

¹¹ Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España*, ed. Carmelo and Ramón Iglesia Sáenz de Santa María (Madrid: Instituto "Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo" C.S.I.C., 1982), 286: "digamos cómo nos defendíamos; en aquél cu y fortaleza nos albergamos y se curaron los heridos, y con muchas lumbres que hicimos. Pues de comer no lo había, y en aquel cu y adoratorio, después de ganada la gran ciudad de México, hicimos una iglesia que se dice nuestra señora de los Remedios e van ahora allí en romería y a tener novenas muchos vecinos y señoras de México."

¹² Diego Durán, *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España* ed. Angel María Garibay (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1967 [m. ca.1560-1580]).

¹³ Bernardino de Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*, ed. Alfredo López Austin and Josefina García Quintana (Mexico City: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 2000 [m. ca. 1590]), book 12, chapters 24 and 25. Francisco Miranda (*Dos cultos fundantes: Los Remedios y Guadalupe, 1521-1649: historia documental* (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán, 2001)) considers this to be the main source

Following Sahagún, friar Juan de Torquemada also mentioned in his *Monarquía Indiana* that the Otomí people helped the Spaniards, promising them they would be their allies because they hated the Mexica and their abusive tribute practices. Torquemada, as Cervantes de Salazar, mentioned that at first the site was dedicated to Our Lady of Victory and only after was consecrated to Our Lady of Remedios.¹⁴

The only sixteenth-century author who provides another alternative name for the site is friar José de Acosta: he mentions in his *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* that, “according to both indigenous and Spanish accounts, it was on that hill, three *leguas* outside Mexico, where God saved the Spanish by miracle of Mary, mother of mercy, queen of heaven; now there is a chapel to remember this under the name of Nuestra Señora del Socorro.”¹⁵ It is hard to determine why the Jesuit, writing his *Historia* in the late 1580s, included this nomenclature.

It is also relevant to highlight the few references that some of these authors made to Juan Rodríguez Villafuerte, the soldier who allegedly brought the statue of Our Lady of Remedios to the New World. López de Gómara mentioned him among a group of more than fifty Spaniards while talking about the *Dos Peñoles* battle that took place days before the siege of Mexico-Tenochtitlán. He revealed his name again as one of the eighty people that Cortés left in charge of the city when he left for the Hibueras, but never

for Francisco Javier Clavijero’s *Historia Antigua de México*, as the Jesuit also stressed the role played by the Otomis of Totoltepec’s surroundings in the recovery of the Spanish army.

¹⁴ Juan de Torquemada, *Monarquía indiana*, ed. Miguel León-Portilla (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 1975 [1615]).

¹⁵ “Las relaciones de los españoles y las de los indios concuerdan en que aquí les libró nuestro Señor por milagro, defendiéndoles la Madre de misericordia y Reina del cielo, María, maravillosamente en un cerrillo, donde a tres leguas de Méjico está hasta el día de hoy fundada una iglesia en memoria de esto, con título de Nuestra Señora del Socorro,” José Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 1999 [1590]), <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra/historia-natural-y-moral-de-las-indias--0/>. XXVI.

linked his name to the sanctuary.¹⁶ In Díaz del Castillo's chronicle, he was not mentioned even once.¹⁷

Alonso de Villasana's paintings at the shrine

Reconstruction of a lost foundational program

In most of the Marian chronicles written in sixteenth-century Spain, the role of images was key for tracing the historical background of each cult. Friar Gabriel de Talavera, for instance, considered in his *Historia de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe* that the images located at the walls of the Extremadura shrine were truly historical documents that could inform observers about the cult's development and could verify the veracity of the miracles performed by the Virgin.¹⁸ However, as I will show later in this chapter, it was only friar Luis de Cisneros who took the time to actually look at the visual material he had in front of him, describe it in full detail, and even provide a theoretical background on how it supported the cult.¹⁹ It is by virtue of his effort, included in Chapters Twelve and Thirteen of his chronicle published in 1621 (Appendix 2), that the importance of this iconographical program can be traced. Although the paintings were also described in a poem by Captain Ángel Betancur also around 1616 (Appendix 3), it was not with the detail Cisneros offered.²⁰

¹⁶ López de Gómara, *Historia*, second volume, 20 and 67.

¹⁷ Díaz del Castillo, *Historia*, 632.

¹⁸ Gabriel de Talavera, *Historia de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, consagrada a la soberana magestad de la Reyna de los Ángeles, milagrosa patrona de este santuario* (Toledo: Thomas de Guzman, 1597).

¹⁹ Luis de Cisneros, *Historia de el principio y origen, progresos, venidas a México y Milagros de la Santa Ymagen de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios extramuros de México*, ed. Francisco Miranda (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán, 1999 [1621]).

²⁰ Captain Ángel Betancur, *Historia de la Milagrosa Imagen de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, cuyo santuario está extramuros de México, cuya conquista se toca*. Manuscript at Archivo General de la Nación

Cisneros made a thoughtful decision when deciding to outline the paintings in his text. Such exercise was also a natural consequence of his goal of preserving the memory of everything that was related to the cult. In his perspective, the paintings deserved attention because they stood as the earliest proof of Remedios miracles. By describing them, Cisneros alluded to the visual element for the sake of convincing his readers of the relevance of this Marian image during the conquest of Mexico. He stressed that

haría agravio a su ingenioso trabajo y aun quedaría manca la pintura del adorno de esta Santa casa, si no lo pusiera. Y así lo he de poner aunque me cueste trabajo que arguye todo en quien lo trabajó, ingenio, erudición y gran lección de letras sagradas. Yo sé que los curiosos me agradecerán el trabajo y quien no lo entendiere pase adelante, que porque el libro sirva a todos no he puesto en todo él cosa en latín, pero aquí no lo pude excusar porque no hago en esta parte mas que referir lo allí pintado.

I would offend all the ingenious work and would miss a most important part of the decoration of this Holy House if I decided not to provide a detailed account [of the paintings]. And so I will, even if it means a lot of work for me in order to honor their author, who all organized with wit, erudition and great knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. I know all curious people will thank me for doing this. If there is anybody who cannot appreciate it, please continue reading. I have avoided the use of Latin in all my book trying to make it accessible to most people, but here I was forced to use it because I am referring exactly to what it was painted there.²¹

According to Cisneros, the iconographic program was painted in 1595 by Alonso de Villasana.²² Regrettably, this is the only confirmed reference to this painter's work that exists. As the art historian Manuel Toussaint pointed out, because of the visibility of this

(hereafter AGN), *Historia*, Vol. 1, exp. 17, 236v-247. Juan Antonio Pichardo included in his 1808ca. manuscript the full account of Cisneros relative to the paintings (*Historia del Santuario de los Remedios*. Manuscript R-9, Edmundo O'Gorman Collection, Benson Latin American Collection, The university of Texas at Austin, ca 1808). See further down for my comments on these two pieces.

²¹ *Ibid*, 79.

²² *Ibid*, 93.

commission in which the city's authorities were most likely involved, it is feasible that he had already built a good reputation by that time.²³

Villasana's commission, however, did not come from the *Cabildo* itself, but from José Lopez, the shrine's chaplain at the time. There is not much information about this priest either, besides the fact that he was the son of Pedro López, a prominent Castilian surgeon and founder of the Hospital de San Lorenzo, for lepers, and the Hospital de Nuestra Señora de los Desamparados, for orphan children.²⁴ Cisneros noted that all of the paintings were "made" by the devoted chaplain, highly ornamented with verses, praises, and hieroglyphs ("*todas estas pinturas...las hizo el devoto capellán, tan adornadas de versos, elogios y jeroglíficos*"),²⁵ reason why it has been assumed that José Lopez was the intellectual author of the program.²⁶ However, the historian Édgar García Valencia has recently challenged this idea.²⁷ Based on the appointment of a certain Hernán Gonzalez

²³ Manuel Toussaint, *Pintura colonial en México* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1990), 66. Although Jorge Alberto Manrique ("La muerte en la colonia," *El nigromante, Boletín cultural*, año VIII, número 89 (2007), 10), mentions that Villasana's sepulcher was located at the church of San Miguel in Mexico City, this reference might refer to an homonym of this painter, as this parish church was built only at the end of the seventeenth century, between 1690 and 1692.

²⁴ María Luisa Rodríguez-Sala, *Los cirujanos de hospitales de la Nueva España (1700-1833): miembros de un estamento profesional o de una comunidad científica?* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México-Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales-Academia Mexicana de Cirugía-Secretaría de Salud-Patronato del Hospital de Jesús, 2006), 59 onwards.

²⁵ Cisneros, *Historia*, 79.

²⁶ Miranda, *Dos cultos fundantes*, 31.

²⁷ García Valencia developed this idea while writing his dissertation on Eslava's work (Edgar García Valencia, "El bosque simbólico: la emblemática en el teatro de Fernán González de Eslava" (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Ph. D., 2008), particularly pages 125-133), and first presented it in a paper we delivered together in 2007 in Gandía, Spain, at the Sixth Conference of the Spanish Society of Emblematics (Edgar García Valencia and Rosario Inés Granados Salinas, "Remedios contra el olvido. Emblemática y conquista en los muros del primer santuario mariano de América," in *Imagen y Cultura. La Interpretación de las imágenes como historia cultural. Actas del VI Congreso Internacional de la Sociedad Española de Emblemática*, ed. Rafael García Mahiques and Vincent Francesc Zuriaga Senent (Gandía: Generalitat Valenciana-Universitat Internacional de Gandía, 2008), 849-860). In October 2008, he further developed the topic in his paper "Fernán González de Eslava y los jeroglíficos de la Ermita de los

as the shrine's sacristan on April 22, 1594, he considered that it is suitable to identify the intellectual author as Fernán Gonzalez de Eslava, the Spanish poet and priest who came to New Spain in 1558 and became famous for his *Coloquios*, or theatre plays, which were staged on a regular basis in the capital of the viceroyalty.²⁸ Renowned scholars of Eslava's work, like Margit Frank, have hitherto believed that the sacristan's name was only a homonym of the poet, mainly considering that Eslava was too old to accept the designation in such a distant location (the shrine is located roughly seven miles northwest of Mexico City).²⁹ However, García Valencia considered the identification feasible not only because the poet signed a contract with the city's chapter in 1588 using that shorter version of his name—Hernán Gonzalez³⁰—but mainly because this *clérigo de evangelio*, or gospel cleric, would be one of the few people in late sixteenth-century New Spain who had the literary skills to conceive a complex program such as this one, full of original emblems and biblical references.

García Valencia developed his argument mainly around four points. First, he pointed to Eslava's ability to create original emblems using classical authors like Valeriano, as he did in his *Coloquio* number sixteen. Second, he referenced Eslava's use of the figure of the eagle looking at the sun in his poem CXXV, dedicated to the assumption of Mary, which was also part of the Remedios program (see Epistle Side 5)

Remedios," presented at II Congreso de Literatura y Cultura Áureas y Virreinales, which took place in Mexico City, (<http://investigacion.izt.uam.mx/clit/resumenes2.htm>).

²⁸ Fernán González de Eslava, *Coloquios espirituales y sacramentales*, ed. Othón Arróniz and Sergio López Mena (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1998).

²⁹ Margit Frenk, "Introducción," in Fernán González de Eslava, *Villancicos, romances, ensaladas y otras canciones devotas*, ed. Margit Frenk (Mexico City: Colegio de México-Centro de Estudios Lingüísticos y Literarios, 1989 [1610]).

³⁰ García Valencia, *El bosque simbólico*, 126.

and would be included years later in Spanish emblem books by Hernando de Soto and Sebastian de Covarrubias, thus linking the intellectual author of the program with a genealogy of Hispanic Emblematics.³¹ Third, he highlighted Eslava's ability to create original allegories and mottos based on biblical verses, like he did in his third *Coloquio* where he praised the entrance of archbishop Pedro Moya de Contreras in Mexico City.³² Fourth, and most crucial, is Eslava's *Coloquio Fourteenth*, a theatre play about the big epidemic of 1577 that included references to Our Lady of Remedios as the only "remedy" for which people could look for.³³ Considering that it was in the context of this outbreak of 1576-77 that the statue was taken into the city for the first time, it is plausible to think that after Eslava wrote about Remedios in his play, he was invited to promote the cult by means of his powerful creativeness around 1595.

To García Valencia's arguments, it is worth adding that a similar wordplay between the name of the cult image and the means of counteracting or eliminating something undesirable (Remedios/Remedy) was used in the *octavas* created as an epigram to the central painting of the fourth section of the Epistle side. Eslava's fondness for including historical facts in his poetry, including references to the daily life in New Spain,³⁴ is key to tying him to Villasana's visual program. His *Coloquio Six* and

³¹ García Valencia and Granados Salinas, 856. García Valencia, 130-131.

³² *Ibid*, 857.

³³ García Valencia, 126-128. For more on the relevance of this *coloquio* in relation to the epidemics, see also Zoé Jiménez Corretjer, "La conversión del indio como metáfora anterior: Visión cosmogónica de lo alegórico en la obra de González de Eslava en la Nueva España," *Exégesis. Revista del Colegio Universitario de Humacao* 11, no. 34 (2010), <http://cu-www.upr.clu.edu/exegesis/34/jimenez.html>, also available at <http://www.robertexto.com/archivo16/eslava.htm>, first accessed July 14, 2010.

³⁴ Arturo Torres Rioseco, "El Primer Dramaturgo Americano-Fernán González de Eslava," *Hispania* 24, no. 2 (1941), 161-170.

Fifteenth, where he celebrated the entrance of viceroys Count of Coruña and Luis de Velazco, respectively, would be enough to prove that he was used to commenting on public festivities similar to the first procession of Remedios, which is included in the program (see Epistle Side 4). However, the role played by Eslava in the intellectual conception of the program, as García Valencia acknowledged in his dissertation, is not yet conclusive.³⁵ The lack of important aspects of Eslava's literary production—such as the constant use of neologisms of Nahuatl roots and humoristic verses that complement the doctrinal parts—within the Remedios program also need to be taken into account before linking a poet of Eslava's stature with this complex iconographic program.³⁶ However, it needs to be recognized that this is the earliest example of the creation of emblems in New Spain, and that García Valencia's hypothesis about González de Eslava's involvement in it is strongly feasible.

Based on Cisneros' description, it is clear that the program's narrative developed along the single-nave church that was about one hundred feet long, guiding the visitor's path from the church's exterior to the tabernacle where the holy sculpture was on display in the main chapel's interior. The use of such paintings was not specific to this shrine: as the historian Françoise Crémoux has pointed out, all Marian sanctuaries used to have them.³⁷ During the second half of the seventeenth century, for instance, the shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe just outside Mexico City was decorated with two enormous paintings

³⁵ García Valencia, *El bosque simbólico*, 129.

³⁶ Alonso Amado, "Biografía de Fernán González de Eslava," *Revista de Filología Hspánica* (1940).

³⁷ Françoise Crémoux, "Las imágenes de devoción y sus usos. El culto a al Virgen de Guadalupe (1500-1750)," in *La imagen religiosa en la monarquía hispánica: usos y espacios*, edited by María Cruz de Carlos Varona et. al. (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2008), 62: "En los granes santuarios, no faltan nunca los cuadros alusivos a la historia de las sagradas imágenes que en ellos se veneran así como a sus prodigios."

located at the sides of the church. One of them depicted the first miracle of this image, which was performed when an Indian came back to life after being accidentally pierced by an arrow during a procession that was believed to bring Juan Diego's cloak to the Tepeyac hill once the image of Mary was imprinted on it at the archbishop's palace. The second painting showed a penitential procession of hooded men led by Franciscan friars. These two canvases included representations of the altar where the Image of Guadalupe was placed, thus functioning as mirrors that accompanied the visitor on his way to the real *sancta sanctorum*.³⁸ The paintings, nowadays identified as *The First Miracle* and *The Cocolitzin Epidemic* (Figures 3 and 4), are part of the Museo de la Basílica de Guadalupe's collection at Mexico City and have been recently attributed by the art historian Nelly Sigaut to José Juárez, leader of the first generation of Creole painters in Mexico City.³⁹

³⁸ Jaime Cuadriello, "Tierra de Prodigios. La Ventura como Destino," in *Pinceles de la Historia 1. El Origen del Reino de la Nueva España. Exhibition Catalogue* (Mexico City: Museo Nacional de Arte, 1999), 194.

³⁹ Nelly Sigaut, *José Juárez: recursos y discursos del arte de pintar, Exhibition Catalogue* (Mexico City: Museo Nacional de Arte-Banamex-Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México-Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas-Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes-Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes, 2002).



Figure 2.3: José Juárez, attribution. *Translation of the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe to the first chapel and first miracle*, ca. 1650. Museo de la Basílica de Guadalupe, Mexico City



Figure 2.4: José Juárez, attribution. *Procession from Tlatelolco to Tepeyac requesting Our Lady of Guadalupe's help in time of the epidemic of Cocolixtli*, ca. 1650. Museo de la Basílica de Guadalupe, Mexico City

Cisneros referred to the paintings at the shrine of Our Lady of Remedios as a wall canvas (“*el lienzo de pared*”)⁴⁰ reason why it has been assumed that the technique used by Villasana was fresco. This decoration was complemented by ten large-format

⁴⁰ Cisneros, *Historia*, 79.

paintings described merely as *cuadros*, but it is not clear if they were created on canvas or on panel.⁴¹ It is likely that at least eight of such large-scale paintings survived their mural counterparts for almost two hundred years: the inventories that were constantly made from 1675 until 1829 describing the shrine's ornaments include references to eight *cuadros* depicting the Virgin's miracles.⁴² Regrettably, these documents do not provide any information regarding who was the paintings' creator, so it is impossible to know if they always refer to those paintings made by Villasana in the late sixteenth century, or if the paintings were at some point replaced by newer versions.

Sotocoro: Including the people of New Spain

The program started with a big painting or *gran cuadro* located at the *sotocoro*.⁴³ Although it is actually the last section described by Cisneros,⁴⁴ it was probably the most important image of all because of its references to the city council's patronage and the Indian inclusion in the Christian world. From Cisneros description is not clear at which side of the nave this painting was located, or if it was placed on the interior wall surrounding the entrance door, thus facing the nave.

⁴¹ Captain Betancur in his *Historia* mentions that they were oil paintings: "Se ven al óleo bien pintadas/Algunas maravillas con grandeza/De valientes pinceles afamado/Venciendo el arte a la naturaleza/De esta imagen milagrosa señalados/De grandes lienzos de sublime alteza/Que en marcos dorados/Nos muestra de la virgen los blasones." See Appendix 2.

⁴² See inventories of 1675 (AHDF, Vol. 3895, exp. 3), of 1782 and 1794 (AHDF, Vol. 3900, exp. 25), and of 1829 (AHDF, Vol. 3898, exp. 10). It is not surprising then that those paintings were also mentioned both in Florencia's and Carrillo y Pérez's chronicles.

⁴³ In Spanish American single-nave churches, the *sotocoro* is the space underneath the choir loft; it functioned as a vestibule or transitional area between the exterior and the interior of the church, allegedly for those who have not yet been baptized.

⁴⁴ Cisneros, *Historia*, 102-103.

The opening inscription in Latin provided significant information regarding the intentionality of the whole program:

The senate and the people of Mexico dedicate with both respect and gratitude this chapel to the Virgin, supporting and most faithful Patroness, for all the countless benefits they have received from her, and mainly for Her current help, proven in all the various miracles she has performed. •⁴⁵

Through that opening sentence it can be affirmed that the entire cycle of paintings was conceived as a full-size *ex-voto* through which the city's authorities—and the entire population of the capital for that matter—were thanking the Virgin for the gifts received.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ I used • to signal when the English version of the original Latin sentence is a translation departing from the Spanish versions included in Miranda's 1999 edition of Cisneros' chronicle. In contrast, I have used * in the few cases when I directly translated from Latin, using my scarce knowledge of this language. If there is no sign accompanying the translations, as in the case of biblical verses used mainly as mottos—brief summaries of the emblems or allegorical figures—it indicates that I relied completely on the English version of the Bible provided by the New Advent/Catholic Encyclopedia, which is based on the King James version. I chose that version of the Bible not only because of its convenient online format, but mainly because I like its sophisticated use of the English language. Also, I found it more appropriate to use a Catholic version of the Bible instead of other common English editions like the King James itself or the New International Version, which are of Protestant background.

⁴⁶ For more on the way *ex-votos* imply an act of reciprocation, see Hugo van der Velden, *The donor's image: Gerard Loyet and the votive portraits of Charles the Bold* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000).

Above the main painting, a tablet with the inscription:
**SPQM Senatus Poppolusque Mexicanis auxiliatrici Virgini fididimae
suae Patronae ob innumera, quae accipit, beneficia et ob praesetissimam suam
open, tantis probatam miraculis gratitudines et honoris ergo dedicat.**

<p>THE THREE GRACES, EACH ONE HOLDING HER INSIGNIA: A DIE, A ROSE OF ALEXANDRIA, AND A MYRTLE BOUQUET. THEY ARE HOLDING HANDS, while the last one holds the inscription Ecce convertimut ad gentes. Actorum 18 <i>Next to them is the GOD APOLLO, who, pointing to the Virgin, exclaims: Ab ipsa.</i></p>	<p><i>In the main scene the VIRGIN, bearing the CHILD, is giving a CADUCEUS to an Indian under the motto Pax Vobis. Mary's mouth is emitting the inscription: Iam non estis hospites et advenae sed civesanctorum et domestici Dei. Ad eph. 2.</i></p> <p><i>The child is looking at a figure of FAITH, while telling her: Non invenit tantam fidem in Israel. Matei. 8</i></p> <p><i>She (most probably the Virgin) has a STAR above her head and the motto: Inter Omnes.</i></p> <p>The allegory of the CHURCH is lying down near the virgin, with a VESSEL spilling over the LACUNA OF MEXICO with an inscription: Efudam super vos aquam mudaet mundamini. Ezech 36.</p> <p>THE MEXICAN COAT OF ARMS (AN EAGLE DEVOURING A SNAKE, WHILE STANDING ON A NÓPAL) is depicted with the text: Aufertur iniquitas tua.</p>	<p>Possible entrance door</p>	<p>The allegory of FAITH is carrying a CHALICE from which emerges the inscription: Bibite et inebriamini, charismi. Cant 3. On the other hand she has painted a GRAPEVINE; on a VESSEL, the inscription: Vetera transierunt Corinth 5</p>	<p>The allegory of CHASTITY has TURTLEDOVES in one of her hands, and this text: O quam pulcra est casta generatio cum claritate. Sapient 4. In the other hand she holds Cupids' bow and arches and this text: Ecce nova faci omnia. Apocal 21</p>
<p>sonet</p>				

Table 2. 1: The painting at the *Sotocoro*⁴⁷

The inclusion of the Mexican COAT OF ARMS in the center of the panel (“*en medio de la tarja*”) is important:⁴⁸ it is a very early acknowledgement of the Mexica past and the foundation of the city, thus linking two stages of history: Mexico’s pre-Hispanic and

⁴⁷ Both in the text and in the tables, *Italics show the position of each motif* mentioned in Cisneros’ text, while SMALL CAPS IDENTIFY THE FIGURES, and **bold conveys the inscriptions of each section.** If the sentences include the name and number of a particular biblical book, it is because it was included by Cisneros; however, if the reference is within my text and it is not highlighted, it means that the identification is mine and the source was not provided by him.

⁴⁸ Cisneros, *Historia*, 102.

colonial grandeur.⁴⁹ The fact that MARY was PRESENTING A CADUCEUS TO AN INDIAN under the motto **the peace be with you**, while saying at the same time “**Now, therefore, you are no more strangers and foreigners: but you are fellow citizens with the Saints and the domestics of God (Ephesians 2:19)**,” was certainly an important message of peace and cultural inclusion, very much according to the discourse that saw evangelization as the most important way to justify the military conquest. This message was even stronger when read along with the passage from Matthew’s gospel that JESUS was telling to the allegory of FAITH: **I say to you, I have not found so great faith in Israel (Matthew 8:10)**. The motto next to MARY’S HEAD, SURROUNDED BY STARS, emphasized that such great faith of the Indians truly happened **among all men*** of this land, as the motto implied, probably based on Psalm 6:8.

The scene on the side that complemented this central section was equally forceful: CHURCH was depicted as a woman lying on the ground, LETTING A VESSEL SPILL OVER THE LACUNA OF MEXICO with the motto **I will pour upon you clean water, and you shall be cleansed (Ezekiel 36:25)**. If one considers that the end of that biblical verse is “you shall be cleansed from all your filthiness, and I will cleanse you from all your idols,” the allegory of water is simply compelling: the water of baptism, which in Catholicism is believed to cleanse sin, was being contrasted with the water of the lake surrounding Mexico City, implied by the COAT OF ARMS, polluted with idolatry. The last sentence of the section finally confirmed that the whole purpose of the Catholic faith was indeed to **remove all the impurities*** from this land.

⁴⁹ See José Rubén Romero Galván, "La Ciudad de México: los Paradigmas de dos fundaciones," *Estudios de Historia Novohispana* 20, no. 20 (1999).

Cisneros mentioned that to one side of this section (“*a una parte del cuadro*”),⁵⁰ the THREE GRACES were depicted. I assume he refers to the left side of the scene described above because that is the order he used to describe all the other paintings, as if reproducing the left-to-right direction of reading. The presence of the goddesses of charm, beauty, and creativity justifies the use of the last part of Acts 13:46 as a motto, because **we now turn to the Gentiles** fits with the idea that the paintings refer to the newcomers to Christendom.⁵¹ Cisneros described the female figures *holding hands*, which makes it impossible that the image depicted was based on the Hellenistic model of the graces, where the figure in the middle was holding the other two with her arms (Figure 5), and make feasible that the model used was similar to the one used—or created—by Sandro Boticelli in his *Primavera* (Figure 6); the inclusion of a die, a rose of Alexandria, and a myrtle bouquet as their insignias, however, was not at all common in the iconography of the three graces at the time.



Figure 2.5: Unknown Author. *The three Graces*, 1st century CE (Roman copy of a Hellenistic Greek original, wall painting from Pompeii). Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, Naples

⁵⁰ Cisneros, *Historia*, 102.

⁵¹ Cisneros wrote that the verse came from Acts 18, which is not correct.



Figure 2. 6: Sandro Botticelli. *Primavera* (detail), ca. 1478. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence

This section of the picture was completed with the figure of APOLLO, the Roman deity of light and the sun, healing and plague. It is probable, however, that he appeared here in his role as god of truth and prophecy because he was shown pointing to the Virgin Mary under the motto **By herself***, referring to the gifts given by her.

The third section of this first painting showed the nymph AMALTHEA. Cisneros only mentioned that it was at the other side (“*al otro lado*”),⁵² without specifying whether he referred to the other side of the main scene, to the other side of the Graces, or to the other side of the nave. In Greek and Roman mythology, Amalthea is the nymph who took care of Zeus after he was saved from being devoured by his father Cronos. According to Ovid, one day Zeus broke a horn of one of the goats that provided him with milk; Amalthea filled this with flowers and fruit and because of that, the horn became her main attribute. Here, she was spilling the richness of her horn, COINS OF SILVER AND GOLD instead of the natural elements with which she is typically represented, over a GROUP OF THREE WOMEN representing different cities, in what I consider to be an obvious reference

⁵² Cisneros, *Historia*, 102.

to the monetary richness found in the Americas. The three allegorical figures WERE NUDE, HELD BOWS AND ARCHES, AND HAD TOWERS OVER THEIR HEADS. They were RIDING AN ALLIGATOR, A STAG, AND A CAMEL, respectively. Depicting the different parts of the world through the figures of animals was common in the allegorical representation of the different continents, which then makes it feasible that this section alluded to the universality of the Catholic faith. The biblical fragment that accompanied the image certainly strengthened such message: **I have no pleasure in you, says the Lord... from the rising of the sun even to the going down, my name is great among the Gentiles (Malachi 1:10-11).**

The allegory of the parts of the world and Amalthea were surrounded by the allegorical figures of FAITH and CHASTITY, two of the main Catholic virtues. FAITH was shown holding a CHALICE, from which the following verse was emitted: **drink, and be inebriated, my dearly beloved (Song of Solomon 5:1),**⁵³ suggesting the importance of the Eucharistic wine to be held in such a cup. FAITH was holding on the other hand a GRAPE VINE, and next to it, on a VESSEL, was written **the old things are passed away (2 Corinthians 5:17).** This spirit of renovation, conceivably related to the conquest and the spiritual transformation brought to the Indians, became evident also in the two verses on the CHASTITY side, where this virtue was depicted with TURTLEDOVES on one hand and the CUPID'S ARCH AND ARROWS on the other as her insignia. The two inscriptions next to CHASTITY were **How beautiful is the chaste generation with glory (Wisdom 4:1), and I make all things new (Revelation 21:5).**

⁵³ This verse was wrongly identified as being from Song of Solomon 3 in Cisneros' book.

At the bottom of the panel (“*al pie de la tarja*”),⁵⁴ there was a sonnet. It reaffirmed the idea of transformation through the presence of Mary. A horizontal format like the one I am suggesting might have not been the best one for a poem, but it perfectly fits Cisneros’ description about of a tablet covering the whole bottom of the picture:

Cuando el sol de mi gloria estuvo ausente
no tuve más del bien que la pintura
mostrase en mi horizonte y mi ventura
el bien de los colores aparente.

When the sun of my glory went absent
I had nothing good but the painting
To show in my horizon and in my future
All goodness evident in color.

Mas Virgen vuestro sol es mi occidente
trocó con resplandores mi hermosura
tan nuevos que quien mira mi figura
ven que soy del mundo claro Oriente

However, Virgin, your sun is my occident
Changed with brightness my beauty;
So new it became, that whoever looks now to my
figure
Can realize I am the Orient of the World now

Gozo de las edades la del oro
de tiempos de verano y la primavera
de lo estimado lo precioso y lo rico.

I enjoy the different ages, the one of gold
Of the summer and, that of spring
Of the dearest, the precious, and the rich.

(El otro terceto esta borrado,
Y pues aquí no hago sino oficio de referir,
no quiero añadir cosa mía.
Cada uno lo acabe como le pareciere.)

(The third and final tercet has been erased, said
Cisneros. “I just wanted to let you know,
without adding anything of my own.
You can finish it in the best way you like it.”)⁵⁵



A mentioned earlier, the program continued in the nave, where the ten *cuadros* interweaved with the extensive mural decoration. Despite not having any visual reference for how it might have looked, I am certain, because of the church’s internal size—100 feet deep by 30 feet wide by roughly 28.4 feet high—and the techniques employed—

⁵⁴ Cisneros, *Historia*, 103.

⁵⁵ I have made an effort to translate the Spanish poems into English in the most accurate way possible, but I certainly did not even pretend to keep the rhymes.

fresco combined with ten oil on canvases or panels of large format—that it was in all likelihood a most spectacular ensemble of color and textures. Each side was divided into five sections separated by painted columns that framed the *cuadros*, thus creating niches for the figures of sibyls and prophets,⁵⁶ most likely in the way I show in Table 2. This table shows the semantic unity of each one of the ten sections throughout the nave.



Virtue with her symbol, Emblem Triplex related to the Immaculate Conception, and angel	Prefiguration of Mary, almost in all cases through a Strong Woman of the Bible. Biblical verse a motto	Virtue with her symbol, Emblem Triplex related to the Immaculate Conception, and angel	Classical deity
	<div data-bbox="607 747 857 1104" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 10px;"> <p>Miracle of Our Lady of Remedios</p> </div>		<p>Sybil or Prophet with a poem in her/his hand and their names at the bottom</p>
Epigram to the central painting in the form of an <i>ottava rima</i> (1st part)		Epigram to the central painting in the form of an <i>ottava rima</i> 2nd part)	
Emblem triplex with Spanish tercet as motto	Scene of the life of Mary alluded through a sentence	Emblem Triplex with a Latin Stanza as motto	

Table 2. 2: General Layout of Each of the Ten Sections

For the sake of a real reconstruction of the iconographic program, I present the description of the whole cycle following the order established by the visual narrative itself, instead of simply adhering to the order in which Cisneros described it in his *Historia*: first the images on the Epistle side of the nave followed by those on the Gospel side. Instead, aiming to respect the intention that the cycle was to be walked, perceived,

⁵⁶ Bernardino Pinturicchio made the earliest iconographic program in which twelve sibyls and twelve prophets were depicted together around 1492 within the Borgia Rooms at the Vatican.

and thus understood through the movement of the visitor's body, I follow the order shown in Table 3.⁵⁷

Epistle Side	Gospel Side
10. Miracles for the crippled boy and the man who was saved from being dragged by a mule	9. The Image is presented in her altar with sick people and the former chaplain of the shrine, Luis Mayo, praying before her
8. Marshall Ribera is saved from shipwreck	7. 1577 procession
6. Miraculously, Juan gets well after being hit by a pillar; the Virgin gives him a belt	5. Miracle of the Angels building the shrine during the Saint Hyppolitus feast
4. Juan Ce Cuatli finds the Image in the midst of a <i>maguey</i> ; the Image miraculously keeps on going back to such site	3. Indians trying to remove her from the <i>cue</i> and miraculously that was not possible
2. <i>Noche triste</i> and the miraculous apparition of Mary at the end of the battle	1. Cortés placing the Image in the <i>cue</i> of Templo Mayor

Table 2. 3: Narrative in the history/miracle paintings

This narrative went back and forth from each side of the nave, starting at the right-hand side and developing the story as one would walk through the church following a pattern used in European churches. The art historian Marilyn Aronberg Lavin in her study of Italian mural paintings catalogued such a pattern as the “Baustrophedon”.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ I resolved to locate the Gospel side of the church on the north (Herbert Thurston, "Reservation of the Blessed Sacrament," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. 12 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1911), <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/12784b.htm>, first accessed 6 April 2012). However, I am aware the location remains confusing as in “1488, the epistle side was still called the right side of the altar, and the gospel side the left. In that year, Augustine Patrizi, Bishop of Pienza, published a ceremonial in which the epistle side is called the left of the altar, and the gospel side the right, the denomination being taken from the facing of the cross, the principal ornament of the altar, not of the priest or the laity.” See Augustin Joseph Schulte, "Altar Side," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. 1 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1907), <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/01356e.htm>, first accessed 6 April 2012.

⁵⁸ In her research of more than two hundred cycles of mural paintings within Italian churches, Lavin identified that the dispositions of visual narratives were always in relation to their architectural ambient and that in most cases, the visual reading order was “out of order,” meaning that they were not in an up-to-down, left-to-right disposition, as if replicating the reading of a manuscript. The “Baustrophedon” is one of the eight patterns she identified. She borrowed the name “from epigraphy, where it designates archaic inscriptions that reverse reading directions on each line.” Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, *The place of narrative : mural decoration in Italian churches, 431-1600* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 8.

Reconstructing the spatial intentionality of the program is the best way to show why this was an exceptional example of visual material where the historical events of the conquest mingled with the legend of the cult, merging the tradition that was to be repeated through the years. All elements were arranged in a narrative sequence meant to persuade the visitor of the role played by the Virgin Mary in the military and spiritual conquest of Mexico.⁵⁹ Importantly, the large historical *cuadros* that told the history of Remedios were placed on top of socles (lower square slabs) that included citations of different fathers of the Church referring to the life of the Virgin Mary (Table 4).

Epistle Side	Gospel Side
10. Our Lady of Snow	9. Assumption
8. Purification	7. Nativity of Christ
6. Expectation	5. Visitation
4. Annunciation	2. Nativity of Mary
3. Presentation to the Temple	1. Conception

Table 2. 4: Narrative in Mary's Life Scenes

In this fashion, the references to Mary's life provided a symbolic ground for the Remedios' history told above them, even if their story line was not always adjusted chronologically. The way of mingling together the "local history/miracles of Remedios" with the canonical events of the Virgin's life is exceptional: the historical Mary alluded to

Villasana's cycle could be designated as such, despite having but one row of images, because the plot was to be read in a zigzag movement across the nave.

⁵⁹ I thank Hugo van der Velden for suggesting an alternative that is worth mentioning: in his view, the program would develop in a chronological order, but not starting at the entrance door, but rather in the altar. In that way, visitors would first see the miracles performed by the Virgin as a way to identify with them, and only progressively get acquainted with Remedios' history, culminating the procession within the shrine's space at the main altar, with the scenes of the placing of the statue on top of the Templo Mayor and the Noche Triste battle.

in each section's socle, through citations of Saint John Damascenes, Saint Bernard, or Pope Liberio, became no other than Remedios herself. In the post-Tridentine context in which the program was conceived and Cisneros' chronicle was written, this was an important aspect to stress because it proved that Our Lady of Remedios was not receiving idolatrous veneration, but rather, that through her figure, the historical Mother of God was being acknowledged as co-redeemer of humanity.

Gospel One: miraculous marquis⁶⁰

The cycle's narrative started with the first section on the right of the church's entrance.⁶¹ The main scene depicted Hernán Cortés—conqueror of the Mexica, and Marquis of Valley—tumbling the most important idols at the Main Temple of Tenochtitlán, and placing in their place the image of Our Lady of Remedios.⁶² The *octavas* at the columns' bottom celebrated such event:

⁶⁰ I describe each section starting with the main scene related to Remedios' legend depicted in the *cuadro*, followed by the *octavas reales*—*ottava rima*—that worked as its epigram, which were written using rhymes on an *abababcc* pattern, but that not in all cases respected the convention of using eleven syllables in each verse (this kind of stanza originated in the Toscana region in the early fourteenth century, and was used in Spain from the early sixteenth. See *Poetry and Drama: Literary Terms and Concepts* ed. Kathleen Kuiper (New York: Britannica Educational Publishing 2012), 51-52). My description continues with the images on the upper level, starting with the image on the center that in all cases included prefigurations of the Virgin, and thus, referred to Mary in a broader sense. Next, I describe the emblems placed on the upper corners where the virtues were also depicted, and continue with the lower level that contained both the text referring to Mary's life in the center, and the emblems on the lower corners that were closely linked to it.

⁶¹ See note 58 for an alternative order.

⁶² As I will mention later, Cisneros commented on the identity of the image used by Cortés. As will be mentioned later in this chapter, some authors argued it was not Remedios but the so-called *Conquistadora*, venerated in the Franciscan monastery of Puebla city and to which I referred to on *Chapter One* (Figure 1.3). See Denisse Fallena, "La imagen de la Virgen María en la conquista. El caso de la Conquistadora de Puebla" (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, M. A., 2008).

Un hecho, que a valor humano excede
 Sobre fuerzas de todo atrevimiento
 No es bien, que el tiempo su memoria vele
 Pues que en la eternidad tiene su asiento
 En columna de bronce y mármol quede
 En diamantes escrito tal intento
 La fama de la hazaña y su ruido
 Haga parar las aguas del olvido.

An event exceeding all human courage
 Over forces that challenge it all,
 It is not correct to erase it from memory;
 In eternity should it be placed,
 Preserved on a column of bronze and marble,
 Written on a diamond.
 The fame and clamor of this great feat will stop the
 waters of oblivion.

Cuando el señor del Valle antiguo ameno
 Dejando al Mundo Nuevo, raro ejemplo,
 Puso de fuerzas celestiales lleno
 La Imagen de la Virgen en el templo
 Despide el lago Estigio su veneno
 La resistencia bárbara con templo
 Mas contra tal señora o hay quien baste
 Ni quien las fuerzas del Marqués contraste.

When the eminent Lord of the Valley,
 Leaving such rare example to the New World,
 Filled up with celestial forces
 And placed the Image of the Virgin in their Main Temple
 Made the Evil go away from the lake.
 The barbarian resistance waited,
 But against this Lady there is no one who could win
 And get victorious over such Marquis.

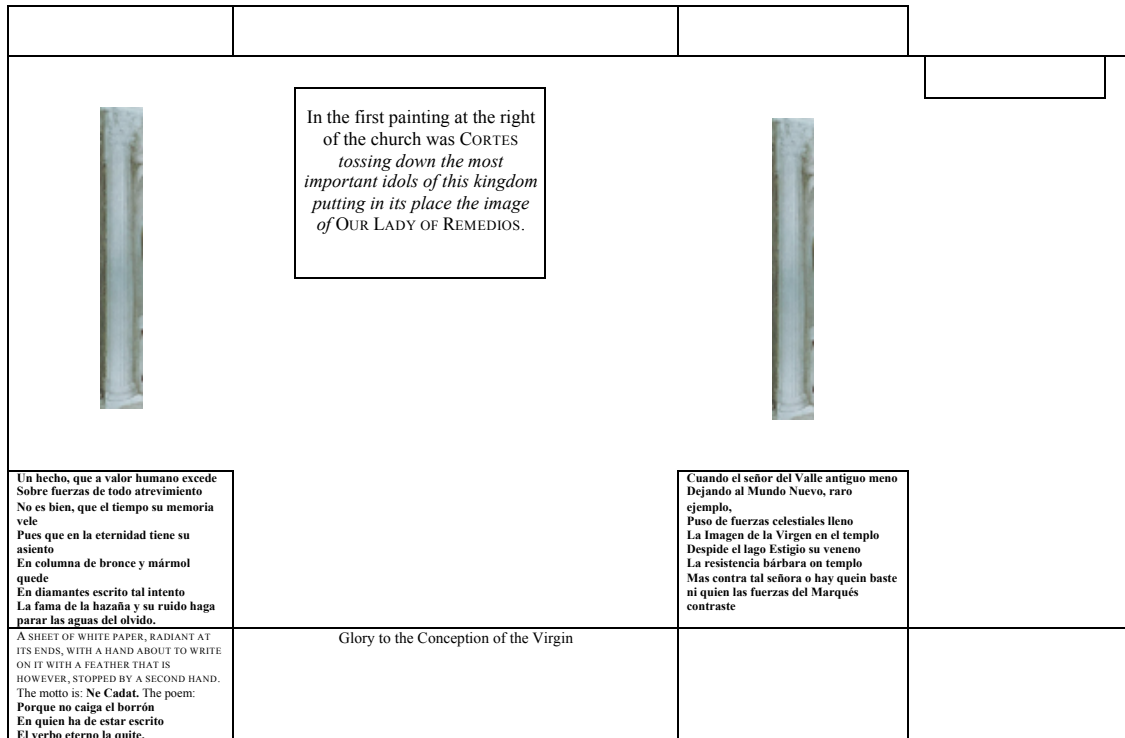


Table 2. 5: Diagram of the First Painting at the Gospel Side

All chronicles of the Conquest, Bernal Díaz de Castillo and Francisco de Gómara among them, extensively described this episode. That is why it stands as a great paradox that the painting explicitly designed to preserve the memory of the Conquest and link Remedios with the figure of the conqueror was already destroyed by the time Cisneros wrote his *Historia*, meaning it survived only twenty years after it was completed, that is, from 1595 to 1616. Cisneros made clear in his book that he aimed to tell the story of Remedios in the most truthful way possible, and he proved himself at the time of describing this fragment. After complaining that it was destroyed due to the necessity of opening a side door to help people out the shrine during the main festivals that at the time took place during the last two weekends of August, he decided not to invent anything, leaving instead the emptiness as witness of the scene's destruction. However, he pointed out that he was able to gather all the information available in order to preserve the memory of the program. Interestingly, he mentioned having in his hands Villasana's original designs—"los borradores de Alonso de Villasana".⁶³ What kind of documents were they? It is hard to know because if they only include references to the central panel, the *octavas* commenting them, and the emblem on the bottom right—as shown in Table 5—it is clear that they were not the sketches of the full program. Such a set of documents would have been an extraordinary indication of how painters created their work and the importance conceded to *disegno*.⁶⁴ In any event, it seems safe to assert that Cisneros did not know whom the author of the emblems and *octavas* was, or otherwise he would have tried to

⁶³ Cisneros, *Historia*, 93.

⁶⁴ The only known drawing sketch in New Spain dates from mid eighteenth century and made by José de Ibarra in preparation for the frontispiece of *Escudo de Armas* by Cayetano Cabrera y Quintero. See Paula Renata Mues Orts, "Introducción" in Francesco Lana Terzi, *El Arte maestra: traducción novohispana de un tratado pictórico italiano*, ed. Paula Mues Orts (Mexico City: Museo de la Basílica de Guadalupe, 2006).

contact him as a way to recover what was lost, as much as he did when contacting painter Villasana.

The single emblem in this first section that Cisneros was able to describe through Villasana's "sketches" was the one on the bottom right corner. He mentioned the image was a SHEET OF WHITE PAPER, RADIANT AT ITS ENDS, WITH A HAND ABOUT TO WRITE ON IT WITH A FEATHER BUT WAS STOPPED BY A SECOND HAND. The motto was **take heed lest he falls**, which I have identified as the last part of 1Corinthians 10:12. The Spanish tercet also referred to oblivion and the need to avoid it, thus linking the epigram to the octavas:

Porque no caiga el borrón	To avoid erasing
En quien ha de estar escrito	Whom must be written about,
El verbo eterno la quite.	The Hoy Verb should take it away

The main Marian topic in this first painting was the Conception of the Virgin, which represents also a great paradox as the section that directly addressed the pure origins of Mary—as an idea of God⁶⁵—was destroyed even if the program stood also as a celebration of her Immaculate Conception. However, since the verses of the *octava* have a reverential tone to Cortés, it seems feasible to think this scene and the second one at the Gospel side were destroyed intentionally, as an attempt to lessen the political significance of the Marquis. Regrettably, this is impossible to affirm at this point.

⁶⁵ See Jaime Cuadriello, "El Obrador Trinitario o María de Guadalupe creada en idea, imagen y materia," in *El divino pintor: la creación de María de Guadalupe en el taller celestial. Exhibition Catalogue* (Mexico City: Museo de la Basílica de Guadalupe-Museo de Historia Mexicana, 2000); and Suzanne L. Stratton, *The Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

Epistle One: Miraculous apparition during battle

The first painting that Cisneros was able to fully describe showed the miraculous apparition of Our Lady during the so-called Noche Triste, the battle that took place when the Spanish soldiers were caught trying to flee Mexico City.⁶⁶ In this painting, Mary was seen in the battlefield throwing dust in the eyes of the Mexica army, blinding them and saving the Spaniards from persecution and annihilation. To the best of my knowledge, friar Juan de Torquemada is the only chronicler of the conquest who included such an apparition in his text, although not in the context of the Noche Triste, but in the battle that took place days before, when Cortés arrived from Veracruz.⁶⁷ Bernal Díaz del Castillo did not mention it, but emphasized that all the soldiers thought much of the Virgin, finding hope and rest in her name. The apparition was also never included in any of the iconographic cycles on *biombos* and *enconchados* made during the seventeenth century to celebrate the conquest.⁶⁸ Therefore, it can be asserted that this painting set a part of Remedios legend that otherwise would have remained diffuse.

It is worth noting that the narrative of this miraculous event, the first one assumed to have taken place within New Spain, presents strong similarities to that of the Incas' defeat during the Cuzco siege. There, Mary was also said to have appeared throwing dust in the Indians' eyes to protect the Spanish army at the site of Suntur Wasi, which is why

⁶⁶ Cisneros, *Historia*, 80.

⁶⁷ Torquemada, *Monarquía indiana*, book 4, chapter 69, 211.

⁶⁸ See Cuadriello, "Tierra de prodigios"; Kevin Terraciano, "Competing memories of the conquest of Mexico," in *Contested visions in the Spanish colonial world. Exhibition Catalogue* (Los Angeles; New Haven: Los Angeles County Museum of Art; Yale University Press, 2011); Elisa Vargas Lugo, "Imágenes de la conquista en el arte del siglo XVII: dos visiones," in *Imágenes de los naturales en el arte de la Nueva España: siglos XVI al XVIII. Exhibition Catalogue* (Mexico City: Fomento Cultural Banamex, 2005).

the chapel built there, next to the cathedral, was called *El triunfo*.⁶⁹ It is thus convenient to consider here the late seventeenth-century canvas depicting this event held at Complejo Museográfico Enrique Udaondo, in Luján, Argentina (Figure 7), which visually narrates this event.



Figure 2.7: Unknown Peruvian Author.
Miraculous apparition of the Virgin in Cuzco, 17th century.
Complejo Museográfico Enrique Udaondo, Luján,

The two *octavas reales* on the pedestal of the columns described the apparition scene as follows:

⁶⁹ Luisa Elena Alcalá, "Imagen e historia. La representación del milagro en la pintura colonial," in *Los siglos de oro en los virreinos de América, 1550-1700. Exhibiton Catalogue* (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 1999).

Aquí fue el peligroso trance cuando

El invencible ejercito cristiano
Iba el preciso punto dilatando
Huyendo el furor bárbaro e insano,
Siguió amor inmenso no olvidando
No trocaras las suertes y la mano
Dando a su caro pueblo la victoria
Con un milagro digno de memoria.

Y fue que en ocasión era forzoso
Volver los campos con su sangre rojos
Con desusado modo milagroso
La Virgen no por ver hechos despojos
Sus cristianos de el indio victorioso
De arena y polvo les cegó los ojos
Ganando en tal jornada esta Señora
Pronombre insigne de Conquistadora

Here it shows the dangerous and critical juncture
when

The invincible Christian army
Was in the precise moment of
Running away from the barbarian and insane,
Immediately after, that moment was followed by
love
It should not be forgotten that their change of luck
Was because She gave her people victory,
With a miracle worth remembering.

And being forced on that occasion
To cover with their blood the battlefield,
With an unknown miraculous way
The virgin, not wanting to see the remains
Of her Christian people, to the victorious Indians
Send sand and dust to blind their eyes
Thus winning the battle, this Lady
With the proud surname of *Conquistadora*

This victorious message was completed with the upper scene where JUDITH WAS SHOWN
A MOMENT AFTER BEHEADING HOLOFERNES. The verse next to it justified the violence:
because by you he has brought our enemies to naught (Judith 13:22).

As in all sections, the four corners of this canvas showed emblems triplex,
meaning they were formed by a *res picta* or image that brought up the topic, an *inscriptio*
or motto that served as a small introduction, and a *subscriptio* or epigram that commented
on the subject matter.⁷⁰ On the upper left-hand corner an allegory of HOPE was depicted
next to a LADDER and the motto **Stairway to heaven***, which was a reference to the
vision of Jacob narrated in the Book of Genesis 28:12: “He had a dream in which he saw
a stairway resting on the earth, with its top reaching to heaven, and the angels of God
were ascending and descending on it.” The fact that this motif was extensively used to

⁷⁰ It is assumed that Alciati was the first author of a book of emblems with this structure. For the creation of the emblems and brief discussion of terminology, see, among others, the introduction of Andrea Alciati, *Emblemas*, ed. Santiago Sebastián (Madrid: Akal, 1985).

refer to Mary as Queen of Angels introduced one of the program's key features: the celebration of the Immaculate Conception of Mary, she **who is hope of all the ends of the earth (Psalms 65:6)**, as indicated in the Latin epigram.⁷¹

On the opposite side, also above the column, TEMPERANCE introduced a POOL with the motto **well of waters**, in an obvious reference to the “well of living waters” described in Song of Songs 4:15, a verse that has also been linked to the Immaculate Conception. In fact, it became part of the Loreto Litany, one of the most extensive and popular prayers to Mary, and a most valuable source for her iconography since it was approved by the Church in 1587.⁷² The angel that according to Cisneros completed the scene was holding a slab with an inscription saying: She has **mingled her wine, and set forth her table**, getting ready for the celebration of God, as it is described in the book of Proverbs 9:2.

The foundation of the whole composition was divided into three fragments. In the center, a text glorifying the

Presentation of divine Mary. Mary was taken to the temple and there, in the house of God, she stayed to be straightened by the Holy Spirit just like a fruitful Olive, transformed in the home of all virtue. She took away from her mind all aspects of the mundane and carnal passion, thus keeping in her body a most virginal soul, as it was worth of who was going to receive God in her womb. This was written by ST JOHN DAMASCENES•

⁷¹ There is a difference in how different versions numbered the 150 Psalms attributed to King David, as a result of breaking up in two Psalm 9 in the translations derived from the Hebrew original texts of the Bible. For a long time, Catholic official liturgical texts followed the Greek numbering or Septuagint, as in the *Vulgata*. Modern Catholic translations, however, often use the Hebrew numbering, as in the case of the New Advent/Catholic Encyclopedia, which I used throughout my dissertation. For the sake of easy reference, I decided to use this numbering, which is why my numbering is always one number higher than the one provided by Cisneros, who most likely was using the Vulgata edition of the Bible.

⁷² Angelo de Santi, “Litany of Loreto,” *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. 9 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1910), <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/09287a.htm>, first accessed July 12, 2010.

In the far left, under the columns' pedestal, an ENCLOSED GARDEN with the motto **Sacred to God*** and a Spanish tercet, reinforcing the message of Mary's purity:

Tan tierna viene al jardín	She comes to the Garden so tenderly
Porque sin pagar tributo	Because without paying any tribute
A de dar a Dios por fruto	She is going to give birth to God as her fruit



<p>THE FIGURE OF HOPE WITH ITS TITLE, SPES. Above her, a LADDER with the Motto Scala Coeli; next to it an ANGEL holding the epigraph: Spes omnium finium térrea PS 64</p>	<p>JUDITH WITH HOLOFERNES' HEAD IN HER HAND; the motto at the bottom part of the painting: Per te ad nihilum redegit inimicos. Judich 13</p>	<p>TEMPERANCE is sitting holding its name: TEMPERANCIA. Above her a WELL, and the motto Puteus Aquarum with an ANGEL holding the inscription: Miscui vinium et posui mensam</p>	<p>VULCAN on top of a SALAMANDER: the motto underneath them: Lampades eius lampades ignis atque flammarum Cant 8</p>
	<p>The first painting on the left hand side shows the miracle when OUR LADY miraculously appeared during the conquest, that day when the defeated Spanish soldiers gather together after loosing four hundred and fifty men and four thousand Indian partners. They say that THE AZTECS did not follow them because of the Virgin, who BLINDED THEIR EYES WITH DUST and stopped their way</p>		<p>SYBIL TRIBURTINE is shown standing, with the following text underneath her figure: Virgineum Dei Matrem quam praevidit anno millesimo centesimo quinquagesimo quarto antecessit.</p> <p>The following poem on her hand: Verax ipse Deus dedit haec mihi munia fandi/ Carmine, quo Sanctam potui monstrare Puellas/Concipiet, quae sub carae Deum bethlemica rura videbunt/Omnium felix caelo dignissima Mater/Quae tatntam sacra lactabit ab ubere prolem.</p>
<p>Aquí fue el peligroso trance cuando El invencible ejército cristiano Iba el preciso punto dilatando Hayendo el furor bárbaro e insano, Siguió amor inmenso no olvidando No trocaras las suertes y la mano Dando a su caro pueblo la victoria Con un milagro digno de memoria</p>	<p>Sacrum divinae Virginia Praesentationi Adducitur in templum Maria et in domo Domini plantata et impinguata Spiritu, veluti oliva fructifera, ovnis virtutis habitaculum facta est. An ovni seculari vita et carnali concupiscentia, porcul mentem sequestrans, et sic virgineam animam corpore conservans, ut decebat eam, quae sinu. Deum susceptura est. D. Joannes Damascenus.</p>	<p>Y fue que en ocasión era forzoso Volver los campos con su sangre rojos Con desusado modo milagroso La Virgen no por ver hechos despojos Sus cristianos de el indio victorioso De arena y polvo los cegó los ojos Ganando en tal jornada esta Señora Pronombre insigne de Conquistadora</p>	<p>A TEMPLE WITH AN ALTAR WITH FIRE ABOVE IT. With the motto: Recedant vetera; and the latin verse: Cedite vestales ignes, fiet Deus ignes Servare aeternam iam nova / Virgo venit / Sisitfir ecce aris, sed pectoris ara pudici / Dignior hunc ignem. Quae tueatur erit.</p>
<p>ENCLOSED GARDEN with the motto Sacra Deo and the Spanish verses: Tan tierna viene al jardín Porque sin pagar tributo A de dar a Dios por fruto</p>	<p>Sacrum divinae Virginia Praesentationi Adducitur in templum Maria et in domo Domini plantata et impinguata Spiritu, veluti oliva fructifera, ovnis virtutis habitaculum facta est. An ovni seculari vita et carnali concupiscentia, porcul mentem sequestrans, et sic virgineam animam corpore conservans, ut decebat eam, quae sinu. Deum susceptura est. D. Joannes Damascenus.</p>	<p>A TEMPLE WITH AN ALTAR WITH FIRE ABOVE IT. With the motto: Recedant vetera; and the latin verse: Cedite vestales ignes, fiet Deus ignes Servare aeternam iam nova / Virgo venit / Sisitfir ecce aris, sed pectoris ara pudici / Dignior hunc ignem. Quae tueatur erit.</p>	<p>A TEMPLE WITH AN ALTAR WITH FIRE ABOVE IT. With the motto: Recedant vetera; and the latin verse: Cedite vestales ignes, fiet Deus ignes Servare aeternam iam nova / Virgo venit / Sisitfir ecce aris, sed pectoris ara pudici / Dignior hunc ignem. Quae tueatur erit.</p>

Table 2. 6: Diagram of the First Painting at the Epistle Side

This message was also strengthened by the last emblem of the composition on the bottom right, formed by the *res picta* A TEMPLE WITH AN ALTAR WITH FIRE ABOVE IT, the motto **let the old matters depart from you***, and the Latin epigram:

Get away fires from Vesta. God is going to be transformed in fire. And here she comes, the Virgin to keep the eternal. That is what has been placed before the altar, but the altar of her pure womb will be the better place to take care of this fire. •

The sibyls at the niches

As shown in Table 2, each fragment had two columns: this created sort of niches between all sections. The GOD VULCAN was depicted on the upper part of this first niche at the left side of the church, sitting on a SALAMANDER, next to a slab inscribed with the verse **the lamps thereof are fire and flames (Song of Songs 8:6)**. Underneath, there was the figure of a sibyl. These female prophets were believed to have predicted the coming of Christ among the gentiles, whereas the male prophets—also depicted in the iconographic program at the shrine—preached among the Jews. The most common way to represent these holy women was seated, following the model established by a manuscript preserved at the Saint Gall monastery from about 1475,⁷³ and later used by Baccio Baldini, a Florentine engraver (Figure 8).⁷⁴

⁷³ José Miguel Morales Folguera, *Las Sibilas en el arte de la Edad Moderna: Europa Mediterránea y Nueva España* (Málaga: Universidad de Málaga, 2007), 65-66.

⁷⁴ Giorgio Vasari referred in his *Vita* to this engraver in the following terms: “[Antonio Bolognese] was followed by Baccio Baldini, a goldsmith of Florence, who, not having much power of design, took all that he did from the invention and design of Sandro Botticelli.” Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, (A world history of Art-History of World Literature, 2010? [1550]), <http://www.all-art.org/literature/history1Vasari3.html>, first accessed January 16, 2011).



Figure 2.8: Baccio Baldini.
The Tiburtine Sibyl, ca. 1510.
 The Illustrated Bartsch. Vol. 24,
 Early Italian Masters

However, those included in Villasana’s niches had to adapt to the vertical intercolumnar space, and thus should be considered unique in the New World.⁷⁵ Like all the other prophets and sibyls within the program, this sibyl was identified in a tablet with her name at her feet that also included the year she was believed to have foretold the arrival of Christ and the role that Mary would play in the salvation of humankind: **Sibyl Triburtine. I came before the Virgin Mary in the year 1150•**. The text she was holding in her hand containing her prophecy was as follows:

⁷⁵ The only existing example of sibyls dating from the sixteenth century in New Spain are those at the so called *Casa del Dean* in Puebla City. There, the female prophetesses were depicted riding horses, as part of a complex program that included images of the allegorical triumphs of Petrarca. There are other examples of sibyls, that depict them in half-sized portraits made during the eighteenth century, now held at Museo Nacional del Virreinato and the Sibyls Room at Museo Nacional de Historia. See Morales Folguera, *Las Sibilas en el arte*; Alfonso Arellano, *La Casa del Deán: un ejemplo de pintura mural civil del siglo XVI en Puebla* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1996); and Santiago Sebastián, *Iconografía e iconología del arte novohispano* (Mexico City: Grupo Azabache, 1992).

Verax ipse Deus dedit haec mihi munia fandi,
Carmine quod sanctam potui monstrare puellam,
Concipiet quae Nazareis in finibus, ilium
Quem sub carne Deum Bethlemica rura videbunt.
O nimium felix, coelo dignissima mater,
Quae tantam sacro lactabit ab ubere prolem.

The truthful God himself gave me these gifts of prophecy,
that I might proclaim in song the holy virgin
who shall conceive in Nazareth's bounds that
God whom Bethlehem's lands shall see in the flesh.
O most happy mother, worthy of Heaven,
who shall nurse such a child from her holy breast.⁷⁶

Such a poem was not unique to this site. I have been able to trace it as one of the twelve anonymous poems that were first introduced in the 1505 Venetian edition of Felippo di Barbieri's *Quattuor hic compressa opuscula* that included his treatise *Sibyllarum de Christo vaticinia: cum appropriatis singularum figuris*.⁷⁷ The poems were included in later editions, always linked to treatises of the sibyls, like Barbieri's or the famous *Oracula Sibillina*.⁷⁸ Considering that in most cases the poems came in illustrated editions, it is feasible that the source might have also provided the visual models for the program. The 1505 Venetian edition of Barbieri's treatise, for instance, included a series of prints that would fit perfectly in the vertical intercolumnar spaces of the program (Figures 9, 10, and 11).⁷⁹

⁷⁶ The translations I use for all the sibyls' prophetic poems are taken from Peter Bergquist, "The Poems of Orlando di Lasso's *Prophetiae Sibyllarum* and their Sources," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 32, no. 3 (1979), 516-538.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* The copy I was able to consult at the Newberry Library is catalogued as published in ca.1510, but according to Bergquist that year the book was published in Oppenheim, Germany. The Barbieri's treatise was first published in 1481 in Rome; it also has woodcuts depicting standing sibyls, but the poems are not included.

⁷⁸ The *Oracula Sibillina* is a collection of twelve books containing a series of poems in the complex form of hexameters, originally written in Greek, that are assumed to be translations of the original sibyls' prophesies. It was first published in Basilea in 1545 by Johannes Opronius and Xystus Betelius (Sixt Birken). These texts were collected in Byzantium during the sixth century, and their authorship remains unknown, although it has been considered that they were a collective work created by Hellenized Jews from Alexandria. The widespread distribution of this book made the visual representations of the sibyls become more popular. See Bergquist, "The poems of Orlando di Lasso", 523 and 529.

⁷⁹ Other editions of Barbieri's treatise, which do not have the poems, also included a series of prints where the sibyls are also depicted standing. In the two other editions I was able to check at the Newberry Library in Chicago (published in Rome: Joannes Philippus de Lignamine, 1481; and Rome: Georgius Herolt and



Figure 2.9: Unknown Author.
Sibyl Persica, ca. 1505.
 Included in Felippo di Barbieri's
Sibyllarum de Christo vaticinia,
 published in Venice by Bernardinum Benalium
 in 1505



Figure 2.10: Unknown Author.
Sibyl Delphica, ca. 1505.
 Included in Felippo di Barbieri's
Sibyllarum de Christo vaticinia,
 published in Venice by Bernardinum Benalium in
 1505

Sixtus Riessinger, 1482), the series of images also paired sibyls and prophets. This series of male and female prophets was common, as seen in Morales Folguera, *Las sibilas en el arte*.



Figure 2.11: Unknown Author. *Sibylla Cumana*, ca. 1505. Included in Felippo di Barbieri's *Sibyllarum de Christo vaticinia*, published in Venice by Bernardinum Benalium in 1505

Regrettably, I have been unable to trace the presence of any of these editions in New Spain, so I cannot assert which one exactly was used in the shrine of Our Lady of Remedios.⁸⁰ It should also be considered the possibility that the series of poems arrived in New Spain through the intense musical exchange that characterized Mexico City during the sixteenth century because the poems were also used by the Franco-

⁸⁰ I was unable to trace any treatise on the sibyls in the main libraries of sixteenth-century Mexico, but that, of course, does not mean they were not present in the New World. I thank Marina Garone Gravier, specialist in book history in New Spain and currently Coordinadora de la Hemeroteca Nacional (Mexico City), for all her help tracing these volumes in colonial libraries. See also W. Michael Mathes, *The America's first academic library: Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco* (Sacramento: California State Library Foundation, 1985), and *Libros y libreros en el siglo XVI* (Mexico City: Archivo General de la Nación-Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1982 [1914]).

Flemish composer Orlando di Lasso in his piece *Prophetiae Sibyllarum*, which was dedicated to Albert V of Bavaria.⁸¹ Despite being unable to trace the specific book that was used, it is undeniable that the poem used in this section, and all the others related to the sibyls in the Remedios cycle, were indeed the same as those first published in Venice, making evident the transit of ideas and objects between the two sides of the Atlantic. The discovery of this source also enhances the relevance of this iconographic program, as it shows that it was made using one of the most exquisite pieces of European literature from the end of the sixteenth century.

Gospel Two: miraculous self-defense

The second painting on the Gospel side depicted the miracle by which the Indians were unable to remove the sculpture of Our Lady of Remedios from the Main Temple where Cortés had placed it. The *octavas* described the event as follows:

El indio ciego, que de luz carece
 No conociendo la que el cielo envía
 Desecha la ventura que le ofrece
 Teniendo en más los Dioses que tenía
 En furor y coraje se embravece
 Por derribar la Imagen de María,
 pero quedaron sus intentos vanos
 Sin poder desasir de ellas las manos.

The blind Indian, lacking of light
 Not knowing that which is provided by Heaven
 Rejects the Good News it offers
 Having his old deities as very important
 In anger gets brave
 to knock down the Image of Mary,
 yet he tried with no luck
 his hands away was unable to take of.

Bien parece Virgen poderosa
 Cuánto queréis honrar a nuestra tierra
 Aunque la gente ingrata y desdeñosa
 Con tantas ocasiones os destierra
 Venceis benigna, dulce y amorosa,
 Por mirar su bien a aquesta guerra,
 Y mientras, Virgen más tu fuego prende,
 A mayor resistencia, más se extiende.

It is all right for you, Powerful Virgin
 How much you want to praise our Land
 Despite its scornful and contemptuous people
 who many times have tried to banish you,
 You have won this war being kind, sweet and
 loving,
 And all for their own good.
 In the meantime, Virgin, your fire glows.

⁸¹ Bergquist “The Poems of Orlando di Lasso.”

It only gets bigger, the more they resist.



	<p>The second painting depicts the miracle when THE VIRGIN STOPPED THE INDIANS from removing her image from the Main Temple by making their hands fixed to the sculpture</p>		<p>Before the third painting and pillar DAVID. In the pedestal there is a tablet reading: David regiam e suo semine virginem, Deux iuxta millesimum septuagesimum primum Nahum parituram praescivit. On a second tablet, this in his hands. it reads: Dominus dabit benignitatem et terra nostra dabit fructum suum. Ps. 84</p>
<p>El indio ciego, que de luz carece No conociendo la que el cielo envia Descha la ventura que le ofrece Teniendo en más los Dioses que tenía En furor y oraje se embravece Por derribar la Imagen de María, pero quedaron sus intentos vanos Sin poder desasir de ellas las manos</p>		<p>Bien parece Virge poderosa Cuánto quereis honrar a nuestra tierra Aunque la gente ingrata y desechosa Con tantas ocasiones os destierra Venceis benigna, dulce y amorosa, Por oír su bien auesta guerra, Y mientras, Virgen más tu fuego prende, A mayor resistencia, más se extiende.</p>	
<p>A BEAUTIFUL BLUE SKY FROM WHICH A RICH PIECE OF BROCADE IS FALLING AND BEING RECEIVED BY A HAND. The motto: Hinc pulcher amictus. The Spanish verse: Si tela a nuestra medida Determina Dios vestir De esta pieza ha de salir</p>	<p>Glory to the Nativity of Our Lady</p>		

Table 2. 7: Diagram of the Second Painting at the Gospel Side

Regrettably this section was also destroyed before 1616 in order to open the gate at the side of the shrine, in order to facilitate the exit of the growing number of pilgrims. As in the case of the first fragment at this side commented before, the information provided by Cisneros is scarce even if based on what he called Villasana's *borradores*. The emblem on the bottom left showed a BLUE SKY FROM WHICH A RICH PIECE OF BROCADE WAS FALLING WHILE BEING RECEIVED BY A HAND. The *inscriptio* could be translated as **From this beautiful mantle*** in reference to the divine origins of Mary, which was reinforced by the Spanish verses:

Si tela a nuestra medida	If cloth made to our size,
Determina Dios vestir	Is God decision we should wear,
De esta pieza ha de salir	This piece must be her origin

Cisneros mentioned that there was an image of DAVID before the third painting and pillar; the prophet was identified through a verse at his feet: **David, around the year 1701, knew beforehand that a real Virgin of his household would give birth to God**. The tablet on his hands contained the Biblical verse: **For the Lord will give goodness: and our earth shall yield her fruit (Psalms 85:13)**.

Epistle Two: miraculous finding

This section's central painting depicted various scenes. The first was the miraculously finding of the Virgin's image by *cacique* Juan Ce Cuautli Tovar. The second scene described by Cisneros was a depiction of the sort of dispute that took place between him and Our Lady, showing how Juan would lock her up in a box to keep her while she would constantly return to where she was found, thus showing the exact place where she wanted her shrine to be built. This scene appeared also in figures 1.42 (lower left corner), and 3.16 (lower right), and it is somehow comparable eighteenth century painting that within the shrine of Our Lady of Ocotlán in the state of Tlaxcala, depicted a similar series of events (Figure 12).⁸² The third part of this complex scene showed Juan placing food and water to feed the Image, hoping to please her, but with no good results: the Virgin would always leave Juan's house indicating which was the right location where she wanted to be venerated.

⁸² Cuadriello, "Tierra de prodigios".



Figure 2.12: Manuel Caro. *Miracle of Virgin of Ocotlán*, 1781.
Shrine of Nuestra Señora de Ocotlán, Tlaxcala

There is not enough information regarding when the maguey, a cactus-like plant native to the valley of Mexico, became an iconographic attribute of this cult image, but it is key to note that it was not included in the program: Cisneros only mentioned in his description that the second painting showed the moment of the finding (“*cuando halló a la Virgen*”).⁸³ However, he did mention the plant earlier in his text, when talking about the apparition and the ways in which the statue came to Juan’s hands.⁸⁴ Therefore, it is highly possible that this part of the legend was determined between the painting’s manufacture and the writing of Cisneros’ chronicle, that is between 1595 and 1616, which support the idea mainly discussed in Chapter Three that the maguey was

⁸³ Cisneros, *Historia*, 82.

⁸⁴ *Ibid*, 53.

introduced as a way of linking Remedios to Mayahuel, the goddess of *pulque*, the divine alcoholic drink made with the honey at the heart of this plant.

The *octavas* at the sides of this painting of the so-called “invention” of the statue, were the following:

Es engaño pensar, que de su intento
Vuelva atrás en amaros solo un punto
La que es de nuestro bien el fundamento,
Aunque le impida el mundo todo junto,
Que como tiene en Dios su nacimiento
El amor de la Virgen, y es trasunto
De el hombre Dios de amor puro y sincero
Es el quebrar de bronce, es mas que acero

It is hard to believe in his intention
Of taking you back, loving you at one point.
She who is the fundament of our well-being
Even if the whole world would stop her
Because she has born from God
The Virgin’s love and it is only matter
Of men, God of pure and sincere love,
Is the bronze breaking, is more than steel.

Si esto supiera Don Juan no intentara
Privaros virgen de esta amada cumbre

Cumbre dichosa, y mas que el cielo clara
Pues goza Sol virgíneo vuestra lumbre
México venturoso pues de cara
Tienes un Sol que alumbra por costumbre
No hay por qué temas ya de noche en tu día
Que dicen mal tinieblas con María

If only this Don Juan knew, he would not have tried
To take you away, dear Virgin and mother, from the
hill
Joyful hill, clearer than the sky itself
As it enjoys the virginal Sun of your light
Venturous Mexico
You have a Sun that shines as a habit
There is nothing to be afraid of the night or by day
having Mary, darkness simply go away

The prefiguration of Mary was presented in the figure of JACOB’S DREAM, like it was first introduced in one of the emblems of the first section at the Epistle side, next to this one.

Here, however, the reference to Mary through the biblical verse was even clearer: **This is no other but the house of God, and the gate of heaven (Genesis 28:17)**. In the emblem to the left Mary was alluded through a *res picta* that showed a MIRROR, with an *inscriptio* describing it as an **Unspotted mirror**, and a *suscriptio* that stressed She was a reflection of wisdom: **In your understanding you have made yourself strong (Ezekiel 28:4)**, sentence that also was in relation with PRUDENCE, the allegorical figure depicted next to the emblem. The virtue represented on the upper right corner was MERCY. The emblem

next to it was formed of some *flowers* and the motto **flower of the field***. The epigram integrated all elements, thus providing the message of the whole emblem: **showing mercy unto thousands to them that love me (Exodus 20:6)**. In the lower part, the text in the middle was a glorification of the Annunciation:

Sacred Annunciation to the healthful Virgin. Heaven will give birth, angels shiver, the evil creature cannot resist it, for nature it is not enough that a maid were able to bare and receive God within her womb; look peace for the Earth, Glory to Heaven, salvation to all who were lost, life for the death, exchange of God's household. That she claims the house and ask for an old reward.⁸⁵

The emblem on the bottom left, with a SUNFLOWER LOOKING AT THE SUN, had a motto hard to translate because of its words use, just as it was the last sentence in the annunciation paragraph. This indicates either a mistake in Cisneros transcription or a poor use of Latin in the original itself. Considering the Spanish tercet that functioned as epigram, the motto **Sol floridis exte** might be translated as **the sun converts you in a flower***.

Sois flor de maravilla	You are a flower of wonders
Virgen donde el fuerte amor	Virgin, the strongest love that
Al sol lo convierte en flor.	Transforms the sun into a flower.

Therefore, this figure of the sun should be understood as a symbol coming out from the Western/European tradition alluding to Mary, and definitely not as a pre-Colombian figure that was placed in the midst of the program as a hint to the Indian past as the art-

⁸⁵ This last sentence, according to the translator working on Miranda's edition, was not clear in the original.

historian Linda Curcio-Nagy suggested in her 1996 article on the history of Remedios' cult.⁸⁶



<p>PRUDENCE IS WITH ITS COMMON INSIGNIA and its name above her. There is a MIRROR with the motto <i>Speculum sine macula</i> and an ANGEL with the inscription <i>In prudnetia tua fecisti tibi fortitudinem. Ezechiel 28</i></p>	<p>JACOB'S DREAM, SHOWING THE LADDER WITH THE DESCENDANT ANGELS and the inscription: Non est hic aliud nisi domus Dei et porta coeli. Gen. 28.</p>	<p>MERCY WITH ITS KNOWN INSIGNIA. Above it some FLOWERS and the motto: Flos Campi; the ANGEL holds the inscription: faciens misericordiam in millia, his qui diligunt eum.</p>	
	<p>The second painting shows the miracle that THE VIRGIN made to DON JUAN, THE INDIAN DEVOTEE, letting him find her image, and also shows when he locked her image in the box and she used to go to the site where she was found, and he placed food and water to feed her, hoping to please her</p>		<p>MERCURY is holding his CADUCEUS and the text: Mirabilis facta est scientia tua ex me. Ps 138</p> <p>In the middle of second and third set of columns stands SALOMÓN, with the text: Salomón enigma proposuit, quod post Nahum millesimum octuagesimum Virginia partus apparuit.</p> <p>He holds in his hand an inscription: Tria mihi sunt difficilia et quartum penitus ignoro, viam viri in virgini. Proverb 30 30.</p>
<p>Es engaño pensar, que de su intento Vuclva atrás en amarnos solo un punto La que es de nuestro bien el fundamento Aunque le impida el mundo todo junto, Que como tiene en Dios su nacimiento El amor de la Virgen, y es trasunto De el hombre Dios de amor puro y sincero Es el quebrar de bronce, es mas que acero</p>		<p>Si esto supiera Don Juan no intentara Privaros virgen de esta mada cumbre Cumbre dichosa, y mas que el ciclo clara Pues goza Sol virgineao vuestra lumbre México venturoso pues de cara Tienes un Sol que alumbra por costumbre No hay por qué temas ya de noche en tu día que dicen mal tinieblas con María</p>	
<p>A SUNFLOWER LOOKING AT THE SUN with the motto <i>Sol floridis exte;</i> and the Spanish verses: Sois flor de maravilla Virgen donde el fuerte amor Al sol lo convierte en flor.</p>	<p>Glorify to the Annunciation. Sacrum salutiferae Vurginis Anuntiationi. <i>Pariet coelum, tremunt angeli, criatura nis sustinet, natura non suffieit, quod una puella sic Deum in sui pectoris capit, recipit, oblectat, hospicio, ut pacem terris, coleis gloriam, salutem perditis, vital mortuis, terrenis in colestibus parentelam ipsius Dei cum carne commertium, pro ipsa Domus exigat pensione, pro ipsius Viteri mercede conquirat D. Petrus Christologus.</i></p>	<p>A YOUNG WOMAN WITH AN UNICORN ON HER LAP with the motto: Gloria eius quasi unicornis; and the Latin verses: Inclite conoceros posita iam vincidis ira, / Virginia in gremio captus amator ardest / Carne teges numen, reges cornu unget olivo / Culpa abiget virus dives erit.</p>	

Table 2. 8: Diagram of the Second Painting at the Epistle Side

The last emblem of this section at the bottom right depicted a young woman with a unicorn on her lap, which from medieval times had been a well-known symbol of Mary's purity. I have translated the motto as **Glory to her who is like the unicorn***, and the two Latin distics:

Famous unicorn, after the rage was over, the lover was welcomed in the maiden's lap. With her flesh she will cover the divine, with her vase of oil will anoint the kings, blame will make the poison go away, by abundance all will be rich. •

⁸⁶ Linda A Curcio-Nagy, "Native Icon to Protectress to Royal Patroness: Ritual, Political Symbolism and the Virgin of Remedies," *The Americas* 52, no. 3 (1996), 375.

Between the columns of the second and the third sections, at top of the niche, MERCURY was depicted with his CADUCEUS and the Biblical verse: **Your knowledge has become wonderful to me (Psalms 139:6)**. The male prophet depicted in this section was SALOMON, with his name at his feet. Instead of the poems used for the sibyls, he was holding a tablet containing the following Biblical verse: **Three things are hard to me, and the fourth I am utterly ignorant of: The way of a virgin (Proverbs 30:18)**.⁸⁷

Gospel Three: miraculous angels at work

Cisneros stressed the fact that from this painting onwards, the series was complete on the right side of the shrine. The scene depicted in this section was a group of angels building the shrine of Our Lady of Remedios in the midst of divine twinkles. This was a representation of a vision said to have been seen repeatedly, every year in the day of Saint Hippolyte, patron of the conquest.⁸⁸ According to Cisneros the angels were seen working at the top of Totoltepec hill years before the completion of the shrine, but he did not locate this miracle clearly in time, and neither did the paintings. Perhaps this part of legend alludes to that short period when the image was kept at the chapel of San Juan Totoltepec, the nearby town where Juan lived, before the 1574 refurbishment of the shrine by the city council. It would be important to distinguish the dates of this vision, since the angelical participation was later considered by Francisco de Florencia and other authors as the main argument to support the veneration of Remedios as patroness of the conquest: if the angels were seen building the shrine always on the day

⁸⁷ The Biblical verse does not mention the Virgin; the four things hard to understand are described in Proverbs 30:19, as “the way of an eagle in the air, the way of a serpent upon a rock, the way of a ship in the midst of the sea, and the way of a man in youth”.

⁸⁸ As I mentioned in the Introduction, Tenochtitlan capitulated on August 13, day of Saint Hippolyte.

that the city fell to the Spanish, it was a clear sign Remedios should be venerated as the real conqueror of the Mexica. In spite of this, it is worth mentioning that such miracle was not considered in detail within the narrative of Cisneros,⁸⁹ and appeared only in his description of the paintings, which proves again their foundational character. The miracles was described extensively through the octavas:

Como la Virgen nuestro bien procura
 Cuando más de él estamos descuidados
 Decláralo muy bien esta pintura
 Donde vereis, señores ocupados
 Por vuestro bien con próspera ventura
 Del cielo los espíritus alados
 Fabricando a su Reina rico templo
 Donde mil fuentes de salud contemplo.

Since the Virgin looks for our well-being
 When we forget the most about it
 As this painting shows very clearly
 You are to see, busy men
 How for your own good
 The winged spirits came from Heaven
 Building their Queen a temple
 Here, where I behold fountains of health.

No porque la que en el cielo empireo habita
 Servida de felices Cortésanos
 Nuestro servicio o templo pone o quita
 Un punto de sus gozos soberanos
 Sino porque el amor la necesita
 Que haga de si entregos sobrehumanos
 Dejándole la llave del tesoro
 De las indias de Dios que no hay tal oro

Not because she who in Heaven lives
 Served by happy servants,
 our service or temple, gives or takes
 Only to please to her divine enjoyment,
 But because loves need her
 To have them delivered the supernatural,
 Allowing them to have the key
 To the Indies of God, where is no gold.

For unknown reasons Cisneros did not consider the prefiguration of Mary that was on top

of the center painting of this section. The emblem at the upper left corner included the virtue of VIRGINITY, with the figure of an ENCLOSED GARDEN as *res picta* and the obvious motto **enclosed garden** that described Mary in the same way the bride is called in Song of Songs 4:12. Mary's virginity was commonly symbolized by this formula, especially through the Loreto Litany.

The angel next to the virtue was holding the *suscriptio* of the emblem, **After childbirth you did remain a Virgin***, which was a clear reference to Mary's eternal

⁸⁹ Cisneros, *Historia*, chapters vi to x, 43 to 71.

purity as praised in the Marian Breviary Trope.⁹⁰ An allegory of PEACE was depicted at the opposite side, with the emblem triplex formed by a PALM as *res picta* and the motto identifying Mary as **a beautiful dove***, much in the same way the woman was presented to her lover in the Song of Songs. The scene of Mary's life that was glorified at the bottom of the central painting was the visitation:

Mary was going uphill, anxious for discovering the grace. In her body, virginity was shining; humbleness in her service was outstanding...all those who are modest will be acclaimed. Is there anything more sublime than this abasement? Saint Bernard•

At the left of this inscription, the image of A HOUSE WITH A LITTER IN FRONT OF IT AND A SHINING SUN ILLUMINATING ITS DOOR. The accompanying motto can be translated as

Light from light*, based in the last part of Psalm 36:10: in your light we shall see light.

The Spanish tercet reinforced the description of Mary as a shining light first introduced in the quote from Saint Bernard:

Esa luz que nos traeis
Aunque encerrada, destierra
Las tinieblas de la tierra

That light you bring to us,
Even if locked, banishes
All darkness of this earth.

⁹⁰ “Trope, in the liturgy-hymnological sense, is a collective name which, since about the close of the Middle Ages or a little later, has been applied to texts written for the purpose of amplifying and embellishing an independently complete liturgical text. These additions are closely attached to the official liturgical text, but in no way do they change the essential character of it; they are entwined in it, augmenting and elucidating it.” The “Gaude Maria virgo ... et post partum inviolata permansisti” is the oldest Breviary Trope of the Blessed Virgin, built upon the penultimate word *inviolata*, of the Responsory of the Assumption. Clemens Blume, “Trope” in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 15 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912), <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/15065a.htm>, first accessed 12 July, 2010.



<p>VIRGINITY on top of the column WITH HER TITLE: VIRGINITAS. On top of her head there is an ENCLOSED GARDEN with the motto: Hortus conclusus. At her side, an angel with the inscription: Post partum etc, virgine permansisti</p>	<p>DAVID with a tablet reading: David regiam e suo semine virginem, Deux iuxta millesimum septuagesimum primum Nabum parituram praescivit. On a second tablet, this in his hands, it reads: Dominus dabit benignitatem et terra nostra dabit fructum suum. Ps. 84</p>	<p>PEACE IS PAINTED WITH A PALM LEAF OVER HER HEAD. The motto is Columba Formosa. Besides her, an ANGEL with a tablet: Posuit fines tuos Pacem. Ps. 131</p>	
	<p>From this third one, the series of paintings is complete. It represents <i>the miracle of THE ANGELS building the shrine in the midst of flashes every year in the day of Saint Hippolyte.</i></p>		<p>VENUS WITH CUPID IN HER ARMS and the motto Ego mater pulchrae dilectionis. Eccles. 24.</p> <p><i>The inscription underneath says: Sybilla retroannis millesimo centesimo septuagesimo quinto Dei Filium ex habrea virgini nasciturum prophetavit.</i></p> <p><i>The figure has a tablet in her hands: Cerno Dei Nahum, qui se dimissit ab alto Ultima faelices reserent cum tempora soles Habrea, quem virgo feret de stirpe decora In terris multum teneris pasurubus ab annis –falta un verso- Virgini matre satus pruenti pectore verax</i></p>
<p>Como la Virgen nuestro bien procura Cuando más de él estamos descuidados Declaralo muy bien esta pintura Donde vereis, seores ocupados Por vuestro bien con prospera ventura Del cielo los espiritis alados Fabricando a su Reina rico templo Donde mil fuentes de salud contemplo.</p>		<p>No porque la que en el cielo empireo habita Servida de felices cortesanos nuestro servicio o templo pone o quita Un ounto de sus gozos soberanos Sino porque el amor la necesita Que haga de sí entregos sobrehumanos Dejándole la llave del tesoro De las indias de Dios que no hay tal oro</p>	
<p>A LITTER IN FRONT OF A HOUSE WITH A SHINING SUN POINTING TO ITS DOOR. The motto: Lumine lumen. The Spanish verses: Esa luz que nos traéis Aunque encerrada, destierra Las tinieblas de la tierra</p>	<p>Glory to the Visitation of the Virgin: Sacrum humili Virginia Visitationi. Ascendabat in montana Maria, fervebat in inquirenda gratia, charitas splendebat in carne virginitas, humilitas n obsequio emminebat etc... Si ovis qui se humiliat exaltabitur, quid hac humilitate sublimius. D. Bernard.</p>	<p>AN EAR OF WHEAT with the motto: Ubertas mea me fecit; and the Latin poem: Faera Deo Regina potens cui servit Olympus/Agnado obsequium sedula virgo parat/Quamque Deus revehit caelo, et, dat gignere numen/Et magne reptat humí quo mage plena bonis/Ubertas veluti plenam sua flectit aristam/Et mage difficetur, quo magis illa ferax</p>	

Table 2. 9: Diagram of the Third Painting at the Gospel Side

The emblem on the right showed an EAR OF WHEAT with a motto which has been also difficult to translate because of its last word. However, I think that **Ubertas mea me fectic** can be translated as **My fruit does not changes me***, alluding to Mary's eternal purity before, during, and after labor. The Latin poem stressed the fact that her holy nature made her like an ear of wheat, flexible but firm, able to fold but never to brake.

My fertility folds me. Pregnant by God, the powerful queen that is served by the Olympus, the diligent virgin prepares a gift for her son. God is leading her from Heaven, granting her to bring His son into the world. The more she abase herself to the ground, the richest she is. Fertility folds a full ear of wheat, and the more it folds, its fruitfulness increases.⁹¹

⁹¹ The translator in Miranda's edition of Cisneros complained about three words that not might be correct in the original: he used *feta* instead of *faeta* in the first line; *sedula* instead of *cedula*, and *agnato* instead of *agante*. See Cisneros, *Historia*, 96.

VENUS was crowning the space between columns. While HOLDING CUPID in his arms, a tablet described her: **I am the mother of fair love (Ecclesiasticus/Sirach 24:24).**⁹²

Underneath this figure, a sibyl with an inscription at the bottom: **Before 1175, she foretold that an Hebrew Virgin will give birth to the son of God•.** Cisneros did not provide her name, but through the poem she was holding in her hands, and mainly through the identification of its source I have introduced before, it is easy to establish this was **Sybil Eritrea**. As a consequence of having identified the full set of poems that were used in the program, it is also possible to complete this poem that was missing its fifth verse in the Cisneros' original.⁹³

Cerno Dei natum, qui se demisit ab alto,
Ultima felices referent cum tempora soles:
Hebraea quem virgo feret de stirpe decora,
In terris multum teneris passurus ab annis,
Magnus erit tamen hic divino carmine vates,
Virgine matre satus, prudenti pectore verax

I behold the son of God, who sent himself from on
high,
when the joyful days shall bring the last times.
He whom the comely virgin shall bear from the
Hebrew lineage, he who shall suffer much on earth
from his tender years on, he shall nevertheless be
here a great seer in godly prophecy,
the son of a virgin mother, truthful and of a wise
heart

Epistle Three: miraculous belt

The third painting at the epistle side depicted a miracle Our Lady performed directly to Juan Ce Cuautli Tovar: after being seriously injured by a column that fell over him while he was helping built the Franciscan church of Tacuba, Remedios saved his life. The recovery involved, according to the legend registered both at the shrine's walls and

⁹² The New Advent/Catholic Encyclopedia version of the Bible I am using to translate to English all biblical verses, utilizes the name of *Sirach* for the book that appears as *Ecclesiasticus* in the *Vulgata*, accepted as part of the biblical canon only by Catholics, Eastern Orthodox, and most Oriental Orthodox but not by most Protestants. Francis Gigot, "Ecclesiasticus" *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 5 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1909), <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/05263a.htm>, first accessed 10 July, 2010.

⁹³ Cisneros, *Historia*, 97.

Cisneros' chronicle, a belt that the Virgin gave him. This belt, in the perspective of Augustinian chronicler friar Juan de Grijalva,⁹⁴ was actually an Augustinian sash. Allegedly, it was a gift that Juan received from friar Agustín de Coruña, Provincial of the Order of Our Father Saint Augustine in New Spain, who had act as a Marian messenger. This inclusion of the Augustinian order in the legend of Our Lady of Remedios surprisingly did not develop any further.

Although there is no evidence of how this third painting described by Cisneros might have looked, it is worth mentioning there were images that showed Juan in front of the deadly column, while having a vision of Our lady of Remedios: while Figures 1. 42 and 3.16 include details of this scene, there is a canvas part of a collateral *retablo* dedicated to Our Lady of Guadalupe, signed by painter José Navarro in 1689, located at the church of San Jerónimo Tlacoahuaya in the southern state of Oaxaca that magnificently showed this particular moment (Figure 13, deail shown in Figure 1.43).⁹⁵ Such altarpiece stands out as a unique example that shows the link between the two main Marian cults of the Valley of Mexico.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Juan de Grijalva, *Crónica de la Orden de N.P.S. Agustín en las provincias de la Nueva España: en cuatro edades desde el año de 1533 hasta el de 1592* (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1985 [1624]), 188.

⁹⁵ The devotion to Our Lady of Remedios in Oaxaca is still active, as I was able to witness on April 2010: during the processions made during the Holy Week in the capital, the confraternity of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios participated with its banner along all the brotherhood of the city. The sodality is established at the church of the *Siete Principes*, built between 1755 and 1764. I have been unable to find exact dates for the establishment of this confraternity.

⁹⁶ According to Cisneros and all the chronicles that followed, it was at the shrine of Guadalupe that the Virgin Mary asked Don Juan Ce Cuautli to build her a shrine at the Totoltepec hill. See Cisneros, *Historia*, 63.

Figure 2. 13: José Navarro.
Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe Altarpiece, ca. 1689.
 Church of San Jerónimo Tlacoahuaya, Oaxaca



The *octavas* on the columns' pedestal complemented the visual scene as follows:

Virgen más pura que el más puro cielo
 ¿En tanta ingratitude tanta largueza?
 ¿Tanto fuego de amor a tanto yelo?

¿En tanta deslealtad tanta firmeza?
 Que apenas llega el mal cuando el de vuelo
 Vienes tras de él con tanta ligereza
 Que aunque para el deseo se esté abierta
 Ten cuenta siempre Virgen a la puerta.

Si adoleció don Juan a tu servicio
 Don Juan y el mundo todo está pagado
 Pues es del cielo y tierra propio oficio
 Estar dispuesto todo a tu mandado
 Y no, que con un nuevo beneficio
 Les des salud y dejes obligado
 Con una rica cinta de tu mano
 Con que aun quedara el mismo cielo ufano

Virgin, purer than the purest sky,
 In so much ungratefulness, is your generosity that
 big?

Is so much love the way you respond to such
 coldness?

In such disloyalty, is that big your strength?
 As soon as the evil arrives, when flying
 You arrive with so much lightness,
 That even if for desire is open,

You, Virgin, are always at the door.
 If don Juan was ill while serving you
 Don Juan and the entire world is paid
 Because it is the right job from heaven and earth
 To be ready to serve you
 And no, that with a new gift
 You provide health and make him obey
 With a belt of your hand
 With which the same Heaven remain so proud.

The prefiguration of Mary in this section was through the person of ESTHER, who appeared KNEELING IN FRONT OF HER HUSBAND KING ASSUERUS, asking him to save her people and not to fulfill a royal decree established to destroy the entire Jewish people.

The epigram was a fragment from the Book of Esther, but I was unable of a more detailed identification, because the verse does not appear as such within that biblical book. Again, I do not know if the use of

translated as **Because of no law has been placed***, in reference to that second decree where Assuerus granted Esther the salvation of her people as described in Esther 15. One strong argument to translate the sentence in this way, is the fact that it was common next to engravings produced in Northern Europe, like the one made around 1518 by Lucas van Leyden (Figure 14)



Figure 2. 14: Lucas van Leyden (1494-1533).
Esther Before Ahasuerus, 1518. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

At the left of the Esther' scene, an allegory of TRUTH stood next to the SUN and a motto describing Mary as **bright as the sun**, an adjective that, taken from the Song of Salomon 6:9, became attached to the Virgin also through the Loreto Litany. The *suscriptio* was the Biblical verse **all your ways are truth**, taken from Psalm 119:151, and not from Psalm 133 as identified in Cisneros' text. At the other side, CONTEMPLATION was depicted under a CYPRESS with the motto indicating that Mary was indeed like such a tree, **like a**

cypress, whereas the epigram directed attention to her powers: **In my meditation a fire shall flame out (Psalm 38:4)**. The event of Mary's life glorified in this third section of the Epistle side was her expectation of childbirth.

By a special decree, it has been established that God himself made an effort for having the day of her mother as one of celebration and fame. Which should be the feast of the mother but that where the Verb incarnated in her? That is why this feasts should be as important as the Nativity itself. Tenth Council of Toledo in the year 656. •

To the left of this glorification, underneath the *octava*, was the *emblema triplex* with the *res picta* showing A CLOUD RAINING, the motto **let the earth be opened, and bud forth a saviour**, from Isaiah 45:8, and as epigram, the following three Spanish verses:

Abrid y dad el tesoro
Do ponga el alma el trofeo
Cumplase nuestro deseo

Open up and offer the treasure,
There where the soul puts the trophy,
Fulfill our wish



<p>TRUTH with her name VERITAS. Above her, the figure of the SUN and the motto Electa ut sol. The ANGEL holds the inscription: Omnes viae tuae, veritas. Ps 133</p>	<p>ESTHER ON HER KNEES BEFORE ASSUERUS. The inscription says: Non propter lex posita est. Esther 15</p>	<p>CONTEMPLATION WITH HER NAME CONTEMPLATIO. Above, a CYPRESS with the motto: Quasi cipresus. An ANGEL holds: In meditatione mea exardescet ignis. Ps. 38</p>	
 <div data-bbox="631 352 878 625" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> <p><i>The third painting shows the miracle by which THE VIRGIN saved DON JUAN's life by giving him a belt</i></p> </div>		 <div data-bbox="1214 317 1403 359" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;"> <p>APOLLO with the inscription: In sole posuit tabernaculum, suum.</p> </div> <p>SYBILLA EUROPEA with the inscription at her feet: ante centesimum decimum tertium Nahum vaticinata est.</p> <p>Her prophesy is in the six verses written in the tablet she holds in her hand : Virginia aeternum veniet de corpore verbum Purua quod valles et montes transit altus Ille volens atiam stellato missus Olympo. Edetur mundo pauper, cui cuncta silente Rex erit imperio sic credo et mente fatebor Humano simul, ac divino semine natus.</p>	
<p>Virgen más pura que el más puro cielo ¿En tanta ingratiud tanta largueza? ¿Tanto fuego de amor a tanto yelo? ¿En tanta deslealtad tanta firmeza? Que apenas llega el mal cuando el de vuelo Vienes tras de él con tanta ligereza Que aunque para el deseo se esté abierta Ten cuenta siempre Virgen a la puerta.</p>		<p>Si adoleció don Juan a tu servicio Don Juan y el mundo todo está pagado Pues es del cielo y tierra propio oficio Estar dispuesto todo a tu mandado Y no, que con un nuevo beneficio Les des salud y dejes obligado Con una rica cinta de tu mano Con que aun quedara el mismo cielo ufano</p>	
<p>A cloud raining with the motto Aperiatur terra et germinet Salvatorem, and the verses: Abrid y dad el tesoro Do ponga el alma el trofeo Cuplase nuestro deseo</p>	<p>Glory to the birth expectation of Or Lady: Sacrum ardentissimae expectationi. Speciali constitutione sanctitur, ut ante diem octavum conatos est Dominus genutricis quoque eius dies habeatur ceeberrimus et praeclarus. Nam quod festum matris est nisi incarnatio Verbi? Cuius festum ita debet esse solemne sicut et eiusdem nativatis Verbi. Concil Toleta 10 Canon 1.</p>	<p>A tree with a fruit in the middle and the moto: Fructum dabit tempore suo. The three distiches: Arbor fatales vertex cui surgit olimpo/Aurea tota comis flore referta Dei/Expectes liceo interdum virgo inclita fructum/Flos feret iste Deu, nec tamen ille cadet/Fructi et flore nitens paries sine labe toantem/Flos tuavirgintas fructus at ipse Deus</p>	

Table 2. 10: Diagram of the Third Painting at the Epistle Side

In the emblem at the right, the *res picta* was A TREE WITH ITS FRUIT with the describing motto **which shall bring forth its fruit**, from Psalm 1:3, and the following Latin verses, that also alluded to the expectation of Mary's labor and the fruit of her womb:

The prophetic tree had its crown directed to the Olympus, with its golden flower all filled with the softness of God. Prominent Virgin, while you wait for the fruit to come, this flower will deliver God, but this flower will never perish, always shining; and the fruit you will deliver in a spotless way. The flower is your virginity, the fruit is God himself. •

The intercolumnar space included on the top the figure of APOLLO, the god of light and the sun in Greek and Roman mythology. He was holding the verse **He has set his tabernacle in the sun** coming out from Psalm 19: 6. Below his figure, SYBIL EUROPA was identified by a tablet at her feet that also contained the year 103 as the time she delivered her prophesy. The female figure was holding a second tablet with the following

poem, which is also part of that group of anonymous poems that first appeared in Barbieri's teatrise.

Virginis aeternum veniet de corpore verbum
Purum, qui valles et montes transiet altos.
Ille volens etiam stellato missus Olympo,
Edetur mundo pauper, qui cuncta silenti
Rexerit imperio: sic credo, et mente fatebor:
Humano simul ac divino semine gnatus.

From the body of a virgin shall come forth the pure
word eternal,
who shall cross valleys and high mountains.
He, willingly sent even from starry Olympus,
will be sent into the world a pauper, who shall rule
all creation with silent power. Thus I believe and
shall
acknowledge in my heart:
He is the child of both divine and human seed.

Gospel Four: Miraculous procession

The fourth section of the cycle at the right of the nave included a representation of the first visit that the statue of Our Lady of Remedios made to Mexico City in hopes of obtaining her intercession against the epidemic that had been devastating the local population. The statue was depicted in the painting within a carriage, showing viceroy Martín Enríquez and archbishop Pedro Moya de Contreras at its side.⁹⁷ This scene certainly was to make clear the power attributed to the image, which by the time the paintings were made, has travelled only once to the city, in late 1576 or early 1577, as I discuss later in Chapter Four. The *octavas* commented the event in the following terms:

Como en la presencia de la clara aurora
Coje la obscura noche el negro manto
Y asi Febo las nubes pinta y dora
Que al mundo priva del horror y espanto
No de otra suerte sacra Emperadora
Huye de ti la muerte, que entre tanto
que te mostraste ausente en flor cogidas
Con gran rigor segaba nuestras vidas

Like in the presence of the clear dawn
The black mantel of the darkest night falls
And thus, Febo-Apollo paints and golden the clouds
The world is now without fear and dread
There is no other fate, Sacred Empress:
Death flees from you now.
Before, when you were absent,
It cut short our lifes with great rigo

⁹⁷ See *Chapter Four* for a discussion of the date this first procession took place.

Testigo es aquel tiempo venturoso,
En que la muerte con mayor licencia
Prueba dura, y cruel si tu clemencia
No le pudiera freno riguroso,
Que no pudo ni en tu presencia
Parar sombra de muerte, pues es llano
Que lo que puede Dios está en tu mano.⁹⁸

That venturous time is witness of all.
When death had license to kill,
It was a hard trial, cruel if your mercy
Would had not stop it;
Not even your presence could have stopped the
shadow Of death, because it is clear
That all what God can do, it is in your hand.

ABIGAIL was depicted on top of this main scene as prefiguration of Mary's humbleness. She was depicted on her knees BEFORE KING DAVID, apologizing for the bad behavior of her husband Nabal in hopes of stopping the monarch from killing him. The royal reaction was included in the tablet as in the biblical verse: **Blessed be you, who have kept me to day from coming to blood (1 Samuel/Kings 25:33)**.⁹⁹ Not surprisingly, the emblem to the left presented an allegory of HUMBLENESS accompanied by the figure of A PALM LEAF and the describing motto **Like a palm**, based in the verse of Ecclesiasticus/Sirach 24:18 that tells the ways in which wisdom had manifested in the world. The motto in the emblem to the right, **Like a cedar**, came from Ecclesiasticus/Sirach 24:17, complementing the figure of A CEDAR and the allegory of WISDOM. Cisneros did not include epigrams in these two emblems. Whether he did overlook them or they were never existed, we would never know.

⁹⁸ There are only seven verses in Cisneros' transcription. (Cisneros, *Historia*, 99). Following the structure of the rhyme, it is likely to think that the missing verse was the third, which should have included a word using the ending "oso".

⁹⁹ Cisneros used this book's name as Kings, as it appears in the *Vulgata*. However, all English versions of the Bible (like the New Advent/Catholic Encyclopedia one) follow the division made after the King James Bible Version where the four books of Kings were split in the two books of Samuel, and the two new books of Kings. Florentine Bechtel, "First and Second Books of Kings", *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 8 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1910), <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/08647b.htm>, first accessed 17 August, 2010.

The glorification to the life of Mary was presented in this fourth section of the Gospel Side as a reference to the moment she was giving birth:

It was convenient that after the purity's birth, the original integrity of Mary was protected, just as the virtue of the Holy Ghost was kept for himself with all the reservedness and sanctity Pope Leo [the Great].•

The emblem to the left of this inscription depicted A FOUNTAIN, PARTIALLY COVERED, BUT SHOWING A LEAK AT ITS BOTTOM, which somehow contradicted the motto that presented it as a **fountain sealed up** according to Song of Songs 4:12. This verse also mentioned the enclosed garden depicted in a previous emblem, and thus, stood within the tradition that saw in this book the best prefigurations of Mary's Immaculate Conception. The epigram in the Spanish tercet was again reinforcing such message, Mary being indeed presented as God's most perfect idea:¹⁰⁰

Cerrada queda la fuente	Closed is the fountain
Y con traza no entendida	And with a non intelligible design
Nos da las aguas de la vida	It provides us with the waters of life

The last emblem of this section, placed on the bottom right, also mentioned the spotless Mary by showing a *res picta* of a SUN SHINING ON SOME STRAWS DESPITE THE GLASS STANDING BETWEEN THEM. The motto explicitly referred to the **Untouched Virginity*** of Mary, which would be like the glass that can reflect the sunlight without affecting its true nature. As we have seen, it was the same meaning of the spotless mirror mentioned in one of the emblems in Epistle Two. The Latin epigram was, of course, to strengthen the meaning:

The sun piercing with its light a bunch of straws, burns it. But the glass, and the sun, stays unharmed. When your womb conceived the eternal Sun, you stayed pure Virgin, just like him. Mother Immaculate, when you gave him birth, you helped him being a great God for us all. •

¹⁰⁰ Cuadriello, "El Obrador Trinitario"



<p>HUMBLENESS DEPICTED WITH A PALM LEAF <i>over her head</i> and the motto: Quasi Palma.</p>	<p>ABIGAIL ON HER KNEES BEFORE DAVID, with this inscription: Benedicto tu, qui prohibuiste me ne irem ad sanguinem. I. Reg. 28.</p>	<p>WISDOM DEPICTED WITH A CEDAR <i>above her</i> and the motto: Quasi cedrus.</p>	<p>MARS with the motto: Ipsa conteret caput tuum.</p>
	<p>The fourth painting shows THE CARRIAGE in which THE HOLY IMAGE went in her first procession into Mexico City in 1577 in the occasion of severe plague; VICEROY MARTIN ENRIQUEZ AND ARCHBISHOP PEDRO MOYA DE CONTRERAS are depicted next to her.</p>		<p>ISAIAH with the following inscription <i>at his feet</i>: Isaias virginia post Nahum octuagesimum trigessimum octavum parituae non tan vates, quam evangelista fuit.</p> <p><i>In his hand a tablet that reads: Eece virgo concipiet et pariet filium et vocabitur nomen eius Emmanuel C7 (según identificación de 07, es I 7:14-behold, a woman is with child and she shall bear a son)</i></p>
<p>Como en la presencia de la clara aurora Coje la obscura noche el negro manto Y así Febo las nubes pinta y dora Que al mundo priva del horror y espanto No de otra suerte sacra Emperadora Huye de ti la muerte, que entre tanto, que te mostraste ausente en flor cogidas Con gran rigor segaba nuestras vidas</p>		<p>Testigo es aquel tiempo venturoso, En que la muerte con mayor licencia Prueba dura, y cruel si t clemencia No le psuidera freno riguroso, Que no pudo ni en tu presencia Parar sombra de muerte, pues es llano Que lo que puede Dios está en tu mano (siete versos en el original)</p>	
<p>A FOUNTAIN, PARTIALLY COVERED, BUT SHOWING A LEAK AT ITS BOTTOM. The motto: Fons signatus. The tree Spanish verses: Cerrada queda la fuente Y con traza no entendida Nos da las aguas de la vida</p>	<p>Glory to the Virgin's labor. Sacrum admirabilis virginia partui. Oportuit ut priman virginia integritatem nascens incorruptio custoridet et complacitum sibi claustrum pudores et sanctitatis hospitum divini spiritus virtus infusa servaret. D. Leo Papa</p>	<p>THE SUN IS SHINING ON SOME STRAWS DESPITE THE GLASS STANDING BETWEEN THEM. The motto: Illoesa Virginitas. The Latin verses: Sol radiis stipulam er vas transmisus adurit/Vas manet illoesum sole manente simul/Cum tua conciperent aeternum viscera Solem/Integra virgo manes, integer ille simul/Nunc etiam genitrix paris intermerata parentem/Magnus erit nobis editus ille Deus.</p>	

Table 2. 11: Diagram of the Fourth Painting at the Gospel Side

MARS was the deity depicted in the upper part of the niche created between the columns. He was holding a most dramatic text, **she shall crush your head (Genesis 3:15)**, which perfectly fit the god of War. Underneath his image, there was prophet Isaiah, identified with the following text: **Isaiah was more than a prophet but a evangelist of the Virgin, because he said, after the year 838, that she would give birth.** The tablet in his hands referred to his prophesy: **Behold a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son and his name shall be called Emmanuel (Isaiah 7:14).**

Epistle Four: miracles over nature

The fourth painting on the left of the nave depicted the powers that Mary had over natural forces, especially those affecting navigation. This was shown in the miracle performed to marshal Alonso de Ribera and his crew who were saved from shipwreck on his way back to New Spain from the Philippines (see Figure 1.42, bottom right). Miracles like this one referring to naval activities were common in Marian shrines, especially in places like the viceroyalty of New Spain, so dependent on maritime operations, completed both for commercial and political reasons. In this context, it is worth mentioning the many occasions during the eighteenth century where Our Lady of Remedios was brought to Mexico City as a way to praise for her protection over the royal fleet, topic discussed in detail in Chapter Four. The sixteen verses explaining the image certainly functioned as an epigram to such miracle:

Cuando la mar furiosa embravece
Y levanta sus olas hasta el cielo
Cuando el aire con vientos se encruelece
Y se viste de obscuro y negro velo
Y el pobre navegante que perece
No puede hallar alivio ni consuelo
Si acaso Virgen vuestro nombre invoca
Luego el Remedio con sus manos toca.

Dígalo un caballero que volviendo

Desde las Islas Filipinas puesto
Entre ansias y congojas viendo
De la vida el peligro manifiesto
Vuestra misericordia conociendo
Gloriosa Virgen acudió de presto
Y en vuestras manos halla sin tardanza
De su vida y salud cierta esperanza

When the violent sea becomes tempestuous
And waves curl upon the sky,
When the air is full with ruthless winds
And covers with a dark and obscure veil,
And the poor sailing man seems
Not to be able to find no relief and no comfort
If ever he mentions your name, Virgin,
He immediately touches his Remedy with his hands

A nobleman can witness this, since he on his way
back

From the Philippines Islands
Between so much anguish and considering
How the danger of life was becoming evident,
Knowing about your mercy
Glorious virgin, he briskly called upon you
And in your hands without delay, he found
Hope for his life and true health

The prefiguration of the virgin presented above this main scene was Moses' sister, Mary, known also as Miriam. According to Cisneros, she was depicted in her way out from the Red River with rattles in her hands. It is worth to point out this detail because it was more common to find a tambourine in other representations of this biblical scene, as she is described in Exodus 15: 20 (Figure 15).



Figure 2.15: Antonio Tempesta (1555-1630).
Miriam Leading the Song of Praise at Deliverance (Exodus 15:20).
The Illustrated Bartsch. Vol. 35: Italian Masters of the Sixteenth Century

In either case, the epigram celebrated with her: **Let us sing to the Lord: for he is gloriously magnified (Exodus 15:1)**. To the left of this prefiguration, the emblem was dominated by the figure of PEACEFULNESS. Above her, a STAR and the motto **Star of the Ocean***, which is a title of Mary related to her guiding role in the sea, in an obvious relation to the miracle performed on the center of the section. The motto derives from a

hymn assigned in Roman Breviary to Vespers.¹⁰¹ This emblem was completed with the epigram **The dwelling in you is as it were of all rejoicing (Psalm 87:7)**. In the upper right corner, there was an allegory of COMPLIANCE with a ROSEBUSH above her and the motto that I have translated as **Garden of Roses***, even if both words, **Plantarium Rosae**, present problems in their grammatical form.

The meaning though, is justified because of the *res picta* and the average use of roses in Marian iconography. The epigram **be it done to me according to your word (Luke 1:38)** is a reminder of Mary’s obedience alluded within the virtue depicted in the same section.



<p>PEACEFULNESS WITH HER NAME TRANQUILITAS, and above her a STAR with the motto Stella Maris. Next to them, an ANGEL holding the tablet: Sicut laetantium omnium habitatio est in te. Ps 86.</p>	<p>In the middle of the virtues is depicted MARY, MOSES’ SISTER, WITH THE LAMB OF HEBREWS AND RATTLES IN HER HANDS, IN HER WAY OUT FROM THE RED RIVER. The text : Cantemos Domino gloriosse enim magnificatus est. Exod. 15.</p>	<p>COMPLIANCE WITH HER NAME OBEDIENTIA; and on top of her a ROSEBUSH and the motto: Plantario Rosae. A TABLET held by an ANGEL with the inscription: Fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum. Luc 1</p>	<p>JUPITER, along with the text Jucunditatem et exultationem thesaurizabit. Ecclesiast. 15</p>
<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; align-items: center;">  <div data-bbox="735 1066 982 1329" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> <p>The fourth painting shows the miracle performed to MARSHAL ALONSO DE RIVERA AND HIS NAO, saved from being destroyed in the Southern Sea coming back from the Philippines.</p> </div>  </div>		<p>Jeremiah with a tablet saying: Creavit Dominus novum super Terram, femina circumdabit virus. C. 31.</p> <p>To the prophet’s feet, the inscription: Hiremias maerentem populum laetissimo virginiae sobolis nuncio annis ante centesimo quinquagesimo quinto, recreavit. (cf jeremias 31)</p>	
			<p>Cuando la mar furiosa embravece Y levanta sus olas hasta el cielo Cuando el aire con vientos se encruelce Y se viste de obscuro y negro velo Y el pobre navegante que perece No puede hallar alivio ni consuelo Si acaso Virgen vuestro nombre invoca Luego el remedios con sus manos toca</p>
<p>A HAND COMING OUT OF THE SOIL GIVING AN EMERALD TO ANOTHER HAND COMING OUT FROM THE CLOUDS, with the motto: Hac debita solvo; and three Spanish verses: Con la piedra que presento Se hace la recompensa De la Culpa, aunque inmensa</p>	<p>Glory to the purification of the virgin. Sacrum obsequentissimae Virginia Purification. Nihil in hoc conceptu, nihil in partu impurum fuit, nihil illicitum, nihil purgandum, nimirum proles ista fons puritatis sit et purgationem venerit facere delictorum, quid in me legalis purificet observatio, quae pirissima facta sum ipso parto immaculato? D. Bernar.</p>	<p>NOHA’S ARCH ABOVE THE ARMENIAN MOUNTAINS SHOWING THE DOVE WITH THE OLIVE BRANCH ON HIS BEAK. The motto: In plenitudine pacis. The verses: Pulchra oculis torque irradians, quo victa tonanti/Fele animi carens nunca pacis ave/Sorde carens ramum nostris pro sordibus offers/Hostia nec potreat gratior esse Deo/Est deus hic ramus stigi reseratur averni/Ignem animis nutriens foedera pacis habens.</p>	

Table 2. 12: Diagram of the Fourth Painting at the Epistle Side

¹⁰¹ The hymn was first attributed to Saint Bernard, but later it was found it was written long before, around the ninth century. Hugh Henry, “Ave Maris Stella”, *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 2 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1907), <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/02149a.htm>, first accessed 14 September, 2009.

The lower level of this fourth section at the Epistle side was formed by a text that glorified the purification of the virgin after Christ was born.

Nothing in this conception, nothing during childbirth, nothing illegitimate, nothing dirty: this offspring is a fountain of purity and will come clean all offenses. Still I wonder, what is going to purified in me the legal ritual of purification if I remained clean and pure during delivery? St Bernard•

The emblem triplex to the right included a complex *res picta* involving AN EMERALD BEING EXCHANGED BY TWO HANDS, ONE COMING OUT OF THE GROUND AND ANOTHER COMING OUT FROM THE CLOUDS. The motto **Hac debita solvo** can be translated as **the debt from this side should be loosens**, but again, the original word order seems inappropriate. However, the three Spanish verses indeed help for a better understanding of the *res picta*, thus playing an effective epigram:

Con la piedra que presento	With the stone I present,
Se hace la recompensa	Reward is paid
De la Culpa, aunque inmensa	Even if blame is huge

The emblem on the bottom left showed NOAH'S ARCH ON TOP OF THE ARMENIAN MOUNTAINS SHOWING THE DOVE WITH THE OLIVE BRANCH ON HIS BEAK. The motto **upon plenitude, there is peace*** was intended to be a description of the *rest picta* reinforced by the Latin poem that also alluded to the Virgin as peace maker, or better yet, if considered the context of the other emblems, as co-redeemer of human kind.

Hail, peace messenger. You, who lack any bitterness in your soul, with your beautiful return irradiates a light that links you with God himself; you lack all dirt and offer the branch in exchange of our faults. It could not exist a dearest victim (sic) than you. God is the branch that set all of us free from evil, nourish the fire in our souls, and has an alliance of peace.•

The deity depicted in the intercolumnar niche of this section was JUPITER, the king of the gods. **She shall heap a treasure of joy and gladness (Ecclesiasticus or Sirach 15:6)** was the sentence appearing in his tablet. Below, prophet Jeremiah was holding a tablet with the biblical verse: **The Lord has created a new thing upon the earth: a woman shall compass a man (Jeremiah 31:22)**. His name and the year of his prophecy were at the bottom of his figure: **Jeremy comforted the sadness of his people with the good news of the offspring of a virgin in the year 145.**

Gospel Five: Miraculous Memory

In the last painting on the right of the nave, Our Lady of Remedios was depicted in her altar, with a group of sick people praying for a soon remedy to their pain. It is worth emphasizing that this painting included a depiction of the statue, functioning as a mirror to the original that was on display steps away in the tabernacle of the main altar.¹⁰²

Another detail that is worth considering is the inclusion of a portrait of Luis Mayo, one of the first two sacristans of the shrine, who was depicted showing his miraculous recovery after he had fell of his mule. The reasons why this man was portrayed in such relevant space remain unknown; it is surprising that his fellow Cristóbal López, who was elected sacristan at the same time on May 4, 1575, was not included. Could this be a sign to Mayo's involvement in the creation of the program even if Cisneros never mentioned him as one of those responsible for its creation?¹⁰³ The *octavas* did not mention any sacristan, but they did not celebrate the miracles that brought health to all Remedios devotees

¹⁰² Something similar happen years after in the shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe, when the two paintings attributed to José Juárez mentioned earlier (Figures 3 and 4) were on display. See Cuadriello, "Tierra de prodigios."

¹⁰³ Cisneros, *Historia*, 114.

either, as this was the only occasion where the stanzas did not refer to the main *cuadro*, including only verses that were in tune with the painting at the *sotocoro* and condemned the oblivion in which the cult allegedly had fallen.

No hay bien, que como en cifra, y propia fuente
No se encierre y derive de María
Es de la noche Luz resplandeciente
Es hartura de nuestra hidropesía
Es nuestros pies y manos, finalmente
Es lumbre de los ojos, cierta guía,
Que nos preserva, y si al despeñadero
Vamos, nos restituye el ser primero.

There is anything, in number or in its own source,
That does not come from or is enclosed by Mary
She is the shining light of the dark night,
She is the cure of our swelling
She is our feet and our hands, and finally,
She is the fire that guides our eyes
Preserving us, and if to the cliff we go,
She restores us to the original being.

No es pues razón que queden en olvido,
Virgen, tan singulares beneficios
Y es de ánimo y de pecho agradecido
Que el corazón se muestre por indicios
Y pues se aumenta el bien reconocido
Tengan la pluma y lengua por oficios
Propios, de hoy más eternizar su gloria,
Celebrando mil siglos su memoria.

Henceforth, there is no reason to forget,
Virgin, such singular benefits.
It is of thankful souls and spirits
To show all gratitude in one heart,
Acknowledging how such rewards had grown.
Thus, pen and language shall have an honorable task:
To make eternal her Glory
Celebrating her memory for thousand
centuries to come.

I think it is convenient to highlight the last three lines of the second *octava*, as they shed light to which was the intentionality of the pictorial program as a whole: “pen and language should have an honorable task: To make eternal her Glory, Celebrating her memory for thousand centuries to come.” Thus, the program sought to enhance the memory of Our Lady of Remedios and preserve the memory of the cult by means of words and colorful lines. Avoiding oblivion appears as the main purpose also in the chronicles written by Cisneros (1621), Florencia (1684), and Carrillo y Pérez (1808). However, as I mention later in this same chapter, it is likely that this concern for the

oblivion was only a rhetorical device because the cult keep a good number of devotees all along the colonial period, and beyond.¹⁰⁴

Continuing with the description, Cisneros mentioned that on top of the center scene, there was REBECCA, depicted STEPPING DOWN OF A CAMEL while being helped by Eleazar, who later handed her over to Isaac. The text on the tablet described her as **the woman whom the Lord has prepared for my master's son (Genesis 24:44)**. The upper left emblem was formed by the allegory of PATIENCE, the figure of some LILIES and the motto **lily among thorns** taken from Song of Songs 2:2, that again referred Mary's purity. The upper right emblem, was formed by the allegorical figure of PENITENCE, shown with a MYRRH TREE above her and the motto describing it—and Mary—as **the best myrrh**, just as the bride is described in Sirach/Ecclesiasticus 24:20. These two emblems also lacked epigrams in Cisneros' description. Again, it is not clear whether they never existed or he simply fault to copy them. Underneath the main painting, the Assumption of Mary was glorified:

This is the day when the Immaculate Virgin and Mother arrived to the holy throne and was she elevated to the kingdom sovereignty, sitting glorious next to Christ. St Jerome.

¹⁰⁴ See *Epilogue*.



PATIENCE IS SHOWN; <i>above her</i> some LILIES and the motto: Lilium inter Spinās.	REBECCA IS DEPICTED WHILE GOING DOWN OF A CAMEL BEING HELPED BY ELEAZAR, WHO LATER HANDED HER OVER TO ISAAC. The text at the edge reads: Haec est mulier, quam preparavit Dominus filio domini Mei. Gen. 24.	PENITENCE IS SHOWN <i>sitting</i> ; <i>above her</i> A MYRRH TREE and the motto Mirra electa.	SATURN with the inscription: Tuam ipsius animam pertransibit gladius. (lucas 2:35)
	<p>The fifth painting shows OUR LADY IN HER ALTAR, with sick people praying in front of her; there is also a depiction of the accident LUIS MAYO, FORMER CHAPLAIN OF THE SHRINE, when he fell from his mule was miraculously cured</p>		<p>The figure is identified in the inscription below: Sybilla persica hominum reparationem in filio virginia post annu quingentesimum nomum futuram praedixit. <i>In her hand, she carries a tablet:</i> Virgini matre satus pando residebit a coelo Jocundus princips unus, qui ferre salutem Rite queat lapsis tamen illis forte diebus multi multa ferent, immensi fata laboris solo, sed satis est oracula prodere verbo, ille Deus casta nascetur virgine magnus.</p>
<p>No hay bien, que como en cifra, y propia fuente No se encierre y derive de María Es de la noche Luz resplandeciente Es hartura de nuestra hidropesta Es nuestros pies y manos, finalmente Es lumbre de los ojos cierta guia Que nos preserva y so al despeñadero Damos, nos restituye el ser primero.</p>		<p>No es pues razón que queden en olvido Virgen, tan singulares beneficios Y es de ánimo y de pecho agardecido Que el corazón se muestre por indicios Y pues se aumenta el bien reconocido Tengan la pluma y lengua por oficios Propios, de hoy más eternizar su gloria, Celebrando mil siglos su memoria.</p>	
<p>AN EAGLE FACING THE SUN, WITH HER BROOD AWAITING FOR HER ON THE GROUND. The motto: Haec tollit in ardua nidum. The Spanish verses: Pues sois aguila real Y subís tan alto el vuelo Poned el nido en el cielo</p>	<p>Gloria to the Assumption of the Virgin. Sacrum gloriososomae virginia Assumptioni. Y la letra Haec dies in qua usque ad troni celsitudinem intemerata mater et virgo procesit, atque in regni solio sublimata iuxta Christum gloriosa residet. D.Hyer</p>	<p>A PHOENIX BIRD ON TOP OF A FIRE, FACING THE SUN. The motto: Ut vivat, followed by the Latin verses: Urhir extrahetis falnmis, diis aemulus Ales/Vivere ut uincipiat, incit ille mori/En moreras virgo caelo tamen ardu visis/Aemula numinis ipsa parens.</p>	

Table 2. 13: Diagram of the Fifth Painting at the Gospel Side

To the left of the this lower tablet, there was an emblem with a *res picta* showing AN EAGLE FACING THE SUN, WITH ITS BROOD AWAITING ON THE GROUND. Considering this figure, and the Spanish tercet that functioned as its epigram, I translated the motto as **lift to this difficult nest***, although the odd word derivations in the original Latin **Haec tollit in ardua nidum** made difficult to get the full meaning of the sentence.

Pues sois aguila real	Because you are a royal eagle
Y subís tan alto el vuelo	And you flight so high up
Poned el nido en el cielo	Place your nest in heaven

To the right, A PHOENIX BIRD FACING THE SUN ON TOP OF A BONFIRE formed the emblem along with the motto **That it may live***, which referred to Mary divine existence after the death of her human body. The epigram in the form of two Latin distics allowed for such interpretation:

The bird, similar to the Gods, burns itself in the bonfire: to start living, it dies. Oh, Mother of God, you suffered the most looking at your son, but now you find sweetness in your death. Here you die, Oh Pure Virgin, but in heaven you shall live now, like if you were a Goddess, you Mother of God. •

The deity painted to the right of this scene, in the last intercolumnar niche, was SATURN, the Roman God of agriculture and harvest. The tablet in his hands presented the inscription **your own soul a sword shall pierce** from Luke 2:35, in a clear suggestion to the first of the seven sorrows of Mary, when Simeon foretold her she would suffer for the son she was presenting at the temple.¹⁰⁵ Underneath Saturn, the female prophet identified with an inscription at her feet: **Sibyl Persica, after year 559 predicted redemption of men through a virgin's son.** • As in all the other cases, her prophecy was detailed in the verses by an unknown author of Italian provenance.

Virgine matre satus, pando residebit asello,
Iucundus princeps, unus qui ferre salutem
Rite queat lapsis: tamen illis forte diebus
Multi multa ferent, immensi fata laboris.
Solo sed satis est oracula prodere verbo:
Ille Deus casta nascetur virgine magnus

The son of a virgin mother shall sit on
a crook-backed ass, the joyful prince, the only one
who can rightly bring salvation to the fallen; but it
will happen in those days that many shall tell many
prophecies of great labor. But it is enough for the
oracles to bring forth with a single word: That great
God shall be born of a chaste virgin

Epistle Five: Miraculous Recuperation of the sick

The fifth and last painting at the Epistle side of the nave depicted two miracles performed to common people. The first one illustrated a crippled four year-old boy who was able to walk after the Image of Our Lady of Remedios was placed over his head. The second one showed how a man, who fell from his mule when it got scared by a gunshot, received no injuries despite being dragged for more than three *leguas* just because he never lost his rosary and never stopped crying out for Our Lady of Remedios' help (Figure 1. 42, upper

¹⁰⁵ See Carol Monica Schuler, "The Sword of Compassion: Images of the Sorrowing Virgin in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art" (Columbia University, Ph. D., 1987). From the same author, "The Seven Sorrows of the Virgin: Popular Culture and Cultic Imagery in pre-Reformation Europe," *Simiolus* XXI (1992).

left). The miracles represented here were mentioned in relation to many other cult images. The one of the mule for instance, also appears in the engraving made by Samuel Stradanus around 1621 as a certificate to those people who aid financially the construction of the sanctuary of Our Lady of Guadalupe, consecrated in 1622 (Figures 16 and 17).¹⁰⁶



Figure 2. 16: Samuel Stradanus. *Indulgence Sheet for Those Who Help Refurbishing the Shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe*, ca. 1622. Museo Franz Mayer, Mexico City

¹⁰⁶ There is another visual version of this miracle: an oil-on-canvas that depicted how the son of an Antonio de Carvajal, was saved by the grace of Our Lady of Guadalupe. The painting is part of the collection of the Museo de la Basílica de Guadalupe. See Jaime Cuadriello, *Maravilla americana: Variantes de la iconografía guadalupana, siglos XVII-XIX. Exhibition Catalogue* (Guadalajara: Patrimonio cultural del occidente, 1989).



Figure 2. 17: Samuel Stradanus.
Indulgence Sheet for Those Who Help Refurbishing the Shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe (detail), ca. 1622.
 Museo Franz Mayer, Mexico City

The certificate included forty days of indulgences granted by Juan Pérez de la Serna, then Archbishop of Mexico, and also great benefactor of the Remedios shrine. Miracles, both at the Stradanus' print and the Villasana's paintings were included as they were key for the promotion and acceptance of the cult.¹⁰⁷

No fue una vez, Oh, virgen soberana,
 El descubrir el amoroso pecho
 Porque sois fuente que continuo mana
 Para nuestra salud, vida y provecho
 Sois en el suelo celestial fontana
 Que para su remedio Dios ha hecho
 Gloria del cielo, de la tierra lumbre
 En este monte y levantada cumbre.

El testigo será de esta probanza
 Quien sin pies los recibe y el tullido
 Que ya cual gamo al campo se abalanza
 Sin saber cómo ser agradecido
 Y el que Virgen, por vuestra ayuda alcanza
 El no ser del caballo despedido
 Que en detenerle se cansaba en vano
 Si no lo refrenara vuestra mano

It was not a single time, Oh sovereign Virgin
 to discover the loving chest
 because you are the source that permanently
 provides
 for our health, life and benefit;
 you are a celestial fountain in the ground
 that for his Remedy, God has created
 Glory in Heaven, fire of earth
 In this same high hill.

The witness of all these favors will be
 He, who without feet receives them, the cripple who
 Now runs into the field like a deer
 Without knowing how to be thankful,
 The same whom, by your aid, stayed in place
 And was saved from being damaged by his horse,
 Tired of trying to make it stop,
 He could only do it by your hand.

¹⁰⁷ Crémoux, "Las imágenes de devoción y sus usos".

On the upper left corner, INNOCENCE was depicted, along with an ORCHARD. The motto qualified it as **God's Paradise**. An angel was holding a tablet with an inscription that also alluded to the Immaculate Conception of the virgin by saying **I am without sin and am innocent (Jeremiah 2:35)**. On the upper right corner SILENCE was accompanied by the image of the MOON and the motto **fair as the moon**, that was also used in the Loreto Letany and came from the Song of Songs 6:9. The epigram explained how **Mary kept all these words (Luke 2:19)** that described her in her heart.

The lower text on the center was a glorification of Our Lady of Snow written by Pope Liberius. According to the legend, the Virgin appeared to him and to a noble patrician named John in the year 352 asking a shrine to be built at the crest of the Esquiline hill in Rome. As a sign of her apparition, Mary made snow in the middle of summer and thus the hill was all white on August 5. The shrine is now known as *Santa Maria Maggiore*, and it is one of the most important Marian churches in the Christian world, mainly because it houses the painting of a Madonna and Child known as the *Salus Populi Romani* (The Protectress of the People of Rome), attributed to Saint Luke. The reference to this icon in the iconographic program, along with the fact that there was a lateral altarpiece dedicated to her within the church, confirms the early development of a cult to this image of Mary. Most likely the devotion arrived with the Jesuits in 1572, once they have received a copy of the famous icon of Santa Maria Maggiore sent by that their general Saint Francis Borgia.¹⁰⁸ The inscription read as follows:

John and Pope Liberius dedicated an enclosed space all covered in snow for veneration of pure Mary. They admire the snow in midst of a bright sun and he notes that they did not suffer from any damage with the heat; he admires Christ's and Mary's humility, and rejoice she did not suffer any harm during delivery. •

¹⁰⁸ Cuadriello, "El Obrador Trinitario."



<p>INNOCENCE WITH <i>its name written above her</i>, along with an ORCHARD. The motto: Paradisus Dei, and the inscription held by the ANGEL: Absque peccato et innocens. Hierem 2.</p>	<p>JAEI HAMMERING A NAIL IN CAPTAIN SISSARA'S HEAD. <i>The inscription underneath it:</i> Benedicta tu inter mulieres Jael. Judicum 8</p>	<p>SILENCE WITH THE INSCRIPTION TACTURNITAS; <i>above it</i>, the MOON is depicted with the motto: Pulcra ut luna. The ANGEL carries the inscription: Maria conservabat omnia verba haec. Luc 2</p>	
	<p>The fifth painting shows two miracles, one performed by the FOUR YEAR-OLD CRIPPLED, <i>who was able to walk after the image was placed over his head</i>; and the other one carried out to the MAN WHO FELL FROM HIS MULE WHEN IT GOT SCARED BY A GUNSHOT and <i>was dragged for more than three leagues with no injuries just because he never lost his rosary and never stopped calling Our Lady of Remedios</i></p>		<p>SUN, MOON, AND STARS with an inscription: Tu, supergressa es universas. Proverb. 31</p> <p>SYBILLA LEPSICA with the inscription: Virginem sempiterna Dei omnipotentia Christum paritaram, millesimo ducentissimo anno, praevidit.</p> <p><i>She carries a tablet with her prophecy:</i> Nenatarde venit tacita, sed mente tenendum Hoc opus. Hoc memori semperque corde reponet Huius perteneray congaudia magna prophetae, Eximii qui virginia conceptus ab albo Proditit, sine contactu maris, omnia vincet, Hoc naurae opus, at fecit qui iuncta gubernat. (es la sibila delphica)</p>
<p>No fue una vez, o virgen soberana, El descubrir el amoroso pecho Porque sois fuente que continuo mana Para nuestra salud, vida y provecho Sois en el suelo celestial fontana Que para su remedio Dios ha hecho Gloria del cielo, de la tierra lumbre En este monte y levantada cumbre.</p>	<p>Glory to Our Lady of Snow. Sacrum festo purissimae Virginia ad nives. Joannes Patricius sub Liberio Papa locum nivibus designatum Nivea Virgini dedicat.</p>	<p>El testigo será de esta probanza Quien sin pies los recibe y el tullido Que ya cual gamo al campo se avalanza Sin saber cómo ser agardecido Y el que Virgen, por vuestra ayuda alcanza El no ser del caballo despedido Que en detenerle se cansaba en vano Si no lo refrenara vuestra mano</p>	<p>A VOLCANO CROWNED BY SNOW, and the motto: Sit frigus nivis in diebus mesis; followed by the Latin poem: Quid Libano gacies medio se fundit in estu? Mese, quid in media frigora grata nivis? Nix tua virginitas mater candentior ovni? Lacte, ligustro ebore, marmore, olore, nive? Temperat illa ignis flammam, puer alter abde/Flammam, virgineus sit mea flamma pudor</p>
<p>TWO HEARTS WITHIN A BONFIRE AND A HAND THAT FROM ABOVE SNOWS OVER THEM. The motto: Reficit et refovet; the three Spanish verses: Al mundo abrazar el fuego Más pro vos el cielo llueve Para que le apague la nieve</p>			

Table 2. 14: Diagram of the Fifth Painting at the Epistle Side

To the left of this inscription, the emblem's *res picta* showed TWO HEARTS WITHIN A BONFIRE AND A HAND THAT FROM ABOVE THROWING SNOW OVER THEM. The motto **To repair and to cherish again*** seems not have much relation to it, but the meaning of the emblem is fortunately clarified by the Spanish tercet than functioned as epigram:

Al mundo abrazar el fuego	Fire hugs the world
Más pro vos el cielo llueve	But for you, the sky rains
Para que le apague la nieve	To then be extinguished by snow

The same playful contrast between the snow and the fire as an allegorical way to refer to the purity of Mary was shared by the emblem at the bottom right corner, formed by the *res picta* in the figure of a VOLCANO CROWNED BY SNOW, the *inscriptio* in the sentence **As**

the cold of snow in the time of harvest from Proverbs 25:13, and the *suscriptio* shaped in the three Latin distics:

Is it true that the snow in Lebanon melts in summer? If in the middle of the harvest there are cold snow, mother, your white virginity is whiter than any milk, ivory, marble, swan or snow. For he who temper the flames of fire, the winged child behind the flame would be the reserved flame of my virginity. •

THE SUN, THE MOON AND THE STARS were depicted on the top of the space between columns of this last section at the Epistle side. The elements were linked to the biblical verse **thou hast surpassed them all (Proverbs 31:29)**, in a clear reference to Mary being more powerful than nature. Underneath those figures of sky, there was a prophetess identified at the bottom as **Sibyl Lepsica, who talked to the gentiles in the year 1200**. The poem that appeared in her hand, however, corresponds to that of **Sibyl Delphica** in the series of anonymous poems linked to Barbieri. To the best of my knowledge, the name provided by Cisneros does not appear in treatises related to sibyls. Thus, we have to consider a mistake in his arduous work of copyist or, a wrong identification by the intellectual author of the program. We should also acknowledge some differences in the first verse between the one copied by Cisneros and the one translated by Bergquest:

Non tarde veniet, tacita sed ment
tenendum¹⁰⁹
Hoc opus. hoc memori semper qui corde
reponet,
Huius pertentant cur gaudia magna
prophetae
Eximii, qui virginea conceptus ab alvo
Prodibit, sine contactu maris. omnia vincit
Hoc naturae opera: at fecit, qui cuncta
gubernat.

He shall not come slowly (but this work must be held with quiet thought), he who will ever store this in a mindful heart, why his prophets may announce great joys of this exalted one, who shall come forth conceived from the virginal womb without taint of man. This conquers all the works of nature: yet he has done this who governs all things.

¹⁰⁹ “Nentarde venit tacita, sed mente tenendum” is how Cisneros presented it.

Testera: the end is the beginning

The mural decoration of the nave included some details in the small corners left visible by the two lateral altarpieces located just before the main altar. On the right side of the nave, above the altarpiece dedicated to Our Lady of Tears, MOSES was depicted taking his shoes off in front of the burning bush with the inscription **In the blackberry bush that Moses saw burning without consuming itself, we acknowledge your laudable virginity**• (*Rubum quem viderat Moises inconbustum conservatam agnovimus team laudabilem virginitatem*), based in the vision described in Exodus 3:2. This small section also included a second sentence: **In the head of the book it is written of me** (*capite libri scriptu, este me*), taken from the book of Hebrews 10:7. On the Epistle Side, in close relation to the altarpiece dedicated to the child Christ of that side (venerated in his sleep by Mary, Joseph and St John the Baptist), there was the image of GIDEON AND THE GOLDEN FLEECE, as a reference to Christ as the new sacrifice by which the relationship between men and God was strengthened. Next to this image, there were two inscriptions; the first one **When you were born, the scriptures were fulfilled**• (*Quando natus es ineffabiliter tunc impletae sunt scripturae*), and the second, **I was set up from eternity** (*Ab aeterni ordinata sum*). The sources were not provided, but the first one is linked to a Marian antiphone sang during the office of *Laudes* in the Octava of Nativity that says *Quando natus es ineffabiliter ex Virgine, tunc impletae sunt Scripturae*. The second sentence is taken from Proverbs 8:23. Both alluded to the main object of veneration in the altar they were crowning: Jesus Christ. With that reference to the main figure of the Christian faith, the program ended.

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY SOURCES

Baltazar Dorantes de Carranza's *Sumaria Relación de las cosas de Nueva España* is the earliest seventeenth-century source that mentions Our Lady of Remedios. The text was finished in 1604 as part of the strategies that sought better retributions for the conquistadors.¹¹⁰ Based in Gómara and Durán, Dorantes de Carranza acknowledged Remedios' role in the conquest, alluding to the site where the Spaniards found remedy while fleeing Mexico City in 1520. Most important is his mention of Juan Rodríguez Villafuerte as the soldier who undertook Cortés' orders to found the *ermita* of Our Lady of Remedios as a way to always remember how Mary cured them during such great danger (*"en memoria de que los había socorrido y remediado en tan gran peligro"*).¹¹¹ Equally important is Dorantes de Carranza's reference to the Indian who found the statue of Our Lady of Remedios. Interestingly, he praised the Indian as one of the first converted people, but he did not mention that he was a cacique and he did not know the Indian's name, saying it was "either Alonso or Pedro." He acknowledged that the image had performed miracles, which had made the devotion grow in recent years, but complained that there was no historical account of any of the miracles. The references to Rodríguez de Villafuerte and the Indian Alonso or Pedro clearly show how the legend was still in the making by the time he wrote his piece, probably around the same time when Villasana's paintings were being done.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ His work, according to Ernesto de la Torre Villar, "encierra a la perfección el espíritu de los criollos novohispanos," in his "Prólogo", IX, in Baltazar Dorantes de Carranza, *Sumaria Relación de las Cosas de la Nueva España con noticia individual de los conquistadores y primeros pobladores españoles* (Mexico: Porrúa, 1987 [1580]).

¹¹¹ Dorantes de Carranza, *Sumaria Relación*, 39.

¹¹² De la Torre Villar is careful when suggesting that Dorantes de Carranza could have started writing his text in the late sixteenth century (de la Torre Villar, "Prólogo", XXV, n. 76). In that context, I find

Friar Luis de Cisneros' *Historia del Principio y el Origen*

As mentioned already, this chronicle is the first written account of Our Lady of Remedios. Moreover, it stands as the first Marian chronicle ever written in the Americas, which makes its relevance even stronger (Figure 18).¹¹³ The strong devotional links that tied friar Luis de Cisneros to Our Lady of Remedios were grounded in the relationship that the statue had with the city where he was born around 1569.



Figure 2.18: Frontispiece of *Historia de el principio y origen...de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios* by Luis de Cisneros published in México by Juan Blanco de Alcaçar in 1621

interesting Dorantes de Carranza's reference (199) to a certain Agustín de Villasana, a painter, who lived in the house of former conquistador Sebastián Rodríguez, after marrying his granddaughter. What was the relationship that Martín Villasana, also a painter, who appears as a witness to the marriage between Bartolomé Enríquez and Juana Ramírez in 1595 (AGN, *Matrimonios*, Vol. 61, exp. 69)? Why, if the Villasana family had at least three painters there, there is no information regarding their activities? Could it be that Cisneros mistook the first name of the painter of the shrine's wall decoration and that either of these other two men was the actual painter of the complex program just described?

¹¹³ 1621 was also the year of the publication of the *Historia del Santuario de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana* written by the Augustinian friar Alonso Ramos Gavilán. However, this text should be considered second, as it was written closer to its date of publication. See Alonso Ramos Gavilán, *Historia del Santuario de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana*, ed. Ignacio Prado Pastor (Lima: Edición Ignacio Prado P., 1988 [1621]).

According to Francisco de Pareja, a chronicler of the Mercedarians, Cisneros was ordained as a member of the order on February 22, 1596, thus being one of the initial men who were consecrated as friars after the foundation of the first Mercedarian monastery in Mexico City.¹¹⁴ Cisneros was appointed *comendador*—or chair—of this monastery in 1610, and became the first of his order to graduate from Mexico’s university, where he later pursued a career as a teacher of theology. His fame as an excellent orator grew during his lifetime; his chronicle devoted to the Virgin of Remedios remains to provide some sense of how his daily activities as a preacher might have been conducted. He died on December 30, 1619.

Cisneros clearly stated that his desire to contribute to the fame of Remedios was an issue of “divine justice.” In his view, it was necessary to reinforce collective memory through the city’s acknowledgment of Remedios as its true patroness. He concluded his piece on October 23, 1616, only three months after the third visit of the image in Mexico City. His aim when writing was, just as with the Villasana paintings, to remedy the oblivion into which the cult had fallen. Years later, in 1684, Jesuit Francisco de Florencia also complained in his chronicle about how Remedios was consigned to oblivion.¹¹⁵ By reading these authors’ writings, it could easily be thought that the cult never actually grew strong roots in Mexico’s devotional belief system. However, it is feasible that this

¹¹⁴ Friar Bartolomé de Olmedo, the friar who came with Cortés, was a Mercedarian. However, the order had some political troubles when establishing a monastery in the capital and became engaged in a deep rivalry with the Franciscans, who finally were recognized as the first order that had spread the Gospel in the New World. See Francisco de Pareja, *Crónica de la Provincia de la Visitación de Nuestra Señora de la Merced Redención de Cautivos de la Nueva España* (San Luis Potosí: Archivo Histórico del Estado de San Luis Potosí, 1989).

¹¹⁵ Francisco de Florencia, *La Milagrosa Invención de un Tesoro Escondido en un campo que halló un venturoso cazique...patente ya en el santuario de los Remedios en su admirable imagen de Nuestra Señora, señalada en milagros, invocada por patrona de las lluvias, defensora de los españoles, avogada de los Indios, Conquistadora de México...* (Sevilla: en la Imprenta de las Siete Revueltas, 1745 [1685]).

was mainly a rhetorical argument. The evidence at hand makes it possible to assert that the cult was always present in the daily life of the city and its environs.

Cisneros' chronicle describing the cult and shrine of Our Lady of Remedios was written quite close to the actual time of the conquest, and only seventy-six years after the image was allegedly found in ca. 1540. This is certainly a short time period considering that other Marian images had to wait more than twice as long to have a similar piece written to encourage and support their cults. In the case of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Mexico, for instance, Miguel Sánchez published his *Imagen de Maria*,¹¹⁶ considered to be her first chronicle, only in 1648, that is, one hundred seventeen years after the apparitions supposedly took place.¹¹⁷

However arguable the oblivion actually was, it was also among the main concerns of the city council: among the reasons argued to become the patron of the shrine in 1574, the city council insisted that it was their responsibility to remedy the oblivion that had surrounded the image and its cult. That is why it is striking to learn that the city authorities did not support Cisneros to publish his chronicle:¹¹⁸ although they received

¹¹⁶ Miguel Sánchez, *Imagen de la Virgen Maria, Madre de Dios de Guadalupe, Milagrosamente aparecida en la Ciudad de México* (Mexico City, en la imprenta de la viuda de Bernardo Calderón, 1648).

¹¹⁷ It could be argued that the *Nican Mopohua*, a Nahuatl poem attributed to cacique Antonio Valeriano, is the earliest source regarding Guadalupe's cult. However, it lacks the intentionality of all Marian chronicles that added some proof of the first years of each cult to the history of the apparitions. It thus does not consider the shrine or the first miracles (those are at the core of the *Nican Motecpana* attributed to Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxóchitl). Hence, important as it is as the earliest account of the apparitions, it is not a book that aimed to systematize the cult. That was also the case with Luis Lasso de la Vega's translation to Spanish of the *Huei tlamahuiçoltica*, published in 1649. See Ernesto de la Torre Villar and Ramiro Navarro de Anda, *Testimonios históricos guadalupanos* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1982), 26-35; and *The story of Guadalupe: Luis Lasso de la Vega's Huei tlamahuiçoltica of 1649*, ed. Stafford Poole and Lisa Sousa James Lockhart (Stanford: Stanford University Press-UCLA Latin American Center Publications, 1998).

¹¹⁸ The reconstruction of this process is taken from the brief introduction Miranda included in his edition of Cisneros' book, I-X.

with interest the news about the book in January 1617, only two months after it was finished, they did not pay much attention to the Mercedarian's petition for funds that would facilitate its printing and only on July 13, 1618, did they agree to lend the author a thousand pesos to be used for that purpose. The city council showed no interest whatsoever in assuming any responsibility for promoting Cisneros' text, and when it agreed in lending the funds, it was only after the viceroy's wife got involved, asking it to provide some sort of support (which interestingly, she herself did not provide). The funds took longer than expected to arrive, and Cisneros died with only his manuscript in his hands, never seeing it published. His book was released two years later, in 1621, printed by Bachiller Juan Blanco de Alcázar. Paradoxically, Cisneros dedicated the chronicle to the city council.¹¹⁹

The structure of Cisneros' book is similar to other chronicles devoted to Marian miraculous images. It is divided in two parts. The first one stands out for at least three reasons. First, Cisneros contextualized both in a global and local context the cult he was praising. Second, he made remarks on how other chronicles coped with the lack of historical evidence to sustain the cult of different miraculous images. Third, he discussed, if briefly, the correct theological use of images within the Catholic faith. Thus, after admiring Mary as an advocate for the most arduous tasks—*abogada de las cosas mas arduas*—in his first chapter, in his second he acknowledged how other “nations,” such as Italy, Portugal, Cuba, Spain, and France, won different battles with heretics and infidels

¹¹⁹ For the importance of dedicatory and prologues in Marian Chronicles as paratexts of the main argument, see Françoise Crémoux, "El Paratexto de los libros de fundación y de milagros en los siglos XVI y XVII. Un recorrido en el Corpus Mariano," in *Paratextos en la literatura española, Siglos XV-XVIII*, ed. by Pierre Civil Michel Moner, and María Soledad Arredondo (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2009).

thanks to Marian intervention.¹²⁰ Such a list of previous Marian mediations served Cisneros as an introduction to his perspective on the conquest of the Aztecs: up to the end of this second chapter and through the entire third one, Cisneros argued that the victory over the Indians should be the main reason to praise Our Lady of Remedios in Mexico. If all other nations had shrines that celebrated her divine intercession, the sanctuary at Totoltepec was the best way to celebrate the universal powers of the Virgin Mary. His argument to identify her as the real *conquistadora* included the apparition during the battle of June 30, 1520, the so-called *Noche Triste*, where the Spanish army was protected by Mary. Moreover, in Cisneros's view, the Virgin deserved the title of *conquistadora* because it was her endeavors what allowed for the conversion of a great number of Indians, despite the diversity of languages they spoke and the rough geography in which they lived.¹²¹

It is worth noting that when Cisneros referred to the conquest and subsequent massive conversion of Indians as the first miracles Mary performed in this land, he never mentioned the viceroyalty of New Spain as a unified entity, only stressing the veneration the capital of the kingdom ought to have for Our Lady of Remedios. At the same time,

¹²⁰ As main examples of Marian intercession, Cisneros mentioned how Mary was responsible for Saint Gregory the Taumaturg's victory over Paul Samosata, Bishop of Antioch; the council of Nice where Saint John Chrysostom and Saint Cyril were able to come to an agreement thanks to the Virgin conciliation; the freedom of Italy from the Goths; the victory over Persian King Khosrau II (called Cosdras in the text); the conquest of the West Indies by Manuel, King of Portugal; and a Cuban cacique who ran victorious over all his enemies using an image of Mary. Last but not least, he mentioned Our Lady of Pilar, which helped with the conquest of souls in the Iberian Peninsula ("la conquista de las almas"), performing the same role she had in Marseille while helping Mary Magdalene, Martha, and Lazarus, and later king Clovis, in the conversion of Franks into Christendom Cisneros, *Historia*, 19-21.

¹²¹ "Pues para conversión de esta gente, para hermanar en una fe y en un bautismo, para juntar en un conocimiento del verdadero Dios, pueblos tan distantes, en tierra tan escabrosa, tan dada a idolatrias, de tan varias lenguas ¿quién era bastante? (Who would be enough to convert and bring together in one faith and one baptism, to unite in one unique knowledge of God, all these people that came from distant towns, and live in a rough land, with a great tendency to idolatry and who speak so many different languages?)" Cisneros, *Historia*, 29.

Mexico City was not praised as an outstanding territory, but as one site more where the grace of Mary was shown. This apparent contradiction aimed to integrate the city and its people into a broader context of salvation. This is quite an exceptional feature of Cisneros' chronicle, offering a good contrast with other Marian chronicles that claimed that their particular image was unique and exceptional, just as much as the territory signaled by her divine presence.¹²²

Chapter Four of *Historia de el principio y origen* claimed even further that Remedios was like all the other Marian images in terms of the silence that circumscribed her origins:

Para que en todo se vea como es una de ellas y por cuyas manos nos quiere Dios dar mil bienes y hacernos mil Mercedes, pongo aquí las más ilustres de España y sus principios para que por la proporción que con ellas tiene, nos despertemos mas a venerarla [a Remedios].

To prove how She is like the others, by whom God wants to give us a thousand goods and make a thousand favors, I am going to mention the most prestigious [images] in Spain, relating their origins, so that everyone can compare and get ready to praise Remedios.¹²³

Cisneros listed the most popular images that were venerated in Spain, starting of course with Nuestra Señora del Pilar, as it was believed to be the oldest image venerated there after Mary appeared to Saint James around the year 40 in order to comfort him for his failure in converting gentiles in the Iberian Peninsula. Nuestra Señora del Sagrario in Toledo came second, with Cisneros acknowledging her as the one who gave a chasuble to Saint Ildefonso and mentioning that there was no certain information about when or how

¹²² See, for instance, Alonso de Espinosa, *Historia de Nuestra Señora de Candelaria*, ed. Alejandro Cioranescu (Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Goya, 1980 [1595]); Francisco Pereda, *Historia de la santa y devotissima imagen de nuestra señora de Atocha* (Valladolid: Juan de Cañas, 1604); and Talavera, *Historia de Nuestar Señora de Guadalupe*.

¹²³ Cisneros, *Historia*, 32.

the sculpture ended up in its current location. Nuestra Señora del Montserrat came third in the list, with the story of how unknown hands placed the statue in a cave where she was later found by the Manresa bishop. Later in the list were mentioned Nuestra Señora del Guadalupe in Cáceres, Nuestra Señora del la Peña de Francia, Nuestra Señora del Atocha, and Nuestra Señora de las Santas Aguas in Seville. The list continued with a group of images venerated in Mercedarian convents: Nuestra Señora del Puchi in Valencia, Nuestra Señora del Buen Aire in Sardinia, and Nuestra Señora de los Remedios in Madrid (he did not link in any way this one image with the one subject of his chronicle). He mentioned the images of Our Lady in Murcia, and the one in Olivar City, followed by Nuestra Señora de la Piedad in Zaragoza, Nuestra Señora de la Merced in Oran, and Nuestra Señora de Monteflorido. He highlighted Nuestra Señora de la Merced in Guatemala, who was another *conquistadora* that came with the Spanish army to the New World. Also from the Guatemalan region, he mentioned Nuestra Señora del Chiantla and Nuestra Señora del Ostuncalco, which was believed to sweat with a really flowery and fresh smell. I do not know if Cisneros was familiar with any of the chronicles that were already written about many of these miraculous images, but his interest in listing them raises questions about which kinds of sources he could have used as models for his own chronicle.

Showing a remarkable interest in conveying the links between the global context and the local sphere, Cisneros' list continued in Chapter Five pointing out those Marian shrines that were within Mexico City. By highlighting the sacred geography of the capital of New Spain, he stressed how grateful the city was for all the favors received, which indeed contradicts his previous assertion that the city had forgotten about Mary's

intercession. As the historian Francisco Miranda has pointed out, this second inventory is indeed a significant map of the most important devotions in the early years of the seventeenth century.¹²⁴ The local listing started with Our Lady of Guadalupe, as it was the oldest shrine of all.¹²⁵ It continued with Nuestra Señora de la Paz at the convent of Saint Agustín, which was visited particularly on Palm Sunday; Nuestra Señora del Tránsito at the college of Saint Peter and Saint Paul; Nuestra Señora de la Piedad at the Dominican monastery outside the city; Nuestra Señora de el Valle at the Franciscan monastery of Saint Cosme; and an image of the Immaculate Conception in the main convent of the Concepcionist nuns. He also mentioned an image of the Transit of Mary that was venerated in the church of the hospital of helpless children, one image of Our Lady of the Rosary in the main Dominican monastery, and an image of the Assumption of Mary venerated within the Cathedral. Cisneros concluded the list by mentioning the important image of Nuestra Señora de la Merced, patroness of his order. Mentioning this image allowed him to praise friar Bartolomé de Olmedo, the Mercedarian friar who came with Hernán Cortés at the time of the conquest, and thus, his religious order as the first that administered the sacraments within the city.

Once Cisneros had set the local and global context, he finally focused on the origin and principle of Our Lady of Remedios. He spent five chapters explaining how the cult image was discovered and venerated in the early years, from the moment it was found by the cacique Juan around 1540, up to the point when the city's authorities decided to take over the cult and refurbish its church to host her image in 1574. He then

¹²⁴ Francisco Miranda, *Dos cultos fundantes: Los Remedios y Guadalupe, 1521-1649: historia documental (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán, 2001)*.

¹²⁵ “El mas antiguo [santuario] es el de Guadalupe, que está a una legua de esta ciudad.” Cisneros, *Historia*, 38.

described the *ermita*, highlighting its architectural features. Chapters Eleven to Thirteen were descriptions of its interior, including Villasana's paintings (see Appendix 2).

Importantly, he mentioned that this iconographic program, along with his interviews with Juan Ce Cuautli Tovar's daughter María, constituted his main source for reconstructing the first years of the cult's development.

As I mentioned before, Cisneros included a concise explanation of why images were relevant to promoting devotion. His commentary is unparalleled in other Marian chronicles. Cisneros started his Chapter Eleven by referring to Saint Bernard and his remarks about how painting promotes devotion when depicting a sacred original.¹²⁶ Cisneros also referred to the famous phrase that praised images as "the book for the illiterate," but wrongly attributed it to a Saint Gregory Damascen, an interesting mixture of two relevant supporters of image use: Pope Saint Gregory the Great, who normally takes credit for the above-mentioned phrase, and Saint John Damascen, who opposed the first edicts against the veneration of images in the year 726. The reference to these authors was not unusual, but rare was the term he picked as framework for the use of images: *zoografía*.

Por eso debe de llamar a la pintura el griego Zoografía que quiere decir escritura viva porque no sólo enseña y adiestra a los ignorantes, pero no sé qué viveza tiene para imprimir en los corazones, que suele hacer el efecto en un corazón que el original: Mueve a respeto y reverencia, trae a la memoria las mercedes recibidas, represéntanse las hazañas obras por nosotros han hecho.

That is why painting should be called *Zoografía*, which in Greek means *living writing*, as it not only teaches and trains the ignorant, but it has an unrevealed liveliness that imprints the hearts in the same way the [sacred] original does,

¹²⁶ "la pintura mueve a devoción si es cosa sagrada," Cisneros, *Historia*, 73.

thus moving them to respect and reverence. Images bring back to memory all the gifts received by depicting the feats done for us.¹²⁷

The concept of *Zoografia* in relation to images had been common since antiquity.

According to the art historian Ivan Drpić, “*zōgraphia* (ζωγραφία), is indeed Greek and means simply ‘painting’, ‘picture’, ‘depiction’ or more broadly ‘representation’. The term derives from *zōē* (ζωή), ‘life’, and *graphō* (γράφω), which is a verb with a range of meanings: ‘paint’, ‘delineate’, ‘draw’, but also ‘write’. So *zōgraphia* does carry the additional meaning of painting ‘from life’ and also implies the overlap between painting and writing.”¹²⁸ Most likely, Cisneros became acquainted with the term through the Latin translation of Greek/Byzantine iconophile texts. Although the term is not as obscure in the context of image use, it became rare and that is why it is worth pointing it out so as to highlight Cisneros’ erudition in this matter. Under that framework, it is not at all surprising that he dedicated time to describing the mural decoration of the shrine, and his references to the chalice portraying Christ mentioned by Tertulian, and the golden and silver sculptures made by Constantine to be displayed all around Palestine. He truly believed that images increased devotion.

Noteworthy is Cisneros argument against the danger of falling in idolatry, which he argued could not develop in this land because of the “state of perfection” of the local people, who did not have any need for a pedagogue who taught them the right way of venerating images, and were able to address the original beyond the form (“*ya [que] están los hombres en estado perfecto que no tienen necesidad de pedagogo, no se corre*

¹²⁷ Cisneros, *Historia*, 73.

¹²⁸ Personal e-mail communication from January 29, 2012. I thank Ivan Drpić, Assistant Professor of Byzantine Art at the School of Art, University of Washington, for his help contextualizing the term.

ese riesgo”).¹²⁹ Needless to say, it is surprising to find such comments, considering that, as the art historian Thomas B. F. Cummins has pointed out, “idolatry continued to structure a defining understanding of the Americas for almost three hundred years.”¹³⁰ Disappointingly, Cisneros did not develop his arguments any further. However, it is feasible that his personal position on this difficult topic of idolatry and the character of the local population might have caused him problems. Perhaps this is why the city council did not want to fund the publication of his work.¹³¹ Instead of developing this topic further, he simply turned to the cult image itself, praising the sculpture for resembling a real person, thus justifying his use of the term *zoografia*: as living writing, the statue was the most effective way to attract new devotees to the sacred original, that is, the Virgin Mary.

After justifying the use of images, he naturally turned to describe the mural decoration of the shrine, including the mural paintings and the tabernacle where the statue was on display. Cisneros even included an inventory of the jewelry possessed by the image, including the names of most of the donors, allowing readers to learn about the high esteem that important people of the society held for Our Lady of Remedios. This is the earliest existent inventory of the shrine.

The subject of Cisneros’ Chapter Fifteen was the history of the brotherhood created year after the city council took over the shrine. As will be discussed in the Epilogue, the confraternity was in charge of promoting the cult and was most likely formed only by

¹²⁹ Cisneros, *Historia*, 73.

¹³⁰ Thomas B. F. Cummins, "To Serve Man: Pre-Columbian Art, Western Discourses of Idolatry, and Cannibalism," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 42 (2002).

¹³¹ I thank Ilona Katzew for her useful suggestions regarding this section.

members of the *cabildo*, thus making it a *sui generis* brotherhood completely tied to a political organism—Cisneros, though, did not describe it in these terms and only praised its existence.

The last three chapters of the first section of the chronicle were focused on three different topics: a portrayal of the site where the shrine was built, the only place where I perceived a true feeling of patriotism and pride for Cisneros' mother land; a description of the pilgrims' house attached to the shrine (what better way to promote a shrine to potential visitors than to document its welcoming infrastructure?); and a short comment on how the Franciscan order tried, with no results, to take control of the shrine in 1586.¹³²

The second section of Cisneros' book included thirteen chapters, all of which described in detail the processions that brought the image of Our Lady of Remedios to Mexico City. While he described the processions of 1577 and 1597 in detail, prominence was given to the procession of 1616, as it was the one in which Cisneros was involved.¹³³ The third part of Cisneros chronicle was fully centered on the miracles performed by Our Lady of Remedios, highlighting those made during the conquest, but also paying special attention to those made at sea or for ill people. Those were the same miracles depicted in Villasana's cycle, thus making evident Cisneros' source that he used for his own classification.

Cisneros employed a wide spectrum of authors to sustain his ideas, including classical authors such as Demosthenes and Caton; philosophers such as Aristotle; early Christian authors such as Tertuliano and Origins; and fathers of the Church such as Saint

¹³² For more on the Franciscan intention of controlling the shrine, see Miranda, *Dos Cultos Fundantes*, 132-137.

¹³³ See *Chapter Four* for more details on the processions.

Gregory, Saint Agustin, and Saint Bernard. The use of all these sources is not remarkable. However, what is outstanding is Cisneros's use of contemporary theologians, both Italian and Spanish, like Riccardo Vittoriano, and Tommaso Bozio,¹³⁴ Luis Vives,¹³⁵ Francisco Suarez,¹³⁶ and Benedictus Arias Montano,¹³⁷ making evident his strong humanistic influences. With regard to the sources he employed to build his own perspective of the conquest, he acknowledged reading works by friar Juan de Torquemada and Francisco López de Gómara, which allows for an understanding of his interpretation of the events. His use of the *Comentarios Reales de los Incas* by the Inca Garcilazo de la Vega is noteworthy. However, Cisneros did not use the *Comentarios* for political or identity reasons, but as his main evidence for his statement that Alonso Sánchez de Huelva was the first Spaniard who came to the Americas, even before Christopher Columbus.¹³⁸

¹³⁴ Both Vittoriano and Bozio were active theologians at the Council of Trent, but their biographical data remain obscure. Vittoriano's fame was as an exegete, while Bozio's grew as one of the founding members of the Oratory of Saint Philip Neri and good friend of Cesare Baronius. Interestingly Bozio wrote a description of the frescoes of the Immaculate Conception made by Lodovico Cigoli for the ceiling of the Pauline Chapel of the church of Saint Maria Maggiore. See Steven F. Ostrow, "Cigoli's Immacolata and Galileo's Moon: Astronomy and the Virgin in Early Seicento Rome," *The Art Bulletin* 78, no. 2 (1996).

¹³⁵ Luis Vives was born in Valencia in 1492 and died in Bruges in 1540. He taught at the University of Leuven and Oxford. He had a good relationship with both Erasmus of Rotterdam and Thomas Moore. He is more known for his comprehensive theory of education, standing out his *De Institutione feminae Christiane*, a treatise for the education of women. His presence in New Spain is linked to Cervantes de Salazar, who wrote comments on Vives' works that were published along with his three famous dialogues celebrating the grandeur of Mexico City. Some of his books (e.g., *De ratione dicendi libri tres*, published in Louvain in 1533) were part of Franciscan libraries in the monasteries of Huamantla, Huejotzingo, Tecali, and Tepeaca. See W. Michael Mathes, "Humanism in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Libraries of New Spain," *The Catholic Historical Review* 82, no. 3 (1996).

¹³⁶ Francisco Suárez was a Spanish Jesuit priest, philosopher, and theologian, one of the leading figures of the School of Salamanca movement, and generally regarded as being among the greatest scholars after Thomas Aquinas. He was born in 1548 and died in 1617.

¹³⁷ Benedictus Arias Montano was born at Fragenal de la Sierra in 1527 and died at Seville in 1598. He was the editor of the Antwerp Polyglot, the Bible edition prepared per the request of King Phillip II. His books were part of the disalced Franciscan Library of San Diego Monastery and Texcoco. See Mathes, *Humanism*, 424 and 425.

¹³⁸ Cisneros, *Historia*, 45. See Cesáreo Fernández Duro, *La tradición de Alonso Sánchez de Huelva, descubridor de tierras incógnitas*, (Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 2006 [1892]),

Although Cisneros' chronicle was already scarce by the late seventeenth century (according to Miranda, there are only two copies currently extant),¹³⁹ it became the model for similar and subsequent texts focused on the cult of Our Lady of Remedios,¹⁴⁰ and, for some scholars, its influence is visible also in the more famous corpus of chronicles made to sustain the cult of Our Lady of Guadalupe.¹⁴¹



Another early reference to Our Lady of Remedios and the paintings at the shrine is the poem written by Captain Ángel Betancur as a chronicle of the conquest around 1616.¹⁴² This poem was included in his *Ramillete de Flores Divinas*, and shows how the devotion was attached to the foundation of the city and thus was linked to the figure of Cortés. This is not surprising, as he stated in the poem itself that his main source was López de

http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/la-tradicin-de-alonso-snchez-de-huelva-descubridor-de-tierras-incgnitas-0/html/00957cc8-82b2-11df-acc7-002185ce6064_4.html#I_0_. First accessed January 19, 2012.

¹³⁹ Miranda mentions in his introduction to Cisneros' work that he first had access to a copy facilitated by the eminent historian Ernesto de la Torre, and that later he found the University of Texas at Austin had another copy. Besides the 1999 edition, I was able to consult this UT-Austin original.

¹⁴⁰ Antonio Rubial García, "La crónica religiosa: Historia Sagrada y Conciencia Colectiva," in *Historia de la literatura mexicana. Volume 2: La Cultura Letrada en la Nueva España del siglo XVII*, ed. Raquel Cháng-Rodríguez (Mexico City: Siglo XXI Editores, 2002), 334.

¹⁴¹ Francisco de la Maza, *El guadalupanismo mexicano* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1984). See also Rubial, *La crónica religiosa*, 335.

¹⁴² Betancur, *Historia*. A note at the margin makes clear that Betancur arrived in New Spain in 1608. It is likely to think the poem was written after the 1616 procession because of the reference to viceroy Diego Fernández de Córdoba, first Marquis of Guadalcazar, who ruled 1612-1621, but mainly because of his hidden way of mentioning the date: "El año de seiscientos a mi cuenta / Y dieciseis naciendo hambre impía". For more on the author, see Francisco Pimentel, *Historia crítica de la poesía en México* (Mexico City: Oficina Tipográfica de la Secretaría de Fomento, 1892), and Joaquín Antonio Peñalosa, *Flor y canto de poesía Guadalupeña: siglo XVII* (Mexico City: Editorial Jus, 1987), 54-56. Interestingly, the copy of this poem at AGN was, according to the marginal note, made by Lorenzo Boturini, presumably as part of his Museo Guadalupano, or collection of documents related to the cult of Our Lady of Guadalupe.

Gómara's chronicle. The poem identified Our Lady of Remedios as the statue with which Cortés replaced the idols at the Templo Mayor.

As mentioned earlier, the identity of this image was controversial, as the privilege was long disputed first with the *Conquistadora* at the main Franciscan convent in Puebla, and later by Nuestra Señora de los Remedios of Cholula.¹⁴³ Betancur identified the *cu* or temple at Totoltepec hill as being dedicated to Quetzalcoatl, the feather snake a most important pre-Columbian deity in all Mesoamerica, with whom, there was the belief, the Mexica Cortés was identified.¹⁴⁴ Betancur, of course, did not provide any source for his identification, but his mention shows the way oral tradition was adding data to the legend of Our Lady of Remedios. Most interesting is his premise that it was Cortés himself who decided to hide the miraculous statue in the maguey, while committing himself to build a shrine to her at that site once the city had fallen.¹⁴⁵ Later on, after describing how the Indian—finally identified as Cacique Juan—placed the image in a box, he acknowledged that Rodríguez Villafuerte fulfilled Cortés' desire to found a Marian *ermita* at Totoltepec hill (See Appendix 3).

Another important aspect of the poem is the role he assigned to Our Lady of Guadalupe, as the image with which the conquest came to an end, making Remedios the

¹⁴³ See Denise Fallena, "Tres imágenes de fundación y conquista en los valles centrales de Puebla-Tlaxcala: La Conquistadora de Puebla, la Virgen de la Asunción de Tlaxcala y Nuestra Señora de los Remedios de Cholula" (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Ph. D., in progress).

¹⁴⁴ See *Chapter Three*.

¹⁴⁵ "Despidiose Cortés de aquella Niña / de los ojos de Dios que es nuestros medio, / diciéndole / 'mi bien, mi causa y alma, / paloma universal de los Remedios / en aqueste maguey sagrada planta os dejo / por huir de los asedios. Yo volveré en esos ojos / veo que he de tomar por vos a mi trofeo. / Bien pudiera llevaros, pero gusto / que tomáis posesion de este horizonte / ... / mil pájaros serán vuestros laudes / quando reduzca esta ciudad y entonces / os prometo un capitolio / que sera (vos en el) el sumo Solio. / Dijo así y cubrió con espirantes / pencas el Ave Dios y a su Paloma....". Betancurt, *Historia*.

alpha and Guadalupe the omega of the colonization process.¹⁴⁶ Despite the fact that the literary qualities of the poem have been questioned,¹⁴⁷ it is an important written record because it also includes a brief description of five of the ten paintings at the shrine made by Alonso de Villasana in 1595. It remains unanswered why he only described the half of the program placed. It could be that the poem was written in or after 1616, at a time when part of the decoration was already destroyed. Even if not as detailed record as the one produced by friar Luis de Cisneros, Betancur's poem still allows knowing how the now lost iconographic program was perceived.

Cisneros's work was not mentioned by Betancur as it was not published by the time of its creation. On the contrary, *Historia de el principio* was used as main source for the Remedios events in many of the chronicles written to enhance the role of particular religious orders. Aside from the different details regarding Our Lady of Remedios, it is fascinating how all these chronicles, as the historian Antonio Rubial has mentioned, aimed to enhance internal cohesion among each order's members, providing, at the same time, arguments against their detractors.¹⁴⁸ In that context, it is compelling to see how each author modified the legend according to his order's benefit.

The first of these seventeenth-century religious chronicles that mentioned Our Lady of Remedios was Juan de Grijalva's *Crónica de la orden de NPS de San Agustín en*

¹⁴⁶ "Mira la sangre de los sacrificios / que en aqueste idolismo está caliente, / vendrá a purificarla de sus vicios / la cristiandad de mi rosado oriente / y para que tengas de su gloria indicios / a Tepeaquilla baja diligente / y entre tajadas peñas y redondas / verás mi imagen cerca de las ondas, / no como aquí de bulto, de pinceles/que en blanca manta el gran Apeles tupe, / porque Dios, verdadero Praxiteles, / allí me advocará de Guadalupe. / Harásme un templo allí cuando los fieles / la cruz levanten y este hemisferio ocupe, / después de la conquista de esta tierra, / porque no hay cosa buena con la guerra." Betancur, *Historia*.

¹⁴⁷ Pimentel, *Historia*, 360.

¹⁴⁸ "La historia era par alas instituciones eclesiásticas un instrumento básico de cohesión al interior de sus órganos y de densa contra sus opositores... [en el contexto de la secularización] era urgente remarcar sus títulos de primeros evangelizadores." Rubial, *La crónica religiosa*, 347.

las Provincias de Nueva España, published in 1624. The Agustinian complained that Cisneros only briefly mentioned the belt that miraculously cured don Juan, thus disregarding the deep devotion people had for it, and more importantly, its Agustinian origin. As mentioned earlier, according to Grijalva, the miraculous belt was given to Juan, the visionary Indian, by friar Agustín de Coruña, later bishop of Popayán, who had his house close to Juan's. To make his point stronger, Grijalva described the object as a piece of Spanish cloth, three fingers wide and with a wooden buckle that was short in length because that was how the first Agustínians established in the city used it.¹⁴⁹ It is worth noting that Grijalva's interest in attaching the belt to this miraculous image did not transcend at all: despite he considered that Juan's recovery was the first miracle ever performed by Remedios, and thus, was an Agustinian miracle ("*El más insigne milagro, y el primero del que tenemos noticia, fue con una cinta de Nuestro Señor San Agustín*"), there were no further attempts by the Agustinian order to establish a stronger relationship with the shrine and the cult. Grijalva stands as the first author who noted that Juan—described as a pious and humble cacique despite his brash manners—was part of the indigenous army that persecuted Cortés and his soldiers in the *Noche Triste* battle. According to the Agustinian, Juan was able to recognize the statue found in the maguey as the mother of God only because of the vision he had with his fellow soldiers in the battlefield.

¹⁴⁹ "Es de vaqueta de Castilla de tres dedos de ancho y con hebilleta de la manera que la usamos los frailes agustinos, sólo se puede escrupular en que es muy corta. Pero a ello se responde que aquellos padres antiguos la traían muy corta, como también os hábitos, que eran cortos y estrechos y así lo vemos en las pinturas natuaguas que están en nuestras porterías que son las cintas muy anchas y cortas." Grijalva, *Crónica*, 187.

In 1681, friar Francisco de Pareja wrote a chronicle aiming to emphasize the role played by his order in the establishment of the Christian faith in New Spain. In his *Crónica de la Provincia de la Visitación de Nuestra Señora de la Merced*, he emphasized the foundational work of friar Bartolomé de Olmedo, whom many chroniclers hitherto had neglected. He linked the statue of Our Lady of Remedios to this man, the first one who preached the Gospel in the Mexica realm, arguing that it was his idea—and not Cortés’—to place it at the top of the Templo Mayor.¹⁵⁰ He followed Cisneros in all details regarding how the devotion started, and strongly denied Grijalva’s argument about the miraculous belt being Agustinian.

A year after Pareja, in 1682, friar Baltasar de Medina, in his *Crónica de la santa provincia de san Diego de México de religiosos descalzos de NSPS Francisco*, highlighted the role played by the Dieguinos, starting in 1653, every time the image was brought in procession to the city. Following Cisneros’ model, he counted the number of times the *venidas* took place (twelve up to 1678), describing the ritual followed on each occasion. Medina also provided an important reference to another image of Our Lady of Remedios venerated in the main chapel of the San Antonio convent of Querétaro City, allowing readers to understand how the devotion spread in New Spain.

The last chronicle of a religious order that included references to Our Lady of Remedios was that of Agustín de Vetancurt’s *Teatro Mexicano*. The Franciscan friar wrote a complex text that not only included a history of the Franciscans in New Spain, with descriptions of all the convents of the order, but also descriptions of the cities of Mexico and Puebla, as a conscious way to show the sacredness of the territory. To

¹⁵⁰ “Es cierto que por sus manos corrió el poner aquella santa Imagen en aquella ermita del gran Cu.” Pareja, *Crónica*, 64.

increase his argument that New Spain was a sacred realm, the last chapter of his chronicle contained a list of miraculous images venerated in those cities. Among them,¹⁵¹ Our Lady of Remedios is the one that received the most attention, but it is not clear why he focused in such detail in this particular image. He also provided a list of processions in which he added details, like the fact that, during the *venida* of 1642, archbishop Juan de Palafox y Mendoza welcomed Remedios while barefoot, as a public sign of humbleness.

However important these religious chronicles are, the seventeenth-century text that played the most important role in spreading the legend of Our Lady of Remedios is Francisco de Florencia's *La milagrosa invención de un tesoro escondido en un campo, que halló un venturoso cazique* (Figure 19). Despite being almost based on Cisneros' text, Florencia's became the most known and referenced chronicle of Our Lady of Remedios during the second half of the colonial period through its Mexican first edition of 1685, and its second edition made in Seville in 1745.

¹⁵¹ The list starts with Our Lady of Guadalupe, with Remedios second. It continues with the Conquistadora venerated in the city of Puebla, Tepepan, Santa María la Redonda, del Valle, Tolantongo, and Tecaxic, whose shrines are near Xochimilco, Mexico City, and Toluca, respectively.



Figure 2. 19: Frontispiece to the second edition of *La milagrosa invención de un tesoro Escondido* by Francisco de Florencia published in Seville by the Imprenta de las Siete Revueltas in 1745

The first edition was made after the thirteenth procession took place and, in Florencia's own words, was written to satisfy the devotional curiosity of the people, who supposedly had all forgotten about the relevance of this Marian image.¹⁵² His complaint, similar to the one present in Villasana's paintings and in Cisneros' text, seems to have been a rhetorical tool to justify writing the chronicle itself. Importantly, the historian Antonio Rubial has recently pointed out that the city council's interest in showing its rights as stewards of the shrine might have been behind this publication,¹⁵³ as it was in

¹⁵² See Florencia, *Milagrosa*. See also the "Introduction" in Francisco de Florencia, *La milagrosa invención de un tesoro escondido en un campo que halló un venturoso cacique*, ed. Teresa Matabuena Peláez and Marisela Rodríguez Lobato (Mexico City: Universidad Iberoamericana, 2008 [1685]).

¹⁵³ Antonio Rubial García, *El paraíso de los elegidos. Una lectura de la historia cultural de Nueva España (1521-1804)* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica-Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2010). In this book, the author mentions that Lorenzo de Mendoza, chaplain of the shrine, also wrote a chronicle on that same year of 1685, but it seems there was confusion due to the fact that Lorenzo de

1684 when a royal edict put an end to a quarrel between the city authorities and the archbishop friar Payo de Ribera, regarding the jurisdictional rights of the image and its cult.¹⁵⁴

The second edition, however, seems to have been published only with devotional purposes, as it helped to spread the devotion of this *Socia Belli* in Spain. The importance of Florencia's chronicle becomes evident in the fact that in 1762, the chaplain of the shrine based on this text an important part of his arguments against consolidating the painting of the statue's face: Florencia has proved, he said, that among the most important features of the miraculous images was its countenance, and therefore it should be untouchable.¹⁵⁵

As mentioned before, the provenance of the statue of Our Lady of Remedios was also established by this chronicle, even if it is only in the marginalia where it is said it came from Flanders. The authority of this chronicle was based on Florencia's use of the chapter city accounts. That is why he was able to add much more than Cisneros to issues as important as the creation of the brotherhood, the indulgencies granted to it by the pope, and the opening of the refurbished church in 1629. He also included oral tradition, mainly in regard to those miracles performed by the statue a few years before he started writing. In regard to the miraculous belt, he accepted Grijalva's interpretation of it being an Augustinian artifact and defended the statue as the one Cortés placed on top of the Templo Mayor, from where he argued, based on Torquemada, it provoked rain, thus becoming

Mendoza paid for Florencia's book, as it is stressed in the frontispiece that he "gave the book to the print" ("daldas a la estampa").

¹⁵⁴ See *Epilogue* for more in the conflicts between the council and the archbishop Payo de Rivera.

¹⁵⁵ AHDF, Vol. 3900, exp. 23. See also *Chapter One*.

patroness of rainfall from that early stage.¹⁵⁶ Worth noting is his mention of Gregorio Lopez as a resident of the shrine. This eremite was allegedly the son of king Philip II, and its fame of sanctity awarded the title of venerable. Thus, by linking his name to the shrine, part of his fame was transmitted to Remedios.¹⁵⁷ Furthermore, he included in his book a series of novenas or devotional exercises to guide the devotee in his daily prayers at the shrine.

Florencia wrote this chronicle just after coming back to New Spain, once his appointments as procurator of the Jesuit province in Rome, and general procurator of the Indies in Seville (1668-1675), were over. After the chronicle of Remedios, he wrote other chronicles on the most popular miraculous images in New Spain: Our Lady of Guadalupe (1688), Our Lady of Loreto (1689), San Miguel de las Cuevas in Chalma (1690), San Miguel del Milagro near Tlaxcala (1692), and Our Lady of Zapopan and Our Lady of San Juan in Guadalajara—Nueva Galicia (1694). According to the art historian Luisa Elena Alcalá, by writing all these chronicles Florencia aimed to promote devotions that were specifically Mexican, defending each of them as valid cults despite not having written sources that sustained them.¹⁵⁸ For him, it was possible to trace the origins of a given cult through oral tradition, and through the paintings present at the shrines—like those made by Villasana: both testimonies and images were documents used to validate the

¹⁵⁶ Florencia, *Milagrosa*, paragraphs 32-33.

¹⁵⁷ Miranda, *Dos Cultos*, 167-169. On the failed process that sought the canonization of López, see Antonio Rubial García, *La santidad controvertida: hagiografía y conciencia criolla alrededor de los venerables no canonizados de Nueva España* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México-Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1999).

¹⁵⁸ “Al escribir las historias de estos cultos, Florencia perseguía por tanto un doble propósito: promover una devociones específicamente mexicanas y defender la validez de sus cultos pese a la ausencia de documentos escritos.” Luisa Elena Alcalá, “¿Pues para qué son los papeles...? Imágenes y devociones en los siglos XVII y XVIII,” *Tiempos de América*, no. 1 (1997).

devotional practices of the population. Thus, Florencia's chronicle on Remedios shares with his other texts a deep concern for defining the identity of New Spain through its religious images.

Last but not least, I want to draw attention to the *Novenas* written by Miguel Sánchez.¹⁵⁹ The priest, who worked for a while in the Remedios shrine as its chaplain, is mostly known for being the author of *Imagen de Maria*, the foundational text in which the painting of Our Lady of Guadalupe was interpreted as a *Criolla* representation of the Apocalyptic Woman. Even if the *Novenas* did not add any new elements to the legend of Our Lady of Remedios, its relevance lies in the strong links Sánchez established between these two Marian images, providing an understanding of how they were always linked and never in competition during the colonial period.¹⁶⁰ Sánchez, who praised Cisneros and his chronicle, established the complementarity of the two miraculous images based on three facts: both were venerated in shrines located in hills; both were revealed by visionary Indians named Juan; and both were shown by means of the maguey plant, Remedios' statue appearing within it, Guadalupe being shaped on a piece of cloth made with it.¹⁶¹ At all times he acknowledged Remedios for the conquest, leaving Guadalupe

¹⁵⁹ Miguel Sánchez, *Novenas a la Virgen María Madre de Dios para sus dos devotísimos santuarios de Los Remedios y Guadalupe* (Mexico City: Imprenta de la viuda de Bernardo Calderón, 1665).

¹⁶⁰ See Solange Alberro, "Remedios y Guadalupe: de la unión a la discordia," in *Manifestaciones religiosas en el mundo colonial Americano*, ed. Clara García Ayluardo and Manuel Ramos Medina (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia-Universidad Iberoamericana, 1997); William B. Taylor, *Our Lady of Guadalupe and friends: the Virgin Mary in colonial Mexico City* (Berkeley: Doe Library-University of California, 1999); María Dolores Bravo Arriaga, "Los Remedios y Guadalupe; dos imágenes rivales y una sola virgen," *Revista de la Universidad de México*, no. 499 (1992).

¹⁶¹ "Eligió las Virgen dos montes vecinos, que perpetuamente confrontados, se estan mirando y contemplando gloriosos, como los dos milagrosos Thabor y Hermon. Los dos indios, hermanos en la nación y en el nombre de Juan, la planta una misma, el Maguey, en que se asistió y se apareció en el monte de los Remedios, y de esa planta y genero se texió la manta humilde en que se apareció y estampó la de Guadalupe." Sánchez, *Novenas*, 168-71.

the pacification of the realm, much in the same way Betacurt did in his ca. 1616 poem. Interestingly, he organized his devotional exercise also as veneration to the nine groups of angels, thus linking the Marian devotion to the Archangel Michel, his patron saint.¹⁶²

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SOURCES

Several texts were important to the spread of the devotion of Our Lady of Remedios in the eighteenth century. Paradoxically, the first one was *Escudo de Armas* by Cayetano de Cabrera y Quintero, published in 1746 to celebrate the intercession of Our Lady of Guadalupe against the terrible epidemic of *matlazáhuatl* (similar to chickenpox) that devastated New Spain's population between 1736 and 1738. Cabrera's book included references to other Marian images that were brought to the city by devotees seeking a cure for the outbreak, Remedios among them. Cabrera narrated the history of this particular image in three chapters, arguing that this was the statue Cortés placed in the Templo Mayor, and, therefore, this was the real *conquistadora*.¹⁶³ More importantly, based on the writings of Spanish authors friar Antonio de Santa María and Jacinto Arias de Quintana Dueñas, he argued for the first time in the New Spain context that the statue venerated at Totoltepec was the same one that in the eighth century protected Pelagius, founder of the kingdom of Asturias, both during his short trip on the Tajo River while an infant, and later in his life during the battle of Covadonga.¹⁶⁴ According to Cabrera, the statue stayed in a church in Alcántara for a number of years, from where it was taken—or

¹⁶² For more on the relation between the Virgin Mary, especially Our Lady of Guadalupe, and Saint Michael, see Rosario Inés Granados Salinas, "Una travesía con olor a yautli: el descenso de la imagen al Tepeyac," in *El divino pintor: la creación de María de Guadalupe en el taller celestial. Exhibition Catalogue* (Mexico City: Museo de la Basílica de Guadalupe-Museo de Historia Mexicana, 2001).

¹⁶³ The incertitude about the identity came, according to Cabrera, from those years the statue of Remedios stayed hidden in the maguey, and later venerated in San Juan town. Cabrera, *Escudo*, 123.

¹⁶⁴ Cisneros considered that this image was venerated in Guatemala's main Franciscan church as Nuestra Señora de la Merced. Cisneros, *Historia*, 34.

stolen—to be given to Juan Rodríguez de Villafuerte, who then brought it to the New World. By accepting these events, Cabrera was elevating the hierarchy of the statue of Remedios by contextualizing it in the *Reconquista* of the Spanish peninsula. Cabrera also insisted that the original *ermita* of Our Lady of Remedios was the first one founded in Mexico: based on documents by Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, the *regidor* known for being an humanist, a poet, and a great collector of Pre-Columbian items, he claimed that the first temple dedicated to Remedios was placed in the cemetery of the first cathedral.¹⁶⁵ The section on Remedios concludes with the dates and reasons for all twenty-six visits to the city, including one in January 1737, where she was asked to bring the strong epidemic to an end.

The miraculous powers of Our Lady of Remedios were also praised in the *Zodiaco Mariano*, a collection of one hundred six miraculous images venerated in New Spain that was published in 1755. Although it was started by the Jesuit Francisco Florencia, as a natural epilogue to his previous work on devotional images, it was finished by the Jesuit Juan Antonio de Oviedo, who allegedly found the Florencia manuscript at Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo. As a collection of individual and collective miracles, the *Zodiaco* aimed to show that this was “the land of the wonderful” (“*la tierra de lo maravilloso*”), where the divine was present all over. Thus, the book was important for spreading the devotion of Our Lady of Remedios as one more of the images venerated in such sacred landscape.

Mariano Fernández de Echeverría y Veitia also presented an important insight into the legend of Our Lady of Remedios in his *Baluartes de Mexico*, a description of the four Marian images that provided protective care to Mexico City, written around 1778. This author differed with Cisneros, Florencia, and the *Zodiaco Mariano*, saying that the statue

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid*, 115-116.

was found in 1554 or 1555, not in 1540 as they stated. Fernández de Echeverría also believed that Juan kept the image around ten years in his house, implying that the public veneration of the statue started only in 1565. He mentioned that the miraculous belt was not at all Augustinian, but the item by which the statue was attached to the Juan Rodríguez de Villafuerte's saddle. Importantly, he mentioned that the belt was kept by the *mayordomo* of the confraternity, so it could visit all the ill people of the city. He also argued against Remedios in the two main conflicts of identification: in his view, Remedios was not the one that Cortés placed on the Templo Mayor (the *Informaciones* written in Tlaxcala in 1582 clearly proved it was *La Conquistadora* from Puebla, he said), and it was not the one that protected king Pelagius. Fernández de Echeverría y Veitia's position on these debates is not surprising, considering that he was born and died in Puebla and wrote a history of his home city.

Francisco del Barrio Lorenzot, a lawyer from the *Real Audiencia*, wrote the last text of this period that celebrated the memory of Our Lady of Remedios. Although the text was never published, it is important because it was written by a relevant member of the confraternity, who complained about the poor state in which the brotherhood's archive was preserved and aimed to organize the historical information he had at hand. According to information found at the AHDF, he presented the plan of his *Historia Comprobada de la Imagen de la Madre de Dios María Santísima con la advocación de los Remedios de México* to the viceroy and the city council on June 28, 1780.¹⁶⁶ He organized it in three sections, but only a fragment of the first one is preserved at the Benson Latin American

¹⁶⁶ AHDF, Vol. 3901, exp. 35.

Collection at UT-Austin.¹⁶⁷ This manuscript, however, includes a table of contents of the nineteen chapters of that first part, showing how the piece was conceived. It started by thanking the city council for commissioning him to write the chronicle, making evident that he wanted to show his task was an institutional one and not only a personal effort made out of faith. Barrio Lorenzot complained that most of the documentation regarding the sixteenth and seventeenth century was lost in a fire set during the revolt of 1692, which is why he warned the reader that he had covered the missing period of the cult with the texts of Florencia and Cisneros—surprisingly mentioned in that order—complaining that despite their relevance, they were already very difficult to find at the end of the eighteenth century. He included a chapter on the origin of the statue prior to its arrival to the New World that was similar to that presented by Cabrera years earlier. He provided an outstanding description of the statue, showing in detail the ways it was on display during the end of the colonial period, but he did not mention the separateness of the child I highlighted in Chapter One. It is also important that he mentioned a first *ermita* founded on top of Totoltepec hill on July 31, 1528, before the alleged physical apparition or *invención* of the image.¹⁶⁸ Regrettably, one chapter that it is not included in the manuscript located at the Benson Collection is the one devoted to the moment the statue adopted the name of Remedios (“*quando toma la advocación de los Remedios*”).

NINETEENTH-CENTURY SOURCES

¹⁶⁷ Manuscript R-6, Edmundo O’Gorman Collection, Benson Latin American Collection at UT-Austin.

¹⁶⁸ The historian Solange Alberro has pointed out that this date provided by Barrio coincides with that mentioned in the *Anales de Tlateloco*, making feasible it was the moment when a *pequeño adoratorio* was made to thank Mary for helping the Spaniards during the *Noche Triste*. Alberro, "Remedios y Guadalupe: de la unión a la discordia," 321.

The most relevant chronicle of the nineteenth century on Our Lady of Remedios was composed by Ignacio Carrillo y Pérez, who was born around 1745 in Mexico City, dying there in February 1815. Although he was not a priest, and he worked in the mint, his fame is related to the chronicles of miraculous images he wrote. The first one, *Pensil americano florido en el rigor del invierno*, written in 1793 but published in 1797, was on Our Lady of Guadalupe, but he also wrote on Our Lady of Los Angeles and the Santo Cristo of Ixmiquilpan.¹⁶⁹ All of them were conceived as parts of a general history of Mexico. The one on Remedios, *Lo Máximo en lo Mínimo*, was his last piece and it alluded to the great divine power present in such a small statue (Figure 20).¹⁷⁰ It was published in 1808, but was written a few years earlier.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁹ Rocio Benitez Luna, "Ignacio Carrillo y Perez (c.1745-1815) y su Pensil americano florido en el rigor del invierno, imagen de Maria Santisima de Guadalupe" (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, B. A., 2007).

¹⁷⁰ "Lo Máximo en lo portentoso que Dios se ha manifestado por medio de esta Imagen, y lo Mínimo en la pequeñez de su sagrado bulto." Carrillo y Pérez, *Lo máximo*, 2.

¹⁷¹ Interestingly, Carrillo decided to dedicate his book to the general public. Perhaps he decided to do this instead of choosing a famous or socially relevant person because he received the funds for its publication through small donations given by subscribers, all of whom are listed at the end of the chronicle. There are people from San Luis Potosi, Guanajuato, Xalapa, Córdoba, Orizava, and Puebla. It stands out that among the subscribers there are people working at the mint, military members, merchants, printers, and priests linked to the *Colegiata* of Guadalupe.

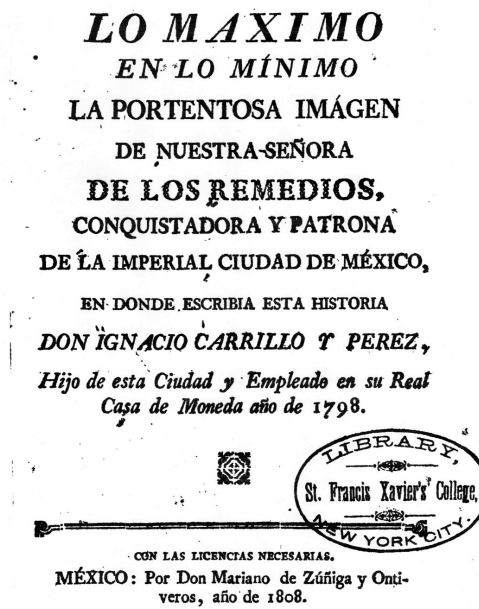


Figure 2. 20: Frontispiece of *Lo Máximo en lo Mínimo* by Ignacio Carrillo y Pérez, published in Mexico by Mariano de Zuñiga y Ontiveros in 1808

The aim of the book is clear from the frontispiece, where Remedios is recognized as conqueror and patroness of Mexico City. Perhaps for that reason it is not surprising to find in the text an argument against the *Conquistadora* from Puebla, and a second mention of the legend that linked the statue with Pelagius, the king who liberated Alcántara from the Moors. Alluding to this character of *Socia Belli* is not entirely surprising considering the book was published the same year that Napoleon invaded Spain.¹⁷²

In Carrillo's text, Cortés is shown as a devout man, more than a soldier, and thus, Remedios appears as his symbolic property, perceived to be the real founder of the viceroyalty. Interestingly, for Carrillo, the cathedral was Remedios' real home, which is

¹⁷² William B. Taylor, *Shrines and miraculous images: religious life in Mexico before the Reforma* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2010).

why during each visit she deserved to be displayed at the main altarpiece. This reference makes evident how, as I argue on the Epilogue, by the end of the colonial period, the city had appropriated the image to the detriment of the shrine and its local indigenous population. Carrillo mentions that the confraternity used to celebrate four festivities related to the life of Mary (Nativity, Purification, Annunciation, and Assumption), but established that the main festivity took place on September 1, which was only common practice after approximately 1780. Carrillo also included a catalogue of all the *venidas*, but only described in detail those taking place in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; those of the eighteenth century were summarized in a list that only included the names of the archbishops and viceroys ruling at the time with no information regarding motives for the processions or the sources he used to establish so many travels. As discussed in Chapter Four, most of those processions did not take place and I am curious about why he increased the number when there is no documentary evidence that sustain his long list. The last part of the chronicle discusses the miracles performed by Remedios, much in the same way they were discussed by Cisneros and Florencia: still in the early nineteenth century, miracles were key to validate the fame of a given cult image.

Around the same time this last chronicle was being published, Juan Antonio Pichardo wrote a really interesting chronicle of Our Lady of Remedios that was never published.¹⁷³ The author, a priest from the Oratory of San Juan de Letrán who was born in Cuernavaca City in 1748, was also a historian and as such, he aimed to create the most objective history of this cult. Pichardo also wrote a chronicle of Felipe de Jesús, the first

¹⁷³ Manuscript R-9, Edmundo O’Gorman Collection, Benson Latin American Collection at UT-Austin is likely Pichardo’s last draft, as it includes additions in different pages and corrections in the shape of inkblots.

beatified Creole who became a symbol of New Spain as a sacred realm.¹⁷⁴ The devotions to San Felipe and Remedios were particularly linked at the end of the eighteenth century, as will be shown in the Epilogue. Pichardo's fame as a scholar, however, is more related to the report he wrote during the last four years of his life concerning the true boundary between Texas and Louisiana. This text, finished in 1812, was so enthusiastically praised that he got a pension from viceroy Francisco Javier Venegas for it.

Pichardo's chronicle on Our Lady of Remedios stands out because it is the only one that clearly states that the discovery of the statue by Juan was a legend manufactured to bring the Indians into the Catholic faith. Moreover, Pichardo, much in the same way Betancur did in his ca. 1616 poem, affirmed that Cortés himself had the idea of founding an *ermita* to this image of Mary already by the time Mexico City was being reconstructed after the siege of 1521. In his view, Juan Rodríguez Villafuerte was the man in charge of fulfilling Cortés' wish because of their close relationship, as they both were from the city of Medellín.¹⁷⁵ Pichardo indicated that the *solar* or piece of land received by Rodríguez Villafuerte as reward for his military service was at the edge of the city ("en la calle que va de la puente del mariscal para las rejas del convento de la concepción"),¹⁷⁶ which allowed him to date the foundation of that first *ermita* at Totoltepec as early as 1522.

Although Pichardo acknowledged the poor state in which such *ermita* was by 1574, he stressed that it was not completely destroyed when the city decided to become

¹⁷⁴ Cornelius Burroughs Conover, "A saint in the empire: Mexico City's San Felipe de Jesus, 1597-1820". The University of Texas at Austin, Ph. D., 2008.

¹⁷⁵ Pichardo, *Historia*.

¹⁷⁶ Interestingly enough, this *solar* does not appear in the reconstruction of sixteenth-century Mexico included in Ana Rita Valero de García Lascuráin, *Solares y conquistadores: orígenes de la propiedad en la ciudad de México* (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1991); Lucía Mier y Terán Rocha, *La primera traza de la ciudad de México, 1524-1535* (Mexico City: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2005).

its patron, as Masses was still being delivered there. In this sense, he sought to moderate the idea that the statue and her cult had been completely forgotten. Important for the point made in Chapter One regarding the physical transformations of the sculpture, Pichardo mentioned that after the city refurbished the *ermita*, the main feast was celebrated on the day of the Assumption, as he considered that was the day it opened to the public after the refurbishment ordained by the city council.

Regarding the cult received by the statue in the town of San Juan's church, he believed it was only during the months that the renovation of the original *ermita* took place, that is, between May 1574 and August 1575. He insisted that it was impossible that the statue was at all venerated in the cacique's house, and that it was just a legend created especially for the Indian audience. Pichardo also refused the idea that Our Lady of Remedios was the one that protected king Pelagius, and strongly criticized Cabrera and Barrio Lorenzot, whose manuscript he received by coincidence, for assuming this supposition as real; in his view, that of Pelagius was venerated as Our lady of Loreto in the main church of the Franciscans in Guatemala City, as Fernández de Echeverría had argued. In addition to this identity matter, he reinforced the idea that Cortés was linked to *La conquistadora* from Puebla, but that it was not the one the conqueror placed on the Templo Mayor. Based on city council accounts, he dated the first mention of an *ermita* dedicated to Our Lady of Remedios to July 31, 1528, which coincides with Barrio Lorenzot. This is also the year provided by the modern historian Francisco Miranda, although he identified August 14, 1528, as the earliest date that the chapel of Our Lady of

Remedios is mentioned in the city council accounts (in the context of granting a piece of land next to it to a Ruy González).¹⁷⁷

In 1811 Juan Bautista Díaz Calvillo wrote a sermon, preserved in several copies at numerous libraries, to be delivered at the cathedral in the first anniversary of the battle of *Cerro de las Cruces* that took place on October 30, 1810.¹⁷⁸ With that piece he celebrated the victory of the royal army against the independent forces that were about to enter Mexico City: the moment they decided to go back and not come closer, the devotion to Our Lady of Remedios grew extensively as she has proved, once again, she was the best protector of the city in times of war. Taking advantage of that popularity, in 1812 Díaz Calvillo wrote his *Noticias para la historia de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios desde el año de 1808 hasta el corriente de 1812*.¹⁷⁹ More than a devotional piece, however, this text narrates the political and military events that took place in the first years of the war of Independence, always linking the triumph of the royal forces to Our Lady of Remedios.

CONCLUSION

The past is always a foundational stage: as the sociologist Anthony D. Smith has indicated, it provides a vital underpinning for the sense of national identity.¹⁸⁰ In that

¹⁷⁷ Miranda, *Dos Cultos Fundantes*, 42.

¹⁷⁸ Juan Bautista Díaz Calvillo, *Sermón que en el Aniversario Solemne de Gracias a María Santísima de los Remedios: Celebrado en esta Santa Iglesia Catedral el día 30 de Octubre de 1811 por la Victoria del Monte de las Cruces* (Mexico City: En la Imprenta de Arizpe, 1811).

¹⁷⁹ Juan Bautista Díaz Calvillo, *Noticias para la Historia de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios desde el año de 1808 hasta el corriente de 1812* (Mexico City: en casa de Arizpe, 1812).

¹⁸⁰ Anthony D. Smith, *Chosen peoples: sacred sources of national identity* (Oxford-New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

sense, it can be argued that all the chronicles reviewed in this chapter created a vision of the conquest as a foundational event. Early in New Spain's history, Our Lady of Remedios stood out as a key constituent of such an episode, thus helping create what the ethno-historian Matthew Restall has called the complex "myth of the conquest".¹⁸¹ Thus, the cult that arose around the statue became linked to the origin of Mexico City as a colonial entity. Through her image, an important aspect of collective memory was organized. In that sense, the relevance of Alonso de Villasana's mural paintings needs to be highlighted as the place where the legend of Our Lady of Remedios was first exposed, unifying the role of Cortés as the father of the viceroyalty with the miraculous finding of the statue, a tradition by which the indigenous population was incorporated in that mythical past. The images at the shrine established indeed the historical truth of the cult.¹⁸² Moreover, the paintings at the shrine were also the first time that the dogma of the Immaculate Conception was celebrated in the New World.

The main source of the mural paintings at the shrine of Our Lady of Remedios program was, of course, the Bible. It is evident that Remedios' intellectual author—Fernán González de Eslava or another eminent clergy/poet—had extensive knowledge of the Holy Scripture and knew how to find the best sentences to allude to Mary's purity in a most creative way, while concealing the topic and being completely rigorous with its meaning, as the emblem theory would suggest.¹⁸³ Interestingly, most of the citations used

¹⁸¹ Matthew Restall, *Seven myths of the Spanish conquest* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

¹⁸² Thomas B. F. Cummins, "From Lies to Truth: Colonial Ekphrasis and the Act of Crosscultural Translation," In *Reframing the Renaissance: Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America, 1450-1650*, ed. by Claire J. Farago (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).

¹⁸³ Fernando R. de la Flor, *Emblemas: lecturas de la imagen simbólica* (Madrid: Alianza, 1995).

in the cycle came from the so-called Books of Wisdom from the Old Testament:¹⁸⁴

Wisdom (with one reference), Sirach/Ecclesiasticus (with four), Proverbs (with five), Psalms (with nine), and the Song of Songs (with ten). This evidence strongly shows that the program aimed to be a glorification of the Immaculate Conception through a thoughtful scheme that reworked the most common Marian prefigurations, based on the verses attributed to Solomon. The Book of Genesis had four references, while Exodus was mentioned three times. The books of prophets were also an important source: Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel had two references, whereas Malachi, Kings, Judith, and Esther, only one each. From the New Testament, only three verses came from the Gospel of Luke and only one from that of Matthew. The Epistles to Corinthians, Ephesians, and Hebrews as well as the Book of Revelations also provided a few citations (one each).

The fact that most of the biblical references within the program came from the Old Testament also affirms the fact that the program's general intent was to promote the idea that Mary—pure and virgin before, during, and after labor—was conceived in the origins of times, just as one of the last sentences of the cycle made clear: **In the head of the book it is written of me (*capite libri scriptu, este me*)**. I am convinced that the New Testament would have been more present only if the cycle's intention had been primarily the evangelization of the new converts who visited the church. Thus, although this was a program to be admired by all visitors, the full appreciation of its erudition was reserved for priests and other knowledgeable people who were familiar with the symbols alluded

¹⁸⁴ The books of Job and Ecclesiastes, despite also being part of the so-called Books of Wisdom, were never referenced in the program.

to within it, as it happened in all other spaces where emblems were displayed, such as ephemeral arches made for the arrival or departure of authorities or royal festivities.¹⁸⁵

The new converts, however, were directly included through the figures of the sibyls. These women were, according to Saint Agustin, in charge of spreading the coming of Christ within gentiles whereas the male Prophets were doing the same among the Hebrews.¹⁸⁶ Thus, by showing the female figures within the program, the Indians of the New World were integrated in the western history because they were being invited to participate in the good news they were foretelling. This integration was also evident in the mural painting at the *sotocoro* (in the sort of vestibule at the entrance), in the symbol of the Mexico Tenochtitlan foundation and the biblical citation from the Epistle to Ephesians: **Now, therefore, you are no more strangers and foreigners, but you are fellow citizens with the Saints and the domestics of God (Ephesians 2:19)**. Both images, sibyls and the Mexica coat of arms of the city, were depicted to integrate the gentile past into the new Catholic history of Mexico. The two kind of figures aimed to show that from the conquest on, Spanish and Indians were to take part of the realm as one large community of Christians.

Furthermore, the sibyls allow us to identify humanism, especially Neo-Platonism, as the framework in which the whole program was conceived. Within that structure, it is coherent to have mythological deities present in the interior of the shrine—some of them even shown in the nude. As the Spanish art historian José Miguel Morales Folguera has correctly pointed out, in the writings of Marcilio Ficino, the main reviewer of Neo-

¹⁸⁵ See De la Flor, *Emblemas*, and *Juegos de ingenio y agudeza: la pintura emblemática de la Nueva España. Exhibition Catalogue* (Mexico City: Banamex-Museo Nacional de Arte, 1994).

¹⁸⁶ Morales Folguera, *Las Sibilas en el Arte*, 21-23.

Platonism during the early Italian Renaissance, there was a continuity from the pagan world into Christianity, and so it seems that is also the main idea behind this iconographical program made at Our Lady of Remedios' shrine. I do not mean to say that the works of the Florentine philosopher directly influenced its conception, but I certainly think it had the intention to address—and even link—both pagan pasts, the European and that of the Indians. The intense use of emblems that aimed to combine classical references to Christian motives in order to provide moral instruction also confirms the humanist background of Villasana's paintings. Last but not least, it is worth pointing out that the Italian humanism was present in the anonymous poems that described the sibyls' prophecies, and in the use of the *ottava prima* form adopted in the epigrams of the main *cuadros*.

Paradoxically, this humanist erudition might have determined the cycles' destruction when it became obsolete. I am dating this process of devastation of the wall's decoration between 1616, when Cisneros finished writing his chronicle, and 1628, when the refurbishments of the church were completed for the consecration of Francisco Manso y Zuñiga as the eighth archbishop of Mexico.¹⁸⁷ Beyond this hypothesis of a change in aesthetic taste, the reasons for such deplorable destruction are only partially known. Cisneros stressed that a new door was opened on the right-hand side of the *ermita* to let the pilgrims leave the interior more efficiently, but it well could be that the alteration of the building was necessary due to its constant decay caused by severe weather conditions. Nonetheless, I also would like to contemplate the possibility that the large side opening

¹⁸⁷ Miranda, *Dos Cultos Fundantes*, 126. The author also mentions how the first attempts to refurbish the church started in 1607, when its poor conservation state became well known, although it was not until 1618 that the works of reconstruction actually began. By 1625 the two lateral altarpieces described by Cisneros were replaced. For more details on the transformations of the shrine, see *Chapter Three*.

with which the devastation started was intended to erase the memory of Hernán Cortez as conqueror of Tenochtitlan and founder of New Spain. Regrettably, the documentation is scarce and nothing can be affirmed at this point regarding the program's destruction that despite its short life span was the starting point for all the chronicles revised in this chapter.

Chapter Three:

Indigenous Devotion and the Shrine of Remedios

The shrine of Our Lady of Remedios played a crucial role in the development of the Virgin's cult. Located roughly seven miles northwest of the capital of New Spain (Figure 1), the small church on the hill of Totoltepec, was allegedly the same site where the Spaniards found refuge after the *Noche Triste* battle of June 30, 1520. Thus, the first section of this chapter explores the shrine as a symbolic setting, and investigates the transformations that the building underwent over the course of three hundred years. It also considers how the image was displayed at this important location, arguing that the aesthetic elements within shaped the religious experiences associated with the statue.



Figure 3.1: Enrico Martínez.
Map showing the draining of the Lake of Mexico (detail), ca. 1608.
Archivo General de Indias, Seville

The second section of the chapter takes a different direction and identifies the few, yet important pre-Columbian components present in the legend, the presence of the maguey being the most important of them, as it undoubtedly link the image of Our Lady of Remedios with Mayahuel, the goddess of *pulque*, the sacred beverage of the Mexica. In an attempt to address how these elements were introduced in the legend to accommodate the interests of an indigenous audience, the last section of the chapter starts by examining the Jesuit and Augustinian contexts in which indigenous groups were educated. However, the main objective of this section is to discuss who the indigenous devotees actually were. Through a series of maps I am able to pinpoint the geographical span of the cult and show how devotion to Remedios extended beyond the shrine's environs during the eighteenth century. Indeed, the shrine was the locus of indigenous devotion and the miraculous image was perceived to be in the sacred trust of the indigenous communities, in charge of protecting it from the urban outsiders as much as possible.

TRANSFORMATIONS OF THE BUILDING

The church of Our Lady of Remedios experienced significant physical changes from 1522 to 1810 (Figure 2). These changes altered all the buildings of the shrine composed of the main temple (with its sacristy, *camarín* and *antecamarín*),¹ the houses of the chaplain and the sacristan, the cemetery, and the stables.

¹ As mentioned in *Chapter One*, the *camarín* is a structure attached to the back of the main chapel, where all the robes and ornaments were stored for safekeeping. The *antecamarín* was the chamber functioning as vestibule to the former.



Figure 3.2: Luis Márquez Romay. *The shrine of Our Lady of Remedios* (detail), ca. 1930.
Collection of Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas-UNAM, Mexico City

A key constituent of the shrine was the house of *novenas*, a place especially built to welcome the pilgrims who came to the shrine for nine days of intense prayer and to accompany the statue in her distant home; noticeable, it was not until the eighteenth century that people were permitted to build houses on, and around, the hill.²

The first refurbishment of the *ermita*, that according to friar Luis de Cisneros was built by the town people of San Juan (and that in the historian Juan Antonio Pichardo's perspective was the original one established by Cortés himself),³ took place in 1574 as a

² The first attempts to populate the hill where the shrine is located were initiated by chaplain Felipe Ruiz Aragonés, who served in the shrine for a protracted period of twenty-four years, from 1728 to 1752. It is significant that he was also the chaplain about whom most complaints were received for leaving the shrine without notice; this suggests that the sense of isolation experienced by the chaplain and the sacristan was extremely difficult to withstand. For how Ruiz Aragonés granted land, *Archivo Histórico del Distrito Federal* (hereafter AHDF), Vol. 3901, exp. 46; for the complaints against his frequent absences, AHDF, Vol. 3896, confraternity council meeting of July 2, 1732; for the period of his service, see Jesús García Gutiérrez, *Datos Históricos sobre la Venerable Imagen de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios de México* (Mexico City: Unknown Publisher, 1940), 43-46.

³ Juan Antonio Pichardo, "Historia del Santuario de los Remedios," Manuscript R-9, Edmundo O'Gorman Collection, Benson Latin American Collection, UT-Austin, ca. 1808.

way of emphasizing the patronage the city council over the shrine. This church was allegedly built on the exact same spot where Juan Ce Cuautli Tovar found the image. The memory of that sacred site was preserved through a plaque that identified—and still identifies—the site of the discovery (Figure 3).



Figure 3. 3: *Plaque locating the exact site of the finding of the statue.* Shrine of Our Lady of Remedios' interior. Picture by author

That building, already under the care of the city authorities, went through a period of greater refurbishing from ca.1615 to 1629. As explained in Chapter Two, the reasons for initiating the renovation, which led to the destruction of part of Villasana's program, remain obscure, though we know that by 1616 the south wall was already partially demolished, supposedly to facilitate the transit of the numerous pilgrims.⁴ Construction at Remedios was slow, but constant, especially after November 1621, when the city council received 20,000 pesos bequeathed from Baltazar de los Ríos to improve the statue's shrine.⁵ The city council had lamented several months earlier the poor ventilation of the

⁴ It is worth pointing out that the shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe was also undergoing renovation practically at the same time as that of Remedios, as the print by Samuel Stradanus makes clear (Figure 2. 16).

⁵ AHDF, Vol. 3900, exp. 14.

church and proposed a plan to improve it, reason why applied the new funds to enlarge the main chapel, where the tabernacle was located.⁶ The changes in the building completely transformed the temple, as they included the construction of a transept, and modifications to the walls of the nave, and the lateral altarpieces. The *retablo* dedicated to Nuestra Señora de la Lágrimas, for instance, was refurbished with money donated by Vicente López, who in exchange asked to be buried there, an exceptional instance in the life of this shrine, which did not have funerary chapels.⁷ Although there was an initial inauguration of the refurbished *ermita* in August 1625, the works continued beyond that date. The interior was so splendid and deemed so important in the life of the city, that Francisco de Manzo y Zuñiga chose the new chapel to be consecrated as the eighth archbishop of Mexico in 1628.⁸ The amount expended for the total of all these changes summed 22,000 pesos, paid mainly with the funding that the confraternity obtained through alms, and with the revenues derived from expired loans. The official opening of the new shrine took place only on March 25, 1629, when the city's coat of arms was finally added to the façade, the sacristy, and the main altarpiece.⁹ The historian Francisco Miranda stressed that by 1635, six years after the grand opening, the shrine had already

⁶ Francisco Miranda, *Dos Cultos Fundantes: Los Remedios y Guadalupe, 1521-1649: Historia Documental*. (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán, 2001), 184-186.

⁷ Miranda, *Dos Cultos*, 186. Years later, in 1726, Francisco de Ursúa asked for permission to build a funerary chapel “en el lado del evangelio en el sitio que corresponde a su presbiterio y a espaldas del altar de Nuestra Señora de las Lagrimas sin que ni a sus paredes se les pueda seguir perjuicio alguno porque aunque la puerta de entrada de la capilla se ha de abrir en esta parte ha de quedar con el arte y hermosura que al altar no perjudique y las demás paredes que se pusieren de nuevo darán mas fortaleza al resto templo,” but there is no evidence of whether or not it was ever built. AHDF, Vol. 3898, exp. 8.

⁸ Francisco de Florencia, *La Milagrosa Invención de un Tesoro Escondido en un Campo que Halló un Venturoso Cazique...* (Sevilla: en la Imprenta de las Siete Revueltas, 1745 [1685]), 39-40; and Miranda, *Dos Cultos*, 190.

⁹ See *Epilogue* for further discussion on these coats of arms.

fallen into disuse. However, so it seems that this neglect was not related to the architectural conditions of the building itself, but to its poorly furnished interior: there were no seats and no inventory of the Virgin's treasure. To protect her material fortune, a *camarín* was built when the statue traveled on an extended visit to the city in 1692.¹⁰

Most of the refurbishments that took place in the eighteenth century were prompted by normal damage over time that mainly affected the vaults, nave, chamber, the chaplain's house, and the *novena* guest-house.¹¹ They were also related to the effect of natural forces like lightning (1771, 1775, 1777, 1787),¹² and earthquakes (1755, 1787).¹³ However, the documents stress that in some instances the deterioration of the shrine was related to the abandonment caused by the image's long sojourns to Mexico City's cathedral, of 1714, 1746-1749, and 1818, when the shrine was described as being in a complete state of disarray (*ruinoso*), and thus, not suitable to receive back the statue.¹⁴

Perhaps the best-documented set of changes undertaken in the building during the colonial period are those from 1788 to 1799 led by the architect Ignacio Castera. His interventions at the shrine are not at all surprising, since he was appointed *Maestro Mayor de la Ciudad* (city's master architect) in 1781, and worked closely with Juan Vicente de Güemes, 2nd Count of Revillagigedo (viceroys from October 17, 1789 to July 11, 1794) to incorporate the best of the urban theories of the Enlightenment into Mexico

¹⁰ Miranda. *Dos Cultos*, 188.

¹¹ AHDF, Vol. 3900, exp. 14. In 1731 mason Juan de la Cruz received payment for 4 pesos 4 reales while his assistants got between 2 and 1 peso for the works made at the meson, or guest house. In 1739 and 1749 work was done at the cloister and the house of the chaplain.

¹² AHDF, Vols. 3896, 3898, 3901 exp. 33,

¹³ AHDF, Vol. 3900, exp. 14.

¹⁴ AHDF, Vols. 3896, 3902, 3903.

City.¹⁵ Castera's interventions were aimed not only at improving the most visible aspects of the shrine, but also at preventing the structural decline of the building by installing gutters and a fixing the building's drainage.¹⁶ Despite Castera's efforts, by the time the *Maestro Mayor* Joaquín de Heredia was already working on the building in 1805, problems caused by constant leaking made it necessary to replace the of beams of the cloister at the cemetery, and also to make more repairs in the *antecamarín*, which had a structural damage due to a large crack.¹⁷

If rainwater was seen as a cause of the ongoing deterioration of the shrine, the lack of running water for drinking and cleaning was also a major problem. Since the lack of water supply impacted the ability of the shrine to welcome the devotees who wanted to spend time at the novenas house, as early as 1611 efforts began to be made to bring water uphill.¹⁸ According to Francisco de Florencia, an underground channel was built around 1620 following the orders of the *Corregidor* (city's chief magistrate) Alonso Tello, but it was not all that successful despite a large investment of 15,000 pesos.¹⁹ According to the architectural historian Jaime González García, this system was formed by two cisterns to

¹⁵ Regina Hernández Franyuti, *Ignacio de Castera. Arquitecto y urbanista de la Ciudad de México, 1777-1811*. (Mexico City: Instituto Mora, 1997).

¹⁶ AHDF, Vol. 3900, exp. 14. Between July 1790 and February 1792, Castera estimated 3,000 pesos in general repairs to the shrine (bóveda campanario al *antecamarín*, hacer las cuatro puertas del cementerio, techar pisos, y puertas a dos quartos, techar la caballeriza y cochera, componer la casa de novenas particularmente la pared de la cocina que se halla desplomada; la casa, comedor y cocina de la Noble Cofradía, la vivienda alta principal, la casa de novenas, lo quartos de los yndios". Years later, in October 1795, Castera complained that the houses where the viceroy used to stay during the September celebration were also in poor condition due to rainwater. AHDF, Vol. 3901, exp. 44. For the last works conducted by Castera from May 16-21, 1799, see AHDF, Vol. 3902, exp. 57.

¹⁷ AHDF, Vol. 3902, exp. 50. All these repairs were estimated at 800 pesos.

¹⁸ City Council meeting of November 14, 1611 cited in Miranda, *Dos Cultos*, 193-194.

¹⁹ Florencia, *Milagrosa Invención*, paragraph 86, 53.

collect the water of a spring located in the nearby town of San Francisco Chimalpa, a channel, and two *caracoles* (tall winding stone structures resembling the Tower of Babel) that allowed the system to breathe and produced the necessary pressure to allow for the circulation of the water (Figure 4).²⁰ Since this system did not solve the problem of supplying water to the shrine, the project to improve the water supply to the shrine continued during the rest of the seventeenth century, but it was only during the first half of the eighteenth that it actually came to completion.²¹



Figure 3. 4: Unknown Author. *Caracol*, eighteenth century structure, part of the hydraulic system to bring water to the shrine of Our Lady of Remedios. Picture by author

In 1709 Francisca Suárez de Sosa, the widow of Francisco Fernández de Marmolejo, former *oidor* (judge) of the *Audiencia* (Highest Royal Court of Appeals), bequeathed

²⁰ Jaime González García, "Pedazos de historia urbana. La zona de Los Remedios." *Esencia y Espacio. Escuela Superior de Ingeniería y Arquitectura, unidad Tecamachalco del Instituto Politécnico Nacional* 3, no. 23 (2006).

²¹ The first mention of the water works appear in the confraternity council meeting of July 2, 1702. AHDF, Vol. 3896.

5,000 pesos to the shrine with this purpose.²² In 1715, Fernando de Alencastre Noroña, duke of de Linares (viceroys from January 15, 1711 to August 15, 1716) considered building a set of pipes from the neighboring town of San Pablo,²³ and in 1520, Gabriel Castillo not only bequeathed more funding, but also stipulated in his will that water could be obtained from one of his haciendas located near the shrine.²⁴ That same year architect Miguel de Rivera presented to the confraternity council a plan for another hydraulic system that was to remedy the persistent of water supply. The structure consisted of a series of new ducts and pipes that would be built of *chiluca* stone in ten months for a total cost of 12, 250 pesos.²⁵ Construction, however, took four years to complete: the confraternity only received the structure only on April 16, 1724. A year later the pipes were still missing and the payment to Rivera was reduced to 12,000 pesos.²⁶ Despite all these efforts, new complaints were registered in 1733 about the hydraulic system not functioning properly.²⁷ The third project that was supposed to put an end to the lack of water at the shrine was completed in 1765. It was an aqueduct designed by the Irish engineer Ricardo Aylmer, the architect Ildefonso Iniesta, and the masonry master Antonio Baza.²⁸ The project aimed to connect the two previous structures known as *caracoles* by a series of arcades in two levels. By the time the first level was completed,

²² AHDF, Vol. 3895, exp. 2, and Vol. 3896, confraternity council meeting of July 2, 1709.

²³ AHDF, Vol. 3898, exp. 8.

²⁴ AHDF, Vol. 3898, exp. 9 and 11.

²⁵ AHDF, Vol. 3896, confraternity council meeting of December 11, 1720.

²⁶ *Ibid*, confraternity council meeting of December 18, 1725.

²⁷ *Ibid*, confraternity council meeting of September 30, 1733.

²⁸ González García, *Pedazos de historia*, 56.

it was clear that the elevation of the shrine would make the task impossible and the project was abandoned. At some point in the process, a watercolor portraying the first arcade was made (Figure 5), showing the project of the aqueduct, with a total length of 336 *varas* (approximately 914 ft./2.7 km.), and 22 *varas* high at its tallest point in each arch (approximately 59.9 ft./18.26 m.).²⁹ The arcade never fulfilled its designed purpose; yet, regardless of its poor performance, the structure remains one of the most characteristic elements of the landscape surrounding the shrine even today.³⁰



Figure 3. 5: Unknown Author. *Aqueduct close to the shrine of Our Lady of Remedios.* Watercolor from ca. 1780. Archivo Histórico del Distrito Federal, Mexico City

Display of the Image at the Shrine

In the shrine of Totoltepec, Our Lady of Remedios was placed in the midst of a large setting decorated with lavish dresses, crowns, and costly jewels that greatly enhanced the figure of the tiny effigy. According to friar Luis de Cisneros, by 1616 there were already sixteen crowns, and gowns made with “cloth of every color, with rich embroidery and

²⁹ A Castillian vara is equivalent to 83 cm or 32.6 inches. <http://www.saber.golwen.com.ar/medidas.htm>, first accessed September 14, 2010. The image is in AHDF, Vol. 3903, exp. 70.

³⁰ González García, *Pedazos de historia*, 56.

precious stones (*tela y brocado, de todos colores, maravillosamente bordados, con pedrería los más de ellos*)”.³¹ All of these items—dresses, jewels, and crowns—were kept protected in a special case. By the end of the seventeenth century only three people had access to its key: the administrator of the confraternity, the chaplain, and the *camarista*, the woman in charge of changing the Virgin’s dresses.³² During the long absences of the statue from the shrine, the jewels were taken to the city, where they were kept by the administrator or in the city council’s building.³³

Once the statue was dressed, it was placed in a glass case within a splendid silver tabernacle. Cisneros described the tabernacle as a structure that was 48.84 inches high by 32.6 inches wide, and that weighed approximately ten pounds (*una vara y media de alto por una de ancho con peso de veinte marcos*);³⁴ it was donated by María Quijada de Carvajal.³⁵ The tabernacle was in an altarpiece that covered the width of the main chapel of the *ermita*, inserted in it by means of a silver board and a silver frame, paid for by

³¹ Luis de Cisneros, *Historia de el Principio y Origen, Progresos, Venidas a México y Milagros de la Santa Ymagen de Nuestra Señora de Los Remedios Extramuros de México*, edited by Francisco Miranda (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán, 1999 [1621]), 108.

³² In 1695, the post of *camarista* was held by Doña Francisca de Sosa (AHDF, Vol. 3896. Confraternity Council session of March 24). There is no more mention of *camaristas* until 1779, when Anna Fernández de Madrid is mentioned as the woman in charge of dressing and undressing the statue; it seems that she continued in that role up to 1796 (AHDF, Vol. 3900, exp. 18). It is likely that the position was an honorary post, and that the women received part of the alms collected at the shrine as their only form of payment (AHDF, Vol. 3916, exp. 365). There is evidence the confraternity paid for the transportation of the *camaristas* to go to the shrine (AHDF, Vol. 3915, exp 350 and 353).

³³ AHDF, Vol. 3896. The first inventory, according to Miranda, seems to date to 1635.

³⁴ As mentioned earlier, a Castilian vara is equivalent to 83 cm or 32.6 inches. The marc was a unit of weight equivalent to 230 gr or half a pound. <http://www.saber.golwen.com.ar/medidas.htm>, first accessed September 14, 2010.

³⁵ Significantly, she was the daughter of Juan de Limpías Carvajal, one of the first conquistadors. City Council meeting of July 9, 1613. AHDF, Vol. 635a.

Alonso de Villaseca.³⁶ The glass window and the tabernacle were locked with a set of keys in the possession of the confraternity's rector and the chaplain, to better protect the image.³⁷ By 1667, the lock had an engraved double eagle.³⁸

This lavish setting was complemented by the dramatic use of a double set of curtains made of *volante* and *damasco*, two very different types of textile (the former being very light and the latter heavy and thick) that increased the visual relevance of the main altar. By the end of the seventeenth century, according to Florencia, the number of curtains had grown to three.³⁹ Aside from the textiles the display of the image also included lavish altar frontals; and by the end of the seventeenth century there were more than one hundred frontals in different colors listed as part of the shrine's inventory, as the altar was routinely modified according to the liturgical calendar (see Appendix 4). In spite of the fact that the inventories always mention several frontals, by the end of the eighteenth century the shrine's chaplain complained that there was only one left, the one that king Philip IV sent to Remedios a century earlier.⁴⁰

³⁶ Cisneros, *Historia*, 76. Villaseca was among the richest men in New Spain during the sixteenth century, so it is not surprising he got involved with the embellishment of the Remedios' shrine. On his life, see Gonzalo Obregón, "Un Sepulcro Plateresco en México," *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas de la UNAM*, no. 33 (1964).

³⁷ AHDF, 3896, confraternity council's session of March 24, 1695.

³⁸ AHDF, vol 3895 exp 3. On the relevance of who had the key to the tabernacle, thus controlling the image, see Miranda, *Dos Cultos Fundantes*, 115; and Barbara Wisch, "Keys to Success. Propriety and Promotion of Miraculous Images by Roman Confraternities," in *The miraculous image in the late Middle Ages and Renaissance. Papers from a conference held at the Accademia di Danimarca in collaboration with the Bibliotheca Hertziana*, ed. Erik Thunø and Gerhard Wolf (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2004).

³⁹ Florencia, *Milagrosa Invención*.

⁴⁰ AHDF, Vol. 3898, exp. 8.

Other important elements that created the image's display were four big candles that were lighted each time the curtains were open so as to have a full appreciation of the statue. The illuminated candles made the numerous jewels and silver *ex-votos* (called *presentallas*) inside the glass case glow. As Cisneros noted, the display of the tabernacle was intended to move the senses, and thus, to induce deep devotion:

[las joyas] parecían un cielo con sus astros celestiales brillando y dando a entender que la que tienen es la reina del cielo... Cosa es devotísima ver aquel santuario cuando se descubre, no sé yo que haya pecho tan helado que al fuego que sale de aquellas piedras y luces no se caliente e ilustre... Piénsese qué tal estará aquél santuario cuando está de esta manera la Virgen Santísima que lo adorna todo, con el corderico de su hijo en los brazos, vestidos de tela o bordado, el tabernáculo de plata dorada y grabada, lleno el sagrario de mil piezas de oro y piedras preciosas, en quien están reverberando cuarenta y una luces de lámparas, cuatro cirios, seis velas, pomas de ámbar engastadas en oro, todo el retablo colgado de pies, manos, cabezas, pechos, ojos de plata, que siendo todo metal terso que vuelve la luz que recibe y muchas veces duplicada ... Sin falta, todas las veces que lo veo, se me presenta un vivo retrato de la gloria, un firmamento, esa octava esfera tachonada de astros en una noche serena...

it appears that it is heaven, because the precious stones, which adorn all the chapel where the Virgin is, appear like celestial stars that are shining, allowing us to understand that what we have here is the Queen of Heaven... It is the most devout thing to see that sanctuary, when it is revealed, and I do not think there is a breast so frozen that the fire given off by those stones and lights does not warm and illumine... Imagine how that Sanctuary is when the Most Holy Virgin is like this, all adorned with the little lamb of her son in her arms, dressed in clothes, the tabernacle edged with carved and golden silver, the chapel filled with a thousand pieces of gold and precious stones, in which forty-one lamps are hanging, four high candles and another six, with all the altarpiece engraved with gold. The sanctuary where the Virgin is, is surrounded by amber apples edged with gold, and on the altarpiece suspended silver legs, hands, heads, breasts and eyes all in polished metal, that return the light, that receive it and duplicate it several times over: what harmony is found here? Where can the eyes rest in all that they see? How are the hearts that contemplate all this? Without exception, every time I see this sanctuary it appears to me a living portrait of glory, a firmament, that eighth sphere adorned with stars in a serene night.⁴¹

It is striking how the sense of smell was valued as part of the experience of visualizing the altar and the church as a whole, through scents placed in amber apples. Light was, by

⁴¹ Cisneros, *Historia*, 75. The English version is taken from David Brading, *Mexican Phoenix: Our Lady of Guadalupe: image and tradition across five centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 51-52.

all means, the most important element within the sanctuary. In the arch dividing the main chapel from the nave, there were seven lamps, including one that Florencia described as miraculous after its supply of oil was inexplicably refilled when a woman prayed to Remedios and asked for it.⁴² On each of the six iron arches placed on pillars at the sides of the nave there were other sixteen, and even three more at the side altarpieces, totaling 106 lamps altogether in 1675 (Appendix 4).⁴³ Many of these lamps included the name of their donors, demonstrating the piety of the wealthy, as well as how their social prestige was dependent on these kinds of devotional contributions.⁴⁴ From 1729 to 1755 the presence of these many lamps entailed the use of seven medium vessels of olive oil, delivered to the shrine on a monthly basis.⁴⁵ It is therefore not surprising to learn that other members of society donated large sums to maintain the oil lamps to make sure that they always illuminate the church's interior. Among the most notable donors were Gaspar Melchor Baltasar de la Cerda, 8th Count of Galve (viceroy of New Spain from November 20, 1688 to February 26, 1696) and his wife, and Marcos Ramírez del Prado, bishop of Valladolid in Michoacán.⁴⁶ When one considers that in addition to these many

⁴² Florencia, *Milagrosa Invención*, 233.

⁴³ AHDF, Vol. 3895 exp. 3.

⁴⁴ Derek Burdette ("Seeing sanctity the presentation and perception of the image of the Virgin of Remedies in early colonial Mexico" (Tulane University, Ph. D., 2007)), pointed out that "one way in which individuals could [arbitrate their honor] was through highly public manifestations of piety. The image of the Virgin functioned as an important platform for the public negotiation of one's identity. Gifts and offerings functioned as declarations of personal devotion as well as socio-economic status."

⁴⁵ AHDF, Vol. 3897.

⁴⁶ AHDF, Vol. 3896, confraternity council sessions of July 2, 1696 and July 2, 1737, respectively. For more on the links of Galve and the Remedios cult, see *Epilogue* of this dissertation. For more on bishop Ramírez, see Jorge E. Traslosheros, *La reforma de la Iglesia del antiguo Michoacán: la gestión episcopal de fray Marcos Ramírez de Prado, 1640-1666* (Morelia: Universidad Michoacana de San Nicolás de Hidalgo-Escuela de Historia-Secretaría de Difusión Cultural y Editorial Universitaria, 1995).

lamps, there were always candles burning at the main altarpiece and the side *retablos*, it is easy to imagine how the interior of the Remedios church was full of light, glowing as it were, and not a dark space that one could erroneously associate with colonial churches. In many ways this is not entirely surprising, as Saint Charles Borromeo had already declared in 1577 the importance of having silver lamps inside the temples:⁴⁷ lamps producing light with the purest olive oil were prescribed by the Church for the purpose of worship and to remind the faithful of the presence of Christ.⁴⁸ Thus, the available documentation of the numerous lamps in the shrine of Remedios, begs the question of how, comparatively, were the other churches of New Spain illuminated, and whether or not the shrine of Remedios was unique in that regard.⁴⁹

The main tabernacle did not suffer transformations from Cisneros' time until after Florencia wrote his chronicle in 1684, where he also described the *presentallas* in the glass case; that is why it is not surprising to find them depicted at the frontispiece of his text (Figure 1. 37). In 1691, a contract to renew the tabernacle was signed between members of the confraternity and the silver masters José de Vergara and Manuel de León, where it was clearly specified that the new tabernacle should be made of white and

⁴⁷ Carlos Borromeo, *Instrucciones de la fábrica y del ajuar eclesiásticos*, ed. Elena Isabel Estrada de Gerlero; trans. Bulmaro Reyes Coria (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1985 [1577]).

⁴⁸ Augustin Joseph Schulte, "Altar Lamp," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. 1 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1907), <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/01354b.htm>, first accessed February 14, 2012.

⁴⁹ There is only few information available the production of candles during the colonial period. See María José Esparza Liberal and Isabel Fernández de García-Lascuráin, *La cera en México: Arte e historia* (Mexico City: Fomento Cultural Banamex, 1994).

golden silver with fragments of enamel.⁵⁰ There were also attempts to change the *sagrario* of the main altarpiece in 1693 by reusing the old one and the silver lamps that were no longer in use.⁵¹ It was not until 1729, however, when the new one was brought to the church, made by José de Roxas,⁵² who regretfully used the silver of the *presentallas* collected in previous years, thus erasing the devotional context of those items.⁵³ A new silver frontal weighting 116 *marcos* (roughly 58 pounds) was added in 1705, donated by Pedro Ximenes, who also offered two silver candlesticks of 25 *marcos* (around 12.5 pounds) and two silver lecterns.⁵⁴ Important relics like the *tecomate* (small clay vase) with which Juan Ce Cuautli Tovar allegedly fed the statue, the miraculous belt that cured him, as well as some items associated with San Felipe de Jesús, were kept with care in the shrine's interior.⁵⁵

PRE-COLUMBIAN ELEMENTS OF THE CULT

In the previous chapter I reviewed the process of the creation of the legend of Our Lady of Remedios, where it becomes evident that the story of the finding of the statue by the cacique Juan Ce Cuautli Tovar developed between 1574—when the city council took

⁵⁰ Guadalupe Ramos de Castro, "Nuestra Señora de los Remedios de México: Aportaciones al estudio de su orfebrería", *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología*, no. 62 (1996), 478-481. Here, the author reproduces the contract signed by a notary with the artists.

⁵¹ AHDF, Vol. 3896, confraternity council sessions of March 3, 1693, and January 14, 1694.

⁵² AHDF, Vol. 3903, exp. 68.

⁵³ AHDF, Vol. 3896, confraternity council session of February 28, 1729.

⁵⁴ AHDF, Vol. 3896, confraternity council session of July 2, 1705. See also 3898, exp. 8.

⁵⁵ In the inventory of 1675 there is mention of the box containing the *tecomate*, and another one containing the belt. In an inventory from 1824, there is still mention of a little box containing fragments of the *tecomate*. AHDF, Vol. 3895, exp. 3 (See Appendix 4), and AHDF, Vol. 3904, exp. 114.

over the patronage of the image—and 1595—when Villasana’s paintings on the shrine’s walls were completed. The way in which that episode was described in the iconographical program, and later by Luis de Cisneros in his *Historia de el origen*, highlights the pre-Columbian origin of some elements that are worth considering. Most noteworthy among them is the maguery in which the image was found, and how the cacique conversed and acted towards the statue once he had it in his possession. Nevertheless, as the art historian Jaime Cuadriello has argued, it is the presence of the cacique himself as part of the image’s story what became the most significant indigenous element within the legend, as it was the best way of including the Indian past as part of the first Marian apparition in the New World.⁵⁶ According to Cuadriello Juan Ce Cuautli Tovar—as much as Juan Diego in the legend of Our Lady of Guadalupe, and the second Juan Diego in the legend of Our Lady of Ocotlán in the region of Puebla-Tlaxcala—was conceived as the prototype of the new man, that is, a converted indigenous subject that was easily perceived as exemplary for other Indians, and thus, helped spread the Catholic faith “in the lands of the unfaithful”. The fact that Juan was described in the legend as offering water and *tamales* to the statue implies a “material relationship between the subject and the object [that] was clearly of no importance in the minds of those who preserved the old practice of having *santocallis* (private oratories in indigenous household which retained most of their pre-Columbian functions and attributes).”⁵⁷ But

⁵⁶ Jaime Cuadriello, in a lecture delivered November 11, 2011 at Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas (UNAM) as part of Luisa Elena Alcalá’s graduate seminar entitled “La dimensión artística de las imágenes milagrosas en la edad moderna: historiografía, problemas y enfoques”. I thank him for later providing me a copy of his forthcoming article, Jaime Cuadriello, “Winged and Imagined Indians,” in *Angels, Demons and the New World*, ed. Fernando Cervantes and Andrew Redden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), on which the lecture was based.

⁵⁷ Cuadriello, “Winged and Imagined Indians,”²¹ in the original manuscript, see note 13 of the translator into English.

despite the survival of some idolatrous practices, the main idea behind these “mytho-poetical narratives” was to idealize the figure of the Indians as intermediaries and new receptacles of the Christian faith, as we also see in the iconographic program by Villasana. This inclusion was certainly in tune with the so-called “Shepherds Cycle” that in Europe made humble characters—a shepherd, an old man, or a child—play the role of the discoverers of miraculous Marian statues.⁵⁸

Mayahuel

The most evident pre-Columbian element that survives in the cult of Our Lady of Remedios is the maguey plant in which her statue was found. Scholars have long since identified the visual connection of the finding of the Virgin within this type of agave plant with Mayahuel, the pre-Columbian deity of the sacred beverage made from the honey found in the heart of the maguey plant, known as *pulque*.⁵⁹ There are at least seven representations of Mayahuel, six of which are in pre-Columbian codices.⁶⁰ Four of them (Vatican B, Laud, Fejévary- Mayer, and Borgia) are part of the so-called Borgia Group,

⁵⁸ William A. Christian Jr., *Apparitions in Late Medieval and Renaissance Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 19-21.

⁵⁹ Solange Alberro, *El águila y la cruz: orígenes religiosos de la conciencia criolla. México, siglos XVI-XVII* (Mexico City: El Colegio de México-Fideicomiso Historia de las Américas-Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1999); Francisco Xavier Mayén Anguiano, *Otoncalpulco y Totoltepec. Un ejemplo de Arqueología histórica* (Toluca: Instituto Mexiquense de Cultura, 2006). The pulque is made of the honey once it is fermented, while mescal is that same honey distilled

⁶⁰ There is another representation of Mayahuel in the Codex Magliabechi, not considered in detail here as it is from the mid-sixteenth century. On that image, Mayahuel appears standing lavishly dressed. Oswaldo Gonzalves de Lima, *El maguey y el pulque en los códices mexicanos* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1978), 129-130.

which means that all three were made in the Mixteca-Puebla region close to 1300 C. E.⁶¹ “These manuscripts are primarily concerned with prognostications... painted with a limited palette of bright colors on a white ground, they present complex series of images organized by one or more version of the 260-day calendric count”.⁶² The other pre-Columbian Codex with an image of Mayahuel is the Borbonicus, made by Aztec priests shortly before the arrival of the Spanish in Tenochtitlán.⁶³ The last codex I wish to consider here with an image of Mayahuel is the so-called Codex Ríos, presumably made in the Oaxaca area after the conquest by a Dominican friar.⁶⁴ In the seven images I consider here (Borgia includes two), the goddess is depicted in the middle of the maguey as a loving mother and a fertile woman, and as such, crowned with a garland of flowers: on page 28 of the Fejévary-Mayer (Figure 6) she is depicted breastfeeding a baby, while on page 16 of the Borgia (Figure 7) she appears nurturing a fish, a symbol of fertility.⁶⁵ The image on page 9 of Codex Laud shows Mayahuel in labor (Figure 8), standing on a turtle, also a symbol of fertility. In page 8 of the Borbonicus Codex (Figure 9), Mayahuel is interestingly depicted with a rope in her hand (is this the origin of the miraculous sash

⁶¹ María de los Ángeles Ojeda Díaz and Cecilia Rossell, "Las Diosas en los Códices del Grupo Borgia," *Artes e Historia México*, http://www.arts-history.mx/sitios/index.php?id_sitio=5354&id_seccion=6637. First accessed July 14, 2010.

⁶² Anne Walke Cassidy, "Divination by Image: The Borgia Group of Pre-Hispanic Mexican Manuscripts" (Columbia University, Ph. D., 2004).

⁶³ Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, *Descripción, Historia y exposición del códice borbónico* (Mexico City: Siglo XXI, 1979 [facsimile of the edition of 1898]).

⁶⁴ Maarten Jansen, "El Códice Ríos y Fray Pedro de los Ríos," *Boletín de Estudios Latinoamericanos y del Caribe*, no. 36 (1984).

⁶⁵ “El maguey fue visto por el nahua en su fase de peregrinación como una planta fuente, portadora de savia, a un tiempo bebida y alimento. Se comprende pues, la representación de un pez en el líquido contenido en el meyolote, o siendo amamantado por el maguey hecho mujer,” Gonzalves de Lima, *El maguey y el pulque*, 134-135.

that was once thought to be an Augustinian belt?), while in the folio 20v of the Codex Ríos (Figure 10), the goddess is holding a vase (*octecómatl*),⁶⁶ that is both a container for *pulque* and a symbol of the moon with which Mayahuel is also associated as a female figure.⁶⁷ The pose in these images is similar to that shown in Vatican B, page 89 (Figure 11). Plate 68 of the Borgia Codex is the only one that shows Mayahuel as a young woman (Figure 12). The symbolism in all seven representations is constant: Mayahuel's fertility is associated with flowers and water, and thus there is a parallelism with Chalchiuhtlicue, the goddess of water, and partner of Tláloc, the most venerated god of water in all Mesoamerica.⁶⁸ The yellowish tone of Mayahuel's face and body is related to the fact that she is conceived as a goddess of earth.



Figure 3. 6: Mayahuel in *Fejévary-Mayer Codex*

⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 148.

⁶⁷ The moon is conceived in this context as a container of divine water: “No es de extrañarse que la luna, como recipiente cósmico del agua, estuviera relacionada a una planta como el maguey, cuya representación figurativa incluye un campo de agua con un pez, una planta-fuente cuya savia fermentada es un líquido para calmar la sed.” *Ibid*, 141, and 210.

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, 216.



Figure 3. 7: Mayahuel in *Borgia Codex*, 6



Figure 3. 8: Mayahuel in *Laud Codex*



Figure 3. 9: Mayahuel in *Codex Borbonicus*



Figure 3. 10: Mayahuel in *Codex Ríos*



Figure 3. 11: Mayahuel in *Codex Vatican B*



Figure 3. 12: Mayahuel in *Codex Borgia*, 68

According to the legend collected by the Franciscan friar Bernardino de Sahagún, Mayahuel was the woman who discovered the *pulque* while the Mexica were on their

pilgrimage from Aztlán to the Valley of Mexico,⁶⁹ and was transformed into a divine maguey plant because of her fertility, represented as four hundred breasts.⁷⁰ In all these codices, Mayahuel appears within the section called Tonalámatl, or book of divination, as the ruling goddess of the eighth group of thirteen days (out of twenty) into which the ritual calendar of 260 days was divided. In their introduction to the Borgia Codex, the historians Ferdinand Anders, Maarten Jansen, and Luis Reyes García explain that each of these thirteen-day groups determined the character of newborns.⁷¹ It is surprising, however, to read the comments in the Codex Ríos, noting that it was not considered auspicious to be born in the period under Mayahuel's influence,⁷² as the child could be prone to drunkenness and promiscuity.⁷³

In addition to the iconography of the maguey as conceived in pre-Columbian times, it is also relevant to stress that Mexica warriors, when preparing for a battle, or before ritual sacrifice, used to drink pulque, as the beverage was considered above all a

⁶⁹ *Ibid*, 33, 100 and 101.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 147, and 205.

⁷¹ Ferdinand Anders, Maarten Jansen and Luis Reyes García, *Los templos del cielo y de la oscuridad. Oráculos y liturgia. Libro explicativo del llamado Códice Borgia* (Mexico City-Viena: Sociedad Estatal Quinto Centenario, Akademische Druck und Verlagsanstalt, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1993).

⁷² “el que por casualidad naciera en este signo ... sería desafortunado para él, ya que decían que se debía al Tlamatzatzguex, quienes eran una raza de demonios que moraba entre ellos, que según sus relatos vagaban a través del aire y de quienes los ministros de sus templos tomaron su denominación. Cuando este signo llegaba, los padres le ordenaban a sus hijos no dejar la casa, por temor a que algún infortunio o accidente de mala suerte les sucediera.” John Pohl, "Libros antiguos: Códices Grupo Borgia," <http://www.famsi.org/spanish/research/pohl/jpcodices/rios/index.html>. First accessed on August 10, 2010. The author considers the Codex Ríos to be linked to the Group Borgia.

⁷³ Anders, Jansen, and Reyes, *Los templos*, 52.

sacrificial drink.⁷⁴ When recalling that Our Lady of Remedios was initially venerated in the context of the recovery of the Spanish soldiers following their persecution by the Mexica during the Noche Triste battle, it becomes possible to see them as warriors who drank pulque in preparation for an upcoming battle. However, there is no clear identification of which deity was venerated at the *cu* on top of the Totoltepec hill before the arrival of the Spanish, nor that Mayahuel received special veneration on that particular hill. According to the archeologist Francisco Xavier Mayén, a *cu* dedicated to Mayahuel was on the nearby hill called of Moctezuma, located 500 meters east from Totoltepec.⁷⁵ Nevertheless, there is no evidence of how or why the iconographical attributes of Mayahuel combined with those of the Virgin Mary in her personification of Our Lady of Remedios. Thus, despite if both the Virgin and Mayahuel were considered mother figures, there is no concrete evidence of how their association first came about.

DEVOTEES FROM THE SURROUNDINGS

In an effort to contextualize the appearance of the legend of the discovery of the statue in the maguey and the inherent role of the cacique who found it, there is a series of events that deserve attention. When considering the part of the legend that describes how Juan Ce Cuautli Tovar was healed from an injury caused by a falling column with a miraculous belt (allegedly Augustinian, as we have seen in Chapter Two), it is helpful to explore the relationship of the Augustinian friars with the Indian population in the

⁷⁴ Gonzalves de Lima, *El maguey y el pulque*, 30, 121, 151, 241, and especially 212: “Como lo interpretó Seler [the German ethno-historian] era el pulque para los viejos mexicanos una bebida de los guerreros, pero sobre todo, de aquellos valientes destinados a la verdadera muerte gloriosa de soldados, no la muerte que nosotros diríamos ‘de campo de batalla’. Sino la de la piedra de sacrificio.” Pulque, however, was not a sacred beverage among the Otomí people. *Ibid*, 99.

⁷⁵ Mayén Anguiano, *Otomcapulco*, 13-16.

sixteenth century, especially through the figure of friar Alonso de la Veracruz, who was elected four times head of the Augustinian province, and was also one of the first teachers of philosophy at the founded University of Mexico.⁷⁶ More importantly, de la Veracruz was the founder of the College of San Pablo in 1575, where the Indians of the southeast of Mexico City were educated, and which housed one of the largest libraries in the city. The relation that the development of the legend may have with Friar Alonso is plausible as his writings, especially those dating from after his last sojourn in Europe where he succeeding in obtaining the papal edict that exempted the Indians from paying the tithe (tenth of annual earning)—are recall the kind of discourse promoted by the mural paintings at the shrine, where the military conquest was only justifiable through the spiritual conversion of the indigenous population.⁷⁷

However, considering that the shrine was located within the geographical jurisdiction of Tacuba town (even if its administration fell in the control of Mexico City's council), a second venue needs to be explored, marked by the fact that in 1576 Antonio Cortés, a cacique of Tacuba, paid for the construction of the first Jesuit church in Mexico City (the order had only arrived in New Spain four years earlier in 1572).⁷⁸ He also supplied more than three hundred people who managed to build the three-nave church in

⁷⁶ Manuel Rivera Cambas, *México pintoresco artístico y monumental: vistas, descripción, anécdotas y episodios de los lugares más notables de la Capital y de los Estados* (Mexico City: Editora Nacional, 1957), 178-179. See also Antonio Gómez Robledo, "Alonso de la Veracruz. Vida y muerte," in *Homenaje a Fray Alonso de la Veracruz en el cuarto centenario de su muerte (1584-1984)* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1986).

⁷⁷ Prometeo Cerezo de Diego, *Alonso de Veracruz y el derecho de gentes* (Mexico City: Porrúa, 1985). According to the author, the legal theory known as "Derecho de gentes"—created by Francisco de Vittoria from Salamanca University—was extended and contextualized to the conquest of the New World by de Veracruz in a text entitled *De dominio infidelium et iusto bello*, which remained unpublished during his lifetime. The so-called "Derecho de gentes" implied the right of all human beings to live in peace and with respect. The philosopher John Rawls translated the term as Law of Peoples to give it a more contemporary usage; see John Rawls, "El Derecho de Gentes," *Isegoría*, no. 16 (1997).

⁷⁸ Francisco de Florencia, *Historia de la Provincia de la Compañía de Jesús de Nueva España* (Mexico City: Iván Joseph Guillena Carrascoso, 1794), 131-132. I am thankful to Jaime Cuadriello for pointing out this fact and the close relationship that the Tacuba caciques developed with the Jesuits in this early period.

barely three months. Because it was covered with a ceiling made with straw, it was known as the Xacalteopan or “poor house,” and it stayed in use until 1681, even after a newer church for the Jesuits was opened at the other side of the city in 1610.⁷⁹ As a result of this act of charity, a strong relationship developed between the Jesuits and the Tacuba caciques, who were always guests of honor in the festivals of the Holy Sacrament and Corpus Christi organized by the Jesuit priests.⁸⁰ This close association was also evident in the number of Indians from that town who were accepted to the Colegio de San Gregorio, a college founded in 1586 for the education of the indigenous population.⁸¹ It is plausible that the caciques would have invented the legend as a strategy to protect their rights and privileges, after their lands were granted to Isabel Moctezuma, daughter of the dead Mexica *tlatoani* (ruler) and wife of the conqueror Juan Cano.⁸² Further research is required to determine whether or not the Jesuits could have somehow influenced the creation of the legend of the finding of the statue of Our Lady of Remedios by a member of this specific group of caciques. Any of these two venues might also support the interpretation that the text *Nican Mopohua*, assumed to be the earliest Nahuatl source of the legend of Our Lady of Guadalupe, attributed to the Indian humanist Antonio

⁷⁹ "Iglesia de San José el Real, La profesada," *Instituto de Administración y Avalúos de Bienes Nacionales (INDAABIN)*, <http://www.indaabin.gob.mx/gxpsites/hgxpp001.aspx?1,13,72,O,S,0,PAG;CONC;71;8;D;468;1;PAG;MNU;E;2;2;MNU;,,>, first accessed March, 10, 2012.

⁸⁰ Florencia, *Historia de la Provincia*, 133-134.

⁸¹ Manuel Ferrer Muñoz, "La difícil andadura del colegio de San Gregorio durante el siglo XIX: unos episodios críticos," in *Liber ad honorem Sergio García Ramírez* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México-Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas, 1998). The church known as Xacalteopan continued in use as the church of Colegio de San Gregorio. Florencia, *Historia de la Provincia*, 177 and 372.

⁸² See Emma Pérez-Rocha and Rafael Tena, *La nobleza indígena del centro de México después de la conquista* (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2000) and Donald E. Chipman, *Moctezuma's children: Aztec royalty under Spanish rule, 1520-1700* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005).

Valeriano,⁸³ does not date from around 1556, and that instead, it might have been written around the same time that the legend of the Virgin of Remedios took shape, that is, from 1575 to 1595. It is significant that the historian Ross Frank has noted that roughly the same the same years, 1570-1580, marked the time when the god Quetzalcoatl-Cortés myth (by which the conqueror Cortés was thought to embody the return of Quetzalcoatl in human form) was fully crystallized.⁸⁴ The subject of the development of Marian legends in relation to educated indigenous patronage certainly merits more attention.

While the origins of the legend are still difficult to grasp, what is certain is that legend aided in cementing the figure of Remedios in the indigenous imaginary. Friar Luis de Cisneros stressed the indigenous support of the cult from the very beginning. He also mentioned that the Indians from the shrine's surroundings carried the *palio* (canopy) used to cover the image in the procession of 1616.⁸⁵ The historian Francisco Miranda has suggested that it was because of the indigenous support that the cult actually grew in importance during the first years after the conquest, even when the first generation of conquerors had apparently forgotten about the chapel that was allegedly founded by Cortés.⁸⁶ Although his suggestion is logical, it is important to take a closer look at the devotees from the shrine's vicinity, and to identify the actual development of the cult in

⁸³ Antonio Valeriano was not a cacique, but he was one of the most learned men from the Colegio de Santa Cruz in Tlatelolco, as well as one of the informants and assistants of friar Bernardino de Sahagún in the making of the Florentine Codex. The Nican Mopohua was translated into Spanish and published in 1649 by Luis Lasso de la Vega, chaplain of the shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe. See Ernesto de la Torre Villar and Ramiro Navarro de Anda, *Testimonios históricos guadalupanos* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1982), 26-35; and *The story of Guadalupe: Luis Lasso de la Vega's Huei tlamahuiçoltica of 1649*, ed. Stafford Poole, Lisa Sousa, and James Lockhart (Stanford: Stanford University Press-UCLA Latin American Center Publications, 1998).

⁸⁴ I am taking the reference to Frank's work from Stephanie Wood, *Transcending conquest: Nahuatl Views of Spanish Colonial Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003).

⁸⁵ Cisneros, *Historia*.

⁸⁶ Miranda, *Dos Cultos*.

the Tacuba area. Equally important is to probe further the alleged Otomí origin of the cult, which has been assumed not only in the name of the place where the shrine is located—Otomcapulco as well as Totoltepec—but essentially in the explicit request that the chaplain living at the shrine needed to be well versed in the Otomí language, besides Nahuatl.⁸⁷

Unfortunately, all the sources that mention specific towns associated with the cult are only from the eighteenth century. And as to be expected, Tacuba is the first Indian town that appears in the documents that I have consulted. For example, in 1714, 12 pesos were paid to the *yndios gobernadores* of Tacuba for placing flower arches outside the shrine the day of the August festival.⁸⁸ A few years later, on August 2, 1731, other towns are mentioned in the context of a dispute regarding the jurisdiction of the shrine: the governors of San Bartolomé Teucalpan (*sic*; for Naucalpan), Escapusalco (*sic*; for Atzacpotzalco), Tlanepantla, Tultitlan, and the settlements of Real Corona de Tenayuca complained that the *Alcalde Mayor*, or governor, of Tacuba was being excluded from the festivities.⁸⁹

The most relevant evidence so far to better assess who were the indigenous devotees is a list of 141 towns that were called to participate in the August festival of 1751 by Juan Francisco de Güemes y Horcasitas, first count of Revillagigedo (viceroys of New Spain from July 9, 1746 to November 9, 1755), included in Appendix 5 (Figure 13).⁹⁰

⁸⁷ AHDF, Vol. 3895, exp. 2.

⁸⁸ AHDF, Vol. 3897.

⁸⁹ AHDF, Vol. 3898, exp. 12.

⁹⁰ AHDF, Vol. 3900, exp. 22.

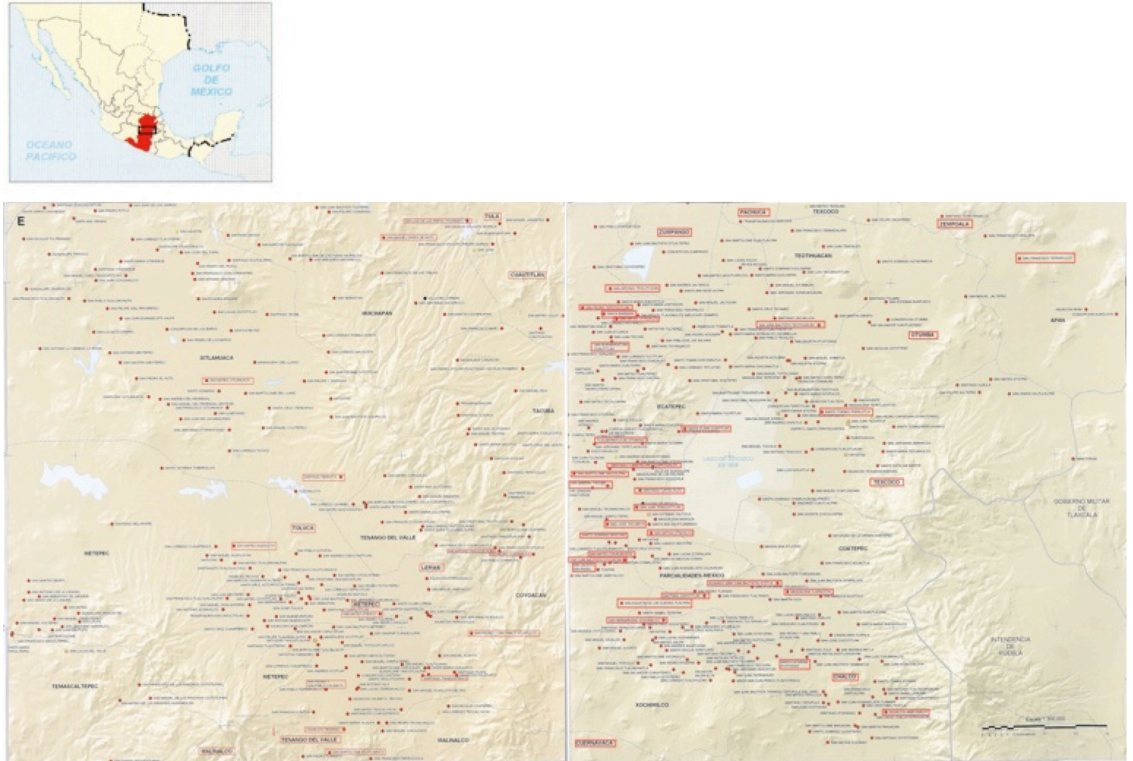


Figure 3.13 Some of the towns summoned to the 1751 festival within the Toluca and Mexico valleys. Map of the Intendencias de México, taken from Dorothy Tanck Estrada, *Atlas Ilustrado de los Pueblos de Indios: Nueva España, 1800*, 110-111.

The fact that such a lengthy inventory of towns was produced after the longest sojourn of the statue to Mexico City's cathedral (from 1741 to 1750) is an important fact that could be seen as part of a viceregal policy that attempted to strengthen the local devotion of the area, marginalized for so long. However, the list was allegedly a copy of the participants of 1722 that were registered in the book of the sanctuary, a document that regrettably has not survived. As such, it importantly depicts the modes in which the cult was experienced, even if it was clear that from all the towns compelled to participate every year in the August festivals, they came only in alternating years. Thus, the inventory of towns provides a substantial source about how widespread the cult of Our Lady of

Remedios was in the basin of Mexico. The facts that the towns are distributed in 30 of the 129 *alcaldías mayores* or political districts (Figure 14),⁹¹ confirms that the cult was centered mainly in the valley of Toluca, but also in the valleys of Tizayuca and Chalco.

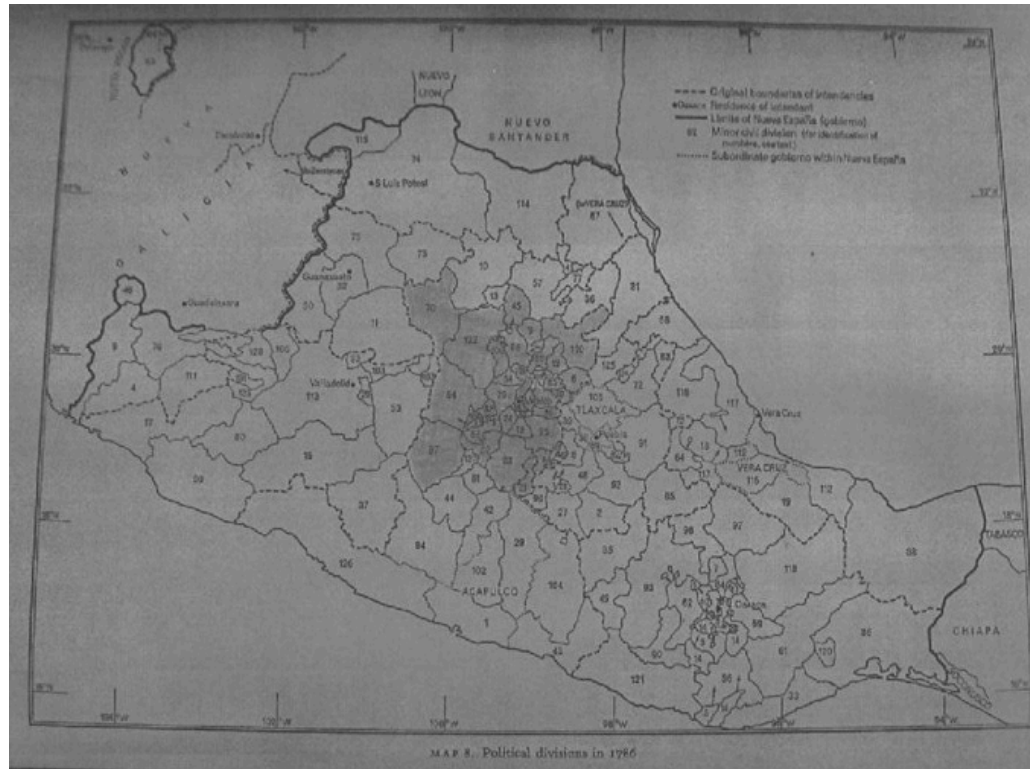


Figure 3. 14 Political Division in 1786 showing the 30 Alcaldías Mayores, marking those 30 where the towns summoned in 1751 to the Remedios' main festival were located. Map drawn by Reginald Piggott, taken from Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain*, 16.

- | | | |
|----------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| 3. Actopan | 51. Lerma | 79. Tacuba |
| 6. Apan y Tepeapulco | 52. Malinalco | 87. Temascaltepec y Zultepec |
| 12. Cempoala | 54. Metepec | 88. Tenango del Valle |
| 16. Coatepec | 55. Mexicalcingo | 96. Tetepango Hueypustla |
| 21. Cautla Amilpas | 56. México | 100. Tezcuco |
| 22. Cuernavaca | 65. Otumba | 108. Toluca |
| 24. Cuyoacan | 66. Pachuca | 109. Tula |
| 25. Chalco | 70. Querétaro | 110. Tulancingo |
| 34. Guautitlán | 71. San Cristóbal Ecatepec | 122. Xilotepec |
| 45. Ixmiquilpan | 78. Sochimilco | 129. Zumpango de La Laguna |

⁹¹ Peter Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972).

When comparing the political division as it was defined in 1786 with the map representing the location of native languages as they were in 1519, it becomes clear that Otomí and Náhuatl were the principal languages spoken in the area, despite also including Mazahuan and Matlaltzincan (Figure 15).⁹² Up to the end of the eighteenth century, the descendants of Juan Ce Cuautli Tovar were still perceived as Otomís, making easy to simply assume the devotion was largely of that group (born out of the devotion of a *hñähñu*).⁹³

⁹² Pedro Carrasco Pisana, *Los Otomíes. Cultura e historia prehispánica de los pueblos mesoamericanos de habla otomiana* (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1950) The author identifies the Otomí area around Toluca, Xilotepec, Tula, Quauhtlalpan, north of the valley of Mexico, Teotlalpan, Metztitlan, Huaxteca, Alcohacan, Tlaxcallan, Puebla Valley, a region covered in the massive viceregal call to participate in the feast of 1751 but that it does not encompass it.

⁹³ Ilona Katzew has pointed out that in 1782 Franciscan friar José Mariano Díaz de la Vega in his *Memorias piadosas de la nación yndiana recogidas de varios Autores* (an unpublished manuscript made to exalt the ability of the Indian population to become good Christians) reported that “Remedios remained closely associated with the Otomí communities of Tacuba until the end of the late eighteenth century”. He also considered “the sense of pride the image continued to instill in Juan Ce Cuautli’s family” by the time he was able to contact his grandson in 1745. See Ilona Katzew, ““That this should be published in the Age of the Enlightenment?”: Eighteenth-century debates about the Indian body in colonial Mexico,” in *Race and Classification: The Case of Mexican America*, ed. Ilona Katzew and Susan Deans-Smith (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), 86, n109.



Figure 3. 15 Native Languages in 1519, marking the area where the towns summoned in 1751 to the Remedios' main festival were located. Map drawn by Reginald Piggott, taken from Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain*, 6.

However, further research is needed to argue definitively that the cult of Our Lady of Remedios developed exclusively in connection to the Otomí people (or *hñähñu*, as they preferred to call themselves). However, it is also important to consider that most of the population of Tacuba town were from a indigenous group known as Tepanecas, which adds more complexity in trying to identify a particular indigenous group or town as leading the cult in the area surrounding the shrine. Moreover, there is a marked lack of evidence regarding the *hñähñu* having a great adherence to the figure of Mayahuel, or to the maguey: it is even surprising that, in their perspective, the maguey was not a holy plant as it was in the Nahuatl world described earlier in this chapter.⁹⁴ Regardless f

⁹⁴ For more on the Otomí ritual see Jacques Galiner, *La mitad del mundo. Cuerpo y cosmos en los rituales otomíes*. (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1990).

language spoken, and the specific group attached to the cult, there is extensive documentation in the confraternity administrative records that shows that the alms collected from the Indian population during the August festivals remained constant from 1677 up to 1796 (Table 1), which allows to conform the fervent faith this sector had for Our Lady of Remedios.

	Alms collected during the feast of the confraternity		Alms collected during the Indian festival	Expenses	Profit
1677 (vol. 3912)	13		465	374	104
1678 (vol. 3912)	13		419	315	117
1679 vol. 3912	9		486	424	71
1680 vol. 3912	7		546	463	90
1681 vol. 3912	8		504	422	90
1682 vol. 3912	6		363	342	27
1683 vol. 3912	11		558	395	174
1730 (vol. 3898)				344	
1738 (vol. 3913, 3912)	8		351	434	-75
1740 (vol. 3913, Vol. 3912)	12		359	434	-63
1751(after nine years at the city, vol. 3898)	20		540	422	138
1752(vol. 3913)	12		484	411	85
1757 (vol. 3913)	12		392	367	
1763 (vol. 3913)	13		541	378	176
1794 (vol. 3915)	492 in two festivities				
1796 (vol. 3915)	16	529	42 in the <i>fiesta de tabla</i>		
1799 (vol. 3915)	784 in four days (one for the confraternity an three days of the Indians)		87	126 church + 203 food	542
1804 (vol. 3916)	640 in three days of festivities			488	152
1805 (vol. 3916)	760 in three days of festivities			543	217
1806 (vol. 3916)				589	
1807 (vol. 3916)	1017 in three days of festivities			607	410
1808 (vol. 3916)	780 in three days of festivities			579	
1809 (vol. 3916)	710 in three days of festivities			569	141
1810 (vol. 3916)	152 in three days of festivities				
1812 (vol. 3895)	308 in three days of festivities				

Table 3.1. Alms gained in the August festivals at the shrine (in pesos)

A visual document that convincingly speaks of how deep the devotion to Our Lady of Remedios was among the Indians of New Spain is a painting signed in 1824 by José María Velázquez, who by the time was the director of the painting section of the Royal Academy of San Carlos,⁹⁵ now in the collection of Bryce and Elaine Bannatyne in Santa Monica, California (Figure 16).



Figure 3. 16: José María Velázquez. *Nuestra Señora de los Remedios*, 1824. Bryce and Elaine Bannatyne Collection, Santa Monica, California

⁹⁵ According to the art historian Inmaculada Rodríguez Moya, José María Velázquez was born in Mexico City around 1767. He studied engraving at the mint, which was under the direction of Jerónimo Antonio Gil. He became director of the Academia de San Carlos in 1825, when the former director Rafael Jimeno y Planes died. He is mainly known for his portraits made of rich members of the Newspanish society, although his religious painting production is also extensive. See Inmaculada Rodríguez Moya, *La Mirada del Virrey: Iconografía del Poder en la Nueva España* (Castellón de la Plana: Universitat Jaume I, 2003), 224.

It shows a group of four Indian *peladitos* with their distinctive hair style carrying the litter where the Virgin is placed.⁹⁶ The shrine is depicted behind them, on top of a rocky mountain in the middle of a lake. In front of the group, a woman dressed in indigenous cloths purifies the way with incense or copal in a *sahumerio*. The painting is unique in that it shows the history of Remedios in the corners, exalting the finding of the statue and apparitions to Juan Ce Cuautli Tovar in much the same way as was done with the images of Juan Diego and the Virgin of Guadalupe.⁹⁷ By including the indigenous cacique, and, above all, by showing the Indians as the carriers of the statue, the Indian audience is shown claiming ownership of their sacred possession, despite if the carriers seem to be walking away from the shrine. It is not surprising to find this kind of visual argument by 1824, when the statue of Remedios had just returned to the shrine from an eleven-year-sojourn in Mexico City, after Francisco Javier Venegas (viceroy from September 14, 1810 to March 4, 1813) broke the protocol followed for centuries, and in 1810 had the statue brought to the Cathedral of Mexico City—without the consent of the surrounding towns—to protect the city against the Miguel Hidalgo’s army at the start of the war of

⁹⁶ The so-called *peladitos* were Indians using a distinctive hairdo (with most of their hair shaved and a lock of hair falling at either side) that signaled their condition as tribute-payers to the Crown. The attire was completed by the use of a coarse cotton cloth with white and blue stripes. See Jaime Cuadriello, "El Obrador Trinitario O Maria de Guadalupe creada en idea, imagen y materia," in *El Divino Pintor: La Creación de María de Guadalupe en el taller celestial. Exhibition Catalogue* (Mexico City: Museo de la Basílica de Guadalupe-Museo de Historia Mexicana, 2000), 175-177.

⁹⁷ For more on how the motif of the four encircled scenes became exceedingly popular, especially after the prints by Matías de Arteaga y Alfaro were included in the 1685 Sevillian edition of Luis Becerra Tanco’s *Felicidad de México*, see Jaime Cuadriello, *Maravilla Americana: Variantes de la iconografía Guadalupeana, Siglos XVII-XIX. Exhibition Catalogue* (Guadalajara: Patrimonio cultural del occidente, 1989). It appears that the first time that four roundels were placed next to the portrait of Guadalupe was in a painting made in 1656 by José Juárez, now located at the Concepcionsts Convent at Ágreda, Soria (Spain). See Nelly Sigaut, *José Juárez: Recursos y Discursos del Arte de Pintar* (Mexico City: Museo Nacional de Arte-Banamex-Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México-Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 2002), 208-214.

Independence almost caused a revolt within the local indigenous communities, cognizant that the effigy would be gone from the shrine for a lengthy amount of time. In fact, the historian William B. Taylor has pointed out that during the nineteenth century Remedios spent more time in the cathedral and in processions organized to take her back for brief visits than at her actual shrine.⁹⁸

CONCLUSION

Scholars of colonial Latin America have long discussed the many ways in which indigenous populations of the New World reacted and adopted Catholicism following the military conquest. Among the most complex of these processes, the appropriation of the cult of the Virgin Mary by local peoples stands out, becoming deeply entrenched in their daily lives. In the perspective of the ethnohistorian Louise M. Burkhart, the cult to Mary was easily adopted because the indigenous population never recognized her as the *conquistadora*.⁹⁹ In the case of Our Lady of Remedios this is difficult to accept, as according to her widespread legend, she was described by Juan Ce Cuautli Tovar as the woman who threw dust in the eyes of his fellow warriors during the battle of the Noche Triste. I rather follow Taylor who has also shown, drawing on the work of the historian

⁹⁸ William B. Taylor, "La Virgen de Guadalupe, Nuestra Señora de los Remedios y la cultura política del periodo de la Independencia," in *México en tres momentos, 1810-1910-2010: hacia la conmemoración del bicentenario de la Independencia y del centenario de la Revolución Mexicana: retos y perspectivas*, ed. Alicia Mayer (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Comisión Universitaria para los Festejos del Bicentenario de la Independencia y del Centenario de la Revolución, Mexicana, 2007), 231-235. See also his *Shrines and miraculous images: religious life in Mexico before the Reforma*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2010), 152-157.

⁹⁹ Louise M. Burkhart, *Before Guadalupe: the Virgin Mary in early colonial Nahuatl literature* (Albany: Institute for Mesoamerican Studies-University at Albany 2001), 3. The author considers that this is the reason why the Florentine Codex omits mentioning the apparitions of Mary or Saint James in the account of the conquest.

Robert Padden, that Mary was indeed perceived as “the embodiment of Spanish sovereignty.”¹⁰⁰

Why then, and mainly how, did Indians become so prone to Marian veneration if she was one of the strongest symbols of their defeat? Scholars have addressed this multilayered and complex question in different ways. Focusing on the role played by the Franciscans in promoting the devotion to the Mother of Christ, for instance, Burckhart argues that “text production was one important practice through which Mary became inscribed in Nahua language and culture.”¹⁰¹ The historian Richard Nebel, echoing ideas posed by the historian Hans-Jürgen Prien, explained that the acceptance of Mary allowed the conquered to adapt to the new system that was imposed on them. Thus, for these two historians, Mary played the role of a liberating figure against Spanish oppression.¹⁰² In their view, an element that helped the Indians identify more easily with this motherly figure was, at least in the case of Our Lady of Guadalupe and Izamal (patroness of the southern state of Yucatan), the dark tone of her skin. For historians like Serge Gruzinsky, the process of adoption of Marian imagery was far more complex: it was an exercise of cultural negotiation where the indigenous reception of visual religious material was influenced by their own perspective of the sacred. At the same time, he emphasized the role of substitution, that is, the ability of finding known elements in the new images that were being imposed. For instance, in the case of Our Lady of Guadalupe, there was always the presence of Tonantzin, the deity that was believed to be “Our Mother” within

¹⁰⁰ William B. Taylor, "The Virgin of Guadalupe in New Spain: An Inquiry into the Social History of Marian Devotion," *American Ethnologist* 14, no. 1 (1987), 10.

¹⁰¹ Burckhart, *Before Guadalupe*, 3.

¹⁰² Richard Nebel, *Santa Maria Tonantzin Virgen de Guadalupe: continuidad y transformacion religiosa en México* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1995 (1992)), 115-117.

the Nahua cosmogony.¹⁰³ More recently, the ethnohistorian Edward W. Osowski has suggested that an early acceptance of Christianity and its symbols would bring economical and social benefits to the Indian caciques, who were inclined to show their deep devotion when in their best interest.¹⁰⁴

All in all, the process by which the indigenous populations of New Spain in general, and those from the surroundings of the shrine of Our Lady of Remedios in particular, adopted Mary's cult it reflected a real degree of religious fervor, as well as the strategies outlined by the authors mentioned above. As described in Chapter Two, Remedios became part of the collective memory through the spread of images and texts. Moreover, as I have argued in this chapter, the legend provided active agency to the Indian population through the figure of Juan Ce Cuautli Tovar, who after finding the statue was general perceived as the initiator of the cult of Our Lady of Remedios. The legend might have been created, or at least promoted, by the caciques of Tacuba, as a way to extoll their Christian faith and thus, elevate their status. Last but not least, the maguey in the iconography of Remedios speaks to the notion of substitution and/or adaptation of the pre-Columbian deity Mayahuel. However, I am convinced that the inclusion of the maguey in the iconography of Remedios was not due to what the historian James Lockhart has termed a "double mistaken identity", in which "each side of the cultural exchange presumes that a given form or concept is functioning in the way familiar within its own tradition and it is unaware of or unimpressed by the other side's

¹⁰³ Serge Gruzinski, *La guerra de las imágenes: de Cristóbal Colón a "Blade Runner" (1492-2019)* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1994 [1990]), 57-62, and 104-106.

¹⁰⁴ Edward W. Osowski, *Indigenous Miracles: Nahua Authority in Colonial Mexico* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2010), 8.

interpretation.”¹⁰⁵ Both the maguey and the description of the devotional practices performed towards the image by Juan Ce Cuautli Tovar (feeding the statue and adorning the domestic altar he had fashioned for her) stand out as an example of how miraculous images could combine the two different audiences they were trying to address, Spanish and Indigenous.¹⁰⁶ The results of such cultural negotiation certainly show in the constant character that defined the Indian devotion of Our Lady of Remedios throughout the colonial period.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ James Lockhart, "Double Mistaken Identity: Some Nahua Concepts in Postcoquest Guise," in *Of Things Of the Indies: Essays Old and New in Early Latin American history* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 99.

¹⁰⁶ Taking into consideration Jorge Klor de Alva's typology of Aztec responses to Christianity, I think both elements correspond to what he called "Accommodation strategies of complete conversion," that is "belief in Christianity with the retention of indigenous cultural customs that were not found offensive by the Christian clergymen". See his "Spiritual Conflict in New Spain: Toward a Typology of Aztec Responses to Christianity," in *The Inca and Aztec States, 1400-1800: Anthropology and History*, ed. Renato Rosaldo and George Allen Collier John D. Wirth (New York: Academic Press, 1982), 351.

¹⁰⁷ Moreover, one should remember that the conquest Remedios helped achieve was against the Mexica, and not against all indigenous groups of the valley of Mexico. Thus, further research is necessary to understand how the other Indian groups might had accepted the cult of Remedios, conqueror of the Mexica, once they were satisfied to witness the fall of their abusive empire. The fact that Mesoamerican cosmogony was inclined to accept the addition of new deities should also be addressed.

Chapter Four:
Processions and Mexico City's Symbolic Geography

In the early modern world, and on both sides of the Atlantic, religious processions were vital for the construction of the symbolic geography of cities. While allowing a constant re-signification of urban space, they encouraged the mingling of different social sectors in much the same way as did secular ceremonials—such as the entrance of political and ecclesiastical authorities. However, the religious parades were also, and most importantly, liminal events that made the celestial sphere accessible to people's worldly existence. This chapter aims to elucidate how this double nature, earthly and heavenly, was present in the many processions that made the sculpture of Our Lady of Remedios accessible to Mexico City's population during the three centuries of Spanish colonial rule. The statue was carried through Mexico City's city streets fifty-seven times in three hundred years (an average of one time every five years), thus outnumbering any other religious event that was not part of the liturgical calendar. As I will show, these processions were always linked to the conquest as Our Lady of Remedios' shrine—located roughly seven miles northwest of the capital—was at the site where Hernán Cortés and his soldiers allegedly found some rest and remedy while fleeing Mexico City on the night of June 30, 1520 during the so-called *Noche Triste* battle. Thus, in all these processions the urban landscape was re-signified by invoking the foundation of the city and thus, establishing identity. Henceforth, it is worth reassessing the sense of collectivity that characterized them.

This chapter is structured in a way that it follows the path of one such procession. It first considers the diverse political and religious motives that gave rise to such massive

events around this particular cult image, thus addressing the *why* and the *when* of the festivals. Second, it describes the modes in which the parades took place, considering the route followed by the large gathering of people and the modes of display of the cult image—that is, the area that focuses on the *how* and the *where* of the processions. Since the order in which the corporations participated within the pageants was strictly regulated, the last section focuses on the actors who actually participated in them, but also considers those who organized and benefited from the festivities—spiritually, politically, and economic. By traversing the three sections, this chapter is able to draw the conclusion that the concept of *policía*, as the locus of civilized and organized urban life, was the most important quality that the processions related to Our Lady of Remedios aimed to enhance. They were indeed “acts of self-representation” where the city presented itself as an ideal society.¹

GROUNDS FOR THE OCCASION

In Mexico City, religious processions were an almost everyday activity. These numerous processions were rooted, of course, in the spirit of the Council of Trent, which saw in these urban festivals a highly effective way to consolidate the Catholic faith. Many of these festivals repeated throughout the year, like Easter and Christmas, as part of a strict liturgical calendar; others were sporadic, like the canonization of saints. Perhaps the most important procession within the year was that of *Corpus Christi*, a celebration that developed at the end of the thirteenth century as a main defense of the dogma of the

¹ Margit Thøfner, *A common art: urban ceremonial in Antwerp and Brussels during and after the Dutch revolt* (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2007).

divine incarnation in Jesus.² The art historian Nelly Sigaut has pointed out that from the very first time this procession took place within the streets of the capital of New Spain in 1526—just five years after the defeat of Mexico-Tenochtitlan—it became a symbolic rampart to the city, as it followed its physical outline at a time when the urban limits were not clear, and therefore, the safety of the Spanish population was still of great concern.³

The processions celebrated to invoke the intercession of Our Lady of Remedios were the most important festivals not attached to a specific date within the liturgical calendar: they were petitionary events connected to external conditions that affected daily life in the city. The most important of these reasons that motivated the processions was drought. It is worth noting, contrary to the widespread belief in scholarly literature, that drought, and not flooding, was in fact the most common problem afflicting the local population.⁴ Of course, there were times when the abundance of water was indeed an intense problem, as in the great inundation of 1629.⁵ However, the work by the historian

² Barbara R. Walters, Vincent J. Corrigan, and Peter T. Ricketts, *The Feast of Corpus Christi* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006).

³ Nelly Sigaut, "Corpus Christi: La construcción simbólica de la Ciudad de México," in *Del libro de emblemas a la ciudad simbólica. Actas del III Simposio Internacional de Emblemática* (Castellón: Universitat Jaume I, 2000).

⁴ Linda Curcio-Nagy, *The great festivals of colonial Mexico City : performing power and identity* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), 8, for instance, said "Flooding occurred almost annually with the onset of the rainy season." I thank John F. López, whose dissertation *The Hydrographic City: Mapping Mexico City's urban form in relation to its aquatic condition 1521-1700* offers a comparative study of Aztec and Spanish hydraulic practices and their effect upon Mexico City's urban form, for providing me with the following and most up-to-date list of the major floods that took place in New Spain's capital as a consequence of its lacustrine environment: 1552, 1553, 1555, 1579, 1604, 1607, 1623, 1629-35, 1647, 1691, and 1697.

⁵ Richard Everett Boyer, *La gran inundación: vida y sociedad en México, 1629-1638* (Mexico City: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1975).

Elsa Malvido on epidemics and their causes in colonial times,⁶ in combination with the detailed account of the motives of all the processions outlined in Table 1 (collating the data provided by twelve scholars), show that droughts were a more frequent occurrence and were more lethal than has been previously acknowledged. New Spain's capital suffered from the scarcity of water irregularly, but in recurring ways. The most dramatic outcome of drought was the reduced production of maize—the main source of food for the city's inhabitants. For the historian Charles Gibson, drought, as well as frost, were key in determining the yields of the agricultural year in the city:

A single day without rain was of little importance, but a single day of frost might be ruinous... [A] dry April was a fearsome phenomenon, and a drought continuing into May and June became progressively more alarming, for such conditions seemed to portend a serious interruption in the seasonal processes on which maize and life depended.⁷

Drought and food shortages were also strongly related to the outbreak of epidemics that mostly affected the indigenous population. Forty-five out of the total of fifty-seven times that the image was brought to Mexico City in the period 1575-1810, the processions took place because of drought, disease, and/or famine. It is, therefore, not surprising that the processions would take place during the normal rainy season, that is, from May to August, but mainly during June. Thus, Our Lady of Remedios became the patroness against drought, famine, and disease, calamities that almost always afflicted the city simultaneously.

⁶ Elsa Malvido, "Cronología de epidemias y crisis agrícolas en la época colonial," in *Ensayos sobre la historia de las epidemias en México*, ed. Enrique Florescano y Elsa Malvido (Mexico: Instituto Mexicano del Seguro Social, 1980).

⁷ Charles Gibson, *The Aztecs under Spanish rule; a history of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico, 1519-1810* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964).

Table 4. 1: Processions of Our Lady of Remedios: dates and motives according to different authors

author year	Cisneros		Guijo		Medina		Florenci a 1685 t 1697		Robles <i>Gacetas</i> 1665-1703		Cabrera		Carrillo		García		Gibson,		Curcio- Nagy		Granados			
	1621	1648- 1664	1682	1685	t 1697	1703	1722- 1749	1737	1804	1940	1964	1996	2012	sources										
1576																							637a	
1577	∅	*	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	637a	
1597	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	
1616	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	652a
1618																							652a	
1638																							662a	
1639																							663a	
1641		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	664a	
1642	*	*	*	*	∅ Δ	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	3902, 664a	
1653	*	∅	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	Teran's poem	
1656	*	∅	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	Guijo	
1661	*	* (8a)	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	Guijo	
1663	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	Ribera's poem	
1667		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	Robles	
1668	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	Ena's poem	
1678	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	Carrillo's poem	
1685		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	Muñoz' poem	
1686																								
1692		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	3903, Robles	
1695																								
1696		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	Robles	
1699																							372a	
1702		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	372a	
1704																							372a	
1705		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	372a	

Table 4. 1: Processions of Our Lady of Remedios (continue): dates and motives according to different authors

1706	*	*	*	\sum	$\sum \Delta$	373a
1708				\sum	n atC	373a
1710				?	r	373a
1711	*			*	at sh *	373a
1712	*	*	*	\sum		373a
1713	*	*	*	*	\approx	374a, 3896, 3897
1714					r	3896, 3897, 374a
1715					n at sh \approx	3897, 374a
1716	*	*	*	\approx		3897, 374a
1717	*	*	*	* and \sum	rJan, vMay	3897, 374a
1719	*	*	*	\sum	rJan, vOct	3897, 374a
1720					nov C \sum	3897
1721					nBIC atC	375a, 3897
1722					n \approx , r	375a
1723					*	3897
1724					r	3897
1726	*	*	*		\approx	3896, 3897
1727				*	n at sh \approx	3897
1730	*	*	*		\approx	3897
1732				\approx		
1733	*	*	*		*	3898, 59a
1734				\approx		
1735				*	n at sh *	3898
1737	*	*	*		\emptyset	3897
1738				*	r	3898
1740				*		
1741				*	* n \approx	3897, 3899

Table 4. 1: Processions of Our Lady of Remedios (continue): dates and motives according to different authors

1742	*	n at C ≈	3899
1744		2 n.atC ≈	3899
1746		n at C ≈	3899
1749	*	n at C *	3899
1750	*	nCA, rJan, vJun	3896, 3899, 3900, 75a
1751		r	76a
1753	*	* ∅	3899, 78a
1755			
1758	*	*	81a
1761	*	≈	82a
1762	*	Δ	83a
1763		r	
1765	*		85a
1766	*	≈	86a
1767	*	* ∫	3898, 87a
1768	*		88a
1769	*		89a
1770	**	*	90a
1771	*	*	3913, 91a
1772	*	*	92a
1773	**		93a
1775	*		95a
1776	*		96a
1778	*		98a
1779	*	*	99a
1780	*		100a
1784	*	∅	104a

This “specialization” of Remedios as provider of rainwater derives from late Medieval European traditions. Perhaps the most famous Marian image that served as an advocate for rainfall, as early as 1354, is Our Lady of Impruneta, whose shrine is located six miles outside Florence.⁸ In Spain, too, Mary was sought for the same purpose. According the historian William Christian Jr. in Castile, by 1575-80, “in the case of droughts, the most common attempt to alleviate a disaster would be a petitionary procession... called a *rogativa*.”⁹ In the Americas, the patroness of Ecuador, *Nuestra Señora del Cisne*, stands out as another miraculous image associated with droughts. According to the legend associated with this miraculous image, a strong cult developed around it in 1550, when it is believed that she put an end to a severe period of water shortage.¹⁰ It is worth pointing out that similarly to Our Lady of Remedios, Our Lady of Impruneta and *Nuestra Señora del Cisne* also traveled into their neighboring cities—Florence and Loja, respectively—as opposed to other cult images that mostly welcomed pilgrims at their shrines for similar *rogativas*, not leaving their shrines on any regular basis.¹¹

As early as 1639 petitions for the wellbeing of the monarchy started to be included in the list of favors implored from Remedios. This was also a common practice

⁸ Richard Trexler, "Florentine Religious Experience: The Sacred Image," *Studies in the Renaissance*, no. 19 (1989).

⁹ William A. Christian, *Local religion in sixteenth-century Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981). See his Table 2.1 on p. 29, where disease is shown as the most important “reason for vows,” followed by hail and drought in the fourth and fifth place, respectively.

¹⁰ Héctor Schenone, *Santa María* (Buenos Aires: Editorial de la Universidad Católica Argentina, 2008), 350. According to this author, this was Our Lady of Cisne’s second miracle. The first miracle attributed to her was stopping the relocation of the Indians of Cisne in the town of San Juan de Chucumbamba, while the third was the recovery of the image after Spaniards from the town of Zaruma had stolen the by then already famous image from the indigenous town.

¹¹ Impruneta’s intercession was called for, as in the case of Remedios, whenever drought became a threat to the city, while *Cisne* still has her visits to Loja scheduled from August 20 to November 3 of each year.

in Spain: “Philip II and his successors solicited the prayers of cathedral chapters (of Toledo and elsewhere) at critical moments in national affairs—when members of the royal family were sick, traveling by sea, or in childbirth; at the start of military campaigns; or before major battles”.¹² In New Spain, Remedios’ intercession on behalf of the crown was sought for similar reasons. The statue was called into the city whenever divine protection to the ruling house was needed—in January, February, September, or November. Remedios was called for the safety of the fleet,¹³ as shield in wartime, or for specific events such as a prince’s birth or a viceroy’s illness. According to the historians Jesús Antonio García Olivera and Linda Curcio-Nagy,¹⁴ such an expansion of specific themes related to the monarchy during the eighteenth century implied an appropriation of the cult of Our Lady of Remedios by the Spanish Crown to the detriment of the city council, who had assumed the official stewardship of the image, the shrine, and the cult beginning in 1574. From their perspective, during the last century of colonial rule the viceroys’ involvement in determining both the times and the length of Remedios sojourns increased. However, as far I have been able to determine, the direct participation of the viceroys in promoting the processions was constant all the way from the sixteenth

¹² Christian, *Local Religion*, 151.

¹³ Although the pleas were mainly made to protect the naval forces that were about to arrive in the port of Havana carrying the Crown’s income from the silver mines as well as the taxes collected in New Spain, prayers were also offered for the safe return of the ships from Spain (which, among other things, brought to the New World *azogue* (mercury) for the mines and Royal documents), but even for those convoys in commercial treaties with Asia, that is, the famous *Manila Galleon*. For this reason, devotion of Remedios became strong among merchants, who not only paid for Masses at the shrine outside of Mexico City (Iván Escamilla, “El consulado de comerciantes de México y la Monarquía Española, 1700-1739” (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Ph. D., 2009), but also gave substantial alms to another image of Remedios venerated in Jalapa city (AHDF, Vol. 3896).

¹⁴ Jesús Antonio García Olivera, “Nuestra Señora de los Remedios: su culto y cofradía” (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, B. A., 1991); Linda A Curcio-Nagy, “Native Icon to Protectress to Royal Patroness: Ritual, Political Symbolism and the Virgin of Remedios,” *The Americas* 52, no. 3 (1996).

century and did not increase in the eighteenth.¹⁵ It is worth remembering that even if the city council assumed the care of the shrine and therefore of the miraculous image, the viceroy, as the king's *alter ego*, was the only authority allowed to intervene in matters related to the cult's management. This hierarchy was established by Viceroy Martín Enríquez de Almansa at the time of the patronage's establishment in 1574, and was confirmed by a royal decree of August 31, 1684.¹⁶ That is why, in most cases, the processions were organized only after the city council welcomed the request of the viceroy to bring the statue into Mexico City, and it had to ask his permission to return it to its shrine after the nine days of mass prayer at the Cathedral.¹⁷ In short, the council enjoyed the custody of the image, but from the moment of the concession of the *patronazgo*, their authority was somewhat relative as it never outshone that of the viceroy.¹⁸ Our Lady of Remedios, as a sculpture of Spanish manufacture that was

¹⁵ Both the Mercedarian friar Luis de Cisneros and the Jesuit Francisco de Florencia, authors of the two main chronicles on Remedios, portrayed the viceroys of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as the main promoters of the processions that took place in those centuries.

¹⁶ In the city council's session of August 8, 1575, the edict of November 1st, 1574, was read, in which the Viceroy Enríquez stated "concedo universal patronazgo de la magestad en las Yndias y sin que en la ciudad, cofradia ni hermita se entrometa ningun arzobispo ni juez eclesiastico *la cual reservo en mi*" (AHDF, Vol. 637a). The 1684 royal decree clearly stated: "Haviendo reservado el Virrey Don Martín Enríquez en la merced que le hizo de esta Hermita y patronato lo superior de él *en las personas de mis virreyes en mi nombre*" (Document R7, Edmundo O'Gorman Collection, Benson Latin American Collection at UT-Austin). The emphasis in both passages is mine.

¹⁷ There were occasions on which the permission was not granted. For instance, the confraternity and members of the city council's discontent was so strong against Viceroy Duque of Linares for not allowing Remedios to return to the shrine that in 1714 they sent a letter to the King and the Pope complaining about the situation, with no good results.

¹⁸ The situation was different regarding the archbishops, who based in the royal patronage the Pope conceded to the crown in the early sixteenth century, were only allowed limited intercession in the cult's observance. There was only one occasion (1670-1684) when the Archbishop tried to overstep the authority of the city council. See *Epilogue*.

believed to play a significant role as *Socia Belli* by aiding the conquistadors,¹⁹ was considered from the very beginning of her cult, a sacred object that was lent to the city as a symbol of its foundation and power. It was certainly not a holy item that could change ownership during the colonial period due to the political context.²⁰ Moreover, a close examination of Table I reveals that the percentage of processions associated with the monarchy did not actually increase during the eighteenth century: in the seventeenth century four of thirteen pageants were organized in the sake of the Crown (31.25%), while in the eighteenth century there were ten out of thirty-three (30.3%). In the first decade of the nineteenth century, this proportion was maintained, with three of a total of nine processions being connected with the monarchy (33.3%).

Still, the numerous processions organized in the eighteenth century demand an explanation. As the historian William B. Taylor has rightly pointed out in his groundbreaking study on colonial miraculous images, an important reason that needs to be considered is the War of the Spanish Succession and the subsequent crisis of legitimacy of the ruling Bourbon dynasty.²¹ During the years of conflict, 1701-1714, the statue was brought only three times, but its second visit lasted four years, marking this

¹⁹ For the term *Socia Belli* as a symbolic partner in wartime derived from the image of the Roman deity of war *Bellona*, see Máximo Gómez Rascón, *Theothókos : Vírgenes medievales de la Diócesis de León* (León: Edilesa, 1996).

²⁰ This notion of appropriation seems to have grown as an explanation of why in the context of the war of Independence, Our Lady of Remedios was believed to be the royal counterpart of the creole Our Lady of Guadalupe. As William B. Taylor has pointed out, this confrontation did not take place in popular devotion, where both images were privileged in equal terms, along with many other Marian statues. See William B. Taylor, *Our Lady of Guadalupe and friends: the Virgin Mary in colonial Mexico City* (Berkeley, CA: Doe Library, University of California, 1999).

²¹ William B. Taylor, *Shrines and miraculous images: religious life in Mexico before the Reforma*, Religions of the Americas (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2010).

the first time that it was kept for such a long period.²² Viceroy Francisco Fernández de la Cueva, eighth duke de Albuquerque, assumed the responsibility for the long sojourn, explicitly mentioning his interest in contributing to the cause of the Bourbons.²³ Not surprisingly, one of the main events celebrated during this long stay was the birth of Prince Louis, heir to the crown, as it warranted the continuation of the newly and controversial French ruling house. The longest sojourn of the statue in Mexico City, from 1741 to 1750, was also related to warfare: the War of the Austrian Succession that reestablished Spanish influence in northern Italy and intensified the maritime conflicts with England. The last time that Remedios stayed in Mexico City longer than the conventional *novenario* was in 1762, returning a year later to the shrine and thus, coinciding with the end of the Seven Years War. Therefore, Remedios' constant presence in the capital of the viceroyalty of New Spain during the last century of Spanish dominion was due to her character of *Socia Belli*, or partner at war, demanding her protection in times of military conflict. Another factor underscoring her frequent visits to Mexico City at this time is related to the Bourbons' emphasis on securing the extensive

²² As rightly pointed out by Taylor, the first time the image stayed longer than the ten days required by the *novenario* was 1685, after a drought of two years. Florencia in his *Milagrosa Invención de un Tesoro Escondido* (Sevilla: en la Imprenta de las Siete Revueltas, 1745 [1685]), 91-93, explained that the image was kept a month and five days because more rain was needed in the countryside. The author justifies the delay, explaining that many other aims were completed while Remedios was in the capital: She offered protection to the fleet on its way to Havana and then to Spain, and to the Spanish ally Genoa in its conflicts with France; she protected the *Nao de China* that safely landed in port of Acapulco, and even shielded the city from an earthquake. However, Antonio Rubial has directed attention to the connection that this first extended sojourn might had with the triumph of the city council over Archbishop friar Payo de Ribera referred to in note 18. See Antonio Rubial García, *El paraíso de los elegidos. Una lectura de la historia cultural de Nueva España (1521-1804)* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica-Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2010).

²³ In the city council's meeting of December 6, 1706, the viceroy stressed that Remedios' presence in the city was compulsory to show "su amor y fidelidad a el Rey nuestro Señor que Dios guarde le ha obligado a disponer socorro considerable para que logre este alivio en los ingenios en que se halla la monarquía en defensa de la religión y de la monarquía." (AHDF, Vol. 373a). For more on Albuquerque's role as New Spain's viceroy, see Iván Escamilla, "La memoria del gobierno del Virrey Dique de Alburquerque, 1710," *Estudios de Historia Novohispana*, no. 25 (2001).

revenues that came from New Spain, which explain its concern with the protection of the fleet. These Bourbon efforts started to be noticeable even from the first decades of the eighteenth century—long before the larger reforms that characterized the second half of this century.²⁴ However, after 1750 the statue was brought to the city to ask for her intercession at times of drought and famine, as had occurred in the previous century. This is not surprising when considering that scholars have noted that this period was characterized by a severe agricultural crisis.²⁵ It is worth pointing out that the image's visits did not diminish even after an important pause of twelve years (1772-1784), which was most likely related to the severe constrictions imposed to popular religious practices by the fourth Mexican provincial synod.²⁶

However important Remedios processions were in the devotional life of Mexico City, there is still no clear consensus as to exactly how many times the cult image was brought in procession to the capital of New Spain. After comparing the work of twelve

²⁴ Pedro Pérez Herrero, "Reformismo Borbónico y crecimiento económico en la Nueva España," in *El reformismo borbónico: una visión interdisciplinaria*, ed. Agustín Guimerá (Madrid: Alianza, 1996); John Lynch, *El Siglo XVIII*, trans. Juan Faci (Barcelo: Crítica, 1991 [1989]).

²⁵ William B. Taylor, *Ministros de lo sagrado. Sacerdotes y feligreses en el México del siglo XVIII* (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán, 1999 [1996]).

²⁶ Although the decrees of the synod convoked by Archbishop Francisco Antonio de Lorenzana were never confirmed by the Holy See or by the King, they had an impact at the local level. All nocturnal processions, for instance, were banned, just as much as those that during the Holy Week included severe penitence. The celebrations for *Corpus Christi* were also modified for the sake of decorum and "good social practice" ("Cuarto Concilio Provincial Mexicano," in *Concilios Provinciales Mexicanos* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México-Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 2004 [1771]), Tittle XVIII, § 15-17). See Linda Curcio-Nagy, "Giants and Gypsies: Corpus Christi in colonial Mexico City," in *Rituals of rule, rituals of resistance: public celebrations and popular culture in Mexico*, ed. Cheryl English Martin William H. Beezley, and, William E. French (Wilmington: SR Books, 1994), 20, for more changes suffered in the *Corpus Christi* festivals. See also See Iván Escamilla, "El Arzobispo Lorenzana: la Ilustración en el IV concilio de la Iglesia mexicana," and Francisco Javier Cervantes Bello and Silvia Marcela Cano Moreno, "El Cuarto Concilio Provincial Mexicano," both in *Los concilios provinciales en Nueva España: reflexiones e influencias*, ed. María del Pilar Martínez López-Cano and Francisco Javier Cervantes Bello (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México; Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, 2005).

colonial and contemporary authors and exhaustively contrasting their data with information included both in the city council accounts and in the remaining financial documents of the confraternity of Our Lady of Remedios, I have created what I consider the most accurate list of dates and motives of such petitionary travels (Table 1). Through it, I have been able not only to discuss the number of times the image came during the eighteenth century, but also to determine the year in which the first procession of Our Lady of Remedios took place. Although all sources consulted note that this event was organized in the context of the third massive epidemic that killed a significant number of Indians, I was unable to find any information in the city council records about when exactly it occurred. There is only a brief note of January 1577 in which one of the *regidores* or city officials, asked about the alms collected during the statue's visit.²⁷ It is therefore possible that the procession took place at the end of the previous year, in 1576, as documented by the *Gacetas de México* years later.²⁸ However, 1577 is the year provided by Mercedarian friar Luis de Cisneros, author of the first chronicle narrating the story of this miraculous image, which is why all subsequent chroniclers have considered

²⁷ AHDF, Vol. 637a

²⁸ The *Gaceta de México* can be considered the first newspaper printed in New Spain. According to Miguel Ángel Fernández Delgado (Miguel Ángel Fernández Delgado, "La Gaceta de México, el primer periódico nacional," *Expedientes Digitales del INEHRM*, <http://www.inehrm.gob.mx/Portal/PtMain.php?pagina=exp-gaceta-de-mexico-articulo>), it was first published for the first time in 1722 with the goal of being a type of memoir of the viceregal court that could set an example for the local population. The *Gaceta's* first editor was the Creole Juan Ignacio María de Castorena Ursúa y Goyeneche (1688-1733), but from 1728 onwards the editor became Juan Francisco Sahagún y Arévalo Ladrón de Guevara (?-1761), who edited 145 issues up to 1739, when the paper required for its publication became scarce. Under his leadership, the *Gacetas* was transformed into a more inclusive newspaper, to the point that the viceroy Juan de Acuña appointed Sahagún as the first official chronicler of Mexico City in 1733. The *Gaceta* underwent a third phase between 1784 and 1810, edited by the also Creole Manuel Antonio Valdés y Munguía (1742-1814), considered by some scholars as the best journalist of the colonial period.

this year as her first visit.²⁹ It is surprising that, if the epidemic was as terrible as he indicated—it battered the indigenous population for more than a year, to the point that it was impossible to bury all the bodies because thousands of people were dying each day—and the procession was as impressive as the paintings made in 1595 at the shrine walls documented, the city authorities would not carefully document this episode in a more extensive manner, as they did all the other occasions when the image travelled into the city in subsequent years. Despite the confusion regarding the exact moment of this first Remedios procession, it was certainly not a futile event. Spanish poet Hernán González de Esclava's *Coloquio Catorce*, which includes references to Our Lady of Remedios as the only “remedy” people could turn to in such terrible period of illness, might be the best contemporary evidence of how closely connected the devotion was to the epidemic outbreaks.³⁰ Since this first procession seems to have taken place less than two years after the city council took charge of both the shrine and the cult to Remedios, it is very likely that at that moment the cult had yet to take root within the urban population of Mexico City, composed of Spanish, Creoles, Africans, and Indians. As I mentioned in Chapter Two, the legend that validated the cult and connected it to the capital's origins

²⁹ Luis de Cisneros, "Historia de el principio y origen, progresos, venidas a México y Milagros de la Santa Ymagen de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios extramuros de México," ed. Francisco Miranda (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán, 1999 [1621]).

³⁰ Fernán González de Esclava, *Coloquios espirituales y sacramentales*, ed. Othón Arróniz and Sergio López Mena (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1998). For comments on how Esclava was able to draw a truthful chronicle of the pestilence through allegorical language, most employed in theater see Zoé Jiménez Corretjer, "La conversión del indio como metáfora anterior: Visión cosmogónica de lo alegórico en la obra de González de Esclava en la Nueva España," *Exégesis. Revista del Colegio Universitario de Humacao* 11, no. 34 (2010), <http://cuhwww.upr.clu.edu/exegesis/34/jimenez.html>, <http://www.robertexto.com/archivo16/eslava.htm>..

took many years to be definitively established: the silence in the city council's records constitutes a strong form of evidence of such a complex process.³¹

THE PATH'S RITUAL

There are no remaining visual representations, neither painted nor printed, that allow us to know how any of Our Lady of Remedios' numerous processions took place. However, there is a detailed description by friar Luis de Cisneros included in his chronicle about the 1616 procession, the one believed to be the model for all the later ones.³² This source and the descriptions written in verse published in the second half of the seventeenth century to celebrate the festivals are valuable eyewitness accounts that along with many confraternity administrative documents from the eighteenth century allow a reconstruction of the modes in which these urban ceremonials developed.³³ These

³¹ Édgar García Valencia and Rosario Inés Granados Salinas, "Remedios contra el olvido. Emblemática y conquista en los muros del primer santuario mariano de América," in *Imagen y Cultura. La Interpretación de las imágenes como historia cultural. Actas del VI Congreso Internacional de la Sociedad Española de Emblemática*, ed. Rafael García Mahiques and Vincent Francesc Zuriaga Senent (Gandía: Generalitat Valenciana-Universitat Internacional de Gandía, 2008).

³² Florencia specifically refers to this procession as the model, while all the surviving confraternity documentation simply called for following the traditional ways of bringing the statue with opulence and decorum.

³³ Thanks to Dr. Ilona Katzew's suggestion, I was able to consult seven descriptions of the processions of Remedios preserved at the John Carter Brown Library (Alonso de Carrillo de Albornoz y Guzmán, *Metrica relacion de la solemnidad con que esta illustre ciudad recivio a la milagrosa imagen de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios : traiendola à su metropolitana iglesia por la calamidad de el tiempo à 30. de mayo de 1678. años* (Mexico City: Por los Herederos de Iuan Ruyz, 1678); Alonso de Ena, *Descripcion de la venida, y buelta de la milagrosa imagen de N. Señora de los Remedios* (Mexico City: Por Iuan Ruyz, 1668); José de Jesús, *Metrica descripton de la venida de N. Señora de los Remedios, à esta ciudad de México, novenarios, que se le hizieron. Y vuelta à su hermita* (Mexico City: Por la Viuda de Bernardo Calderon, 1668); Pedro Muñoz de Castro, *Descripcion de la solemne venida de la imagen milagrosa de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, : à esta nobilissima ciudad de México este presente año de 1685. / Que consagra a la misma Señora Maria Santissima de los Remedios su menor esclavo Pedro Muñoz de Castro.* (Mexico City: Juan de Ribera, 1685); *ibid*; Diego de Ribera, *Amoroso canto que con reverentes afectos, continuando su devocion escribe el bachiller Don Diego de Ribera, Presbytero. A la novena venida, que hizo à esta nobilissima ciudad de México, la milagrosa imagen de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios: para que con su intercession consiguiese, como siempre remedio à las dolencias, que le ocasiona la falta de aguas.* (Mexico City: Por la Viuda de Bernardo Calderon, 1663); also from Diego de Ribera, *Acordes*

materials, therefore, provide understanding of both the aesthetic features and symbolic underpinnings of such processions.

The protocol for the processions began with the request of the viceroy to the city council to bring forth the statue of Our Lady of Remedios. At the moment when the image was picked up from the shrine, an oath was taken promising to return the statue once the *novena* at the Cathedral was over. This practice was to acknowledge the city council's stewardship over the shrine and to recognize the devotional importance of keeping the image in its "home." The archbishop or his delegates from the ecclesiastical chapter were the ones who typically took the pledge, having some members of the city's *cabildo* as principal witnesses. Although this was an important part of the processions' procedure, there were many times during the eighteenth century, as mentioned earlier, in which this promise was not fulfilled and the image stayed longer than was agreed upon.

Once the oath was taken, the procession started. Cisneros described how on June 11, 1616, a huge crowd of more than 20,000 followed the statue, which was positioned in a silver tabernacle placed above a litter (*andas*) decorated with golden cloths and

rendimientos, afectos numerosos ... a la milagrosa imagen de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios [que] vino a la ciudad de México a 30 de Mayo de 1678 a que por su intercesión consiguiese el remedio a las dolencias que por falta de lluvias padecía (Mexico City: Por la Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, 1678); Antonio Terán de la Torre, *Romance a la dichosa partida, que Nuestra Señora de los Remedios hizo desta ciudad de México City para su santuario* (Mexico City: Por la Viuda de Bernardo Calderon, en la calle de San Agustín, 1653). . The poems are characterized by the use of a colloquial language to enhance the role of Remedios as the city's protector; some are written in four verses stanzas, whereas others prefer the use of *quintillas*. Despite the short number of copies that have survived, one can obtain a sense of the contemporaneous relevance of these poetic records' relevance in their day, because the author of two of them, Ribera, emphasized that he wrote more than nine in total during his lifetime. Moreover, there are a couple of cases in which two authors wrote descriptions for the same year procession. Regrettably, no processional poems survived from the eighteenth century, making it difficult to know how widespread this kind of texts actually was. These poems are so rich that they should be considered alongside the better-known chronicles of festivals (entrance of viceroys and oath to new monarchs) considered by authors like Dalmacio Rodríguez Hernández (*Texto y fiesta en la literatura novohispana (1650-1700)* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1998)).

supported by priests.³⁴ A canopy held by Indian authorities from around the surroundings areas of the shrine covered the image, which emphasized its presence as a sign of divine power: such canopy, or *palio*, could only be used over sacred images or the king and his “living image”, the viceroy.³⁵ The indigenous principals used to take turns in order to share the honor of covering the statue, thus conveying the relevance of the native population as supporters of the cult.³⁶ Cisneros did not describe who the priests carrying the processional platform were on this occasion, but it is known that this privilege was granted, from 1653 up to 1673, to the disalced branch of Franciscan friars from the San Diego convent.³⁷ From that year on, instead of carrying the statue, it became common practice that the statue would leave the shrine in a carriage, sometimes even the viceroy’s.³⁸ In 1616 the procession left the shrine around 7 a.m., making its first stop at the Franciscan convent of Tacuba at 11 a.m. Although the stop had the practical purpose of avoiding the hours of extreme heat,³⁹ it also served as deference to the Franciscan convent under whose jurisdiction the shrine would have fallen if the city had not taken

³⁴ The golden processional platforms were valued at 250 pesos in the inventory of 1675, AHDF, Vol. 3895, exp. 3. Florencia mentions that for the 1685 procession, new *andas* were made for 1,000 pesos, a cost that was covered with funds bequeathed to the image by Antonio de Almaráz.

³⁵ For a discussion of the political and religious symbolism of the *palio* in colonial society, see Alejandro Cañeque, *The King's Living Image: the Culture and Politics of Viceregal Power in Colonial Mexico* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 124-128.

³⁶ Edward Osowski (*Indigenous Miracles: Nahuatl Authority in Colonial Mexico* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2010), 1-19) has rightly pointed out that supporting miraculous images—like Remedios—provided a discursive common ground to Indian communities and Spaniards. Participation of indigenous leaders in Catholic rituals “would prove to be the most important expression of loyalty to the Crown”, thus providing them enough merits to obtain privileges.

³⁷ Florencia, *La Milagrosa Invención*, 85 and 88.

³⁸ Carrillo, *Métrica Relación*.

³⁹ Ribera, *Amoroso Canto*.

charge of it.⁴⁰ This stop, however, did not always take place, especially after transporting the statue in a carriage was privileged.

After visiting the Franciscan convent or passing by it, the statue followed the old causeway that had connected the town of Tacuba with Mexico City since pre-Columbian times. Significantly, Remedios, the miraculous image that was believed to bring rain to the capital proceeded along the last third of the Santa Fé aqueduct, one of the oldest structures that supplied water to the city.⁴¹ Thus, both the real and the symbolic sources of water arrived along the same road. Remedios also passed by different relevant churches, including most notably San Diego's convent and San Hipolito's hospital. This route was not only the most practical for connecting these two sites, but also one with strong symbolic underpinnings: according to the legend, it was on Tacuba Avenue (when it was still a canal accessing the city), that the Virgin Mary first appeared in the Americas as Our Lady of Remedios, casting dirt into the eyes of the Mexica.⁴² Through this miraculous intervention in June 30, 1520, Remedios protected the Spanish army that was trying to flee Tenochtitlan, leaving the Mexica army behind during the so-called battle of *Noche Triste*. The avenue was indeed so important as remembrance of the military events of that night that in colonial times—and even today—a section of the avenue was called *Puente de Alvarado*, in reference to the last Spanish captain, Pedro de Alvarado, who

⁴⁰ In 1589 the Franciscans, arguing the shrine was under their jurisdiction, attempted to retain control over it. The conflict grew when an Alonso de Valdés, an alderman, decided to kidnap the image to protect the city's patronage, leaving it in the Cathedral. The dispute ended when Viceroy Luis de Velasco, former city's alderman, was appointed.

⁴¹ Raquel Pineda Mendoza, *Origen, vida y muerte del acueducto de Santa Fe* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2000). The aqueduct was built in two stages, from 1571 to 1573 and from 1617 to 1620, making use of a pre-existing pre-Columbian structure.

⁴² See *Chapter Two*, specifically the description of Epistle One (Figure 2.7).

crossed the bridge and thus was able to avoid being killed by the Mexica.⁴³ While it cannot be argued that the procession's path was a symbolic reenacting of the Virgin's first apparition in any strict sense, it is plausible, however, to link the route with the conquest because the pageant, just before its triumphal entry to the city, used to stop at the Santa Veracruz parish church, strongly linked to Hernán Cortés after he, in 1526, founded at that site the first confraternity for Spanish conquistadors.⁴⁴ The role of Remedios as conqueror of the city and the Mexica army was part of the collective memory, and one of the several reasons emphasized when the city took over the patronage of the shrine in 1574.⁴⁵ Not surprisingly, Remedios' role as the *conquistadora* was celebrated by Alonso de Villasana in his 1595 mural paintings at the shrine, acknowledged by Cisneros and Florencia in their 1621 and 1685 chronicles, and addressed in Ena's verses in celebrating of Remedios' tenth visit to Mexico City in 1668. In 1721 Remedios' image was walked alongside that of Saint Hippolytus, first patron of the conquest,⁴⁶ in the commemorations of the bicentenary of the Spanish victory over the Mexica, joining the path of the yearly processions where the Royal Banner was displayed as symbol of the new authority.⁴⁷ During the late eighteenth century, and perhaps even

⁴³ Luis González Obregón, *Las calles de México* (Mexico City: Porrúa, 2003 [1922]).

⁴⁴ For more on the Santa Veracruz parish church, see <http://www.indaabin.gob.mx/gxpsites/hgxpp001.aspx?1,13,72,O,S,0,PAG:CONC;71;8;D;343;1;PAG;MNU;E;2;2;MNU>; first accessed on July 14, 2011.

⁴⁵ To remember these events, the confraternity ordinances clearly stipulated that the chaplain must deliver Mass every Monday in memory of those Spanish soldiers who perished during the *Noche Triste* (Miranda, *Dos Cultos Fundantes*, 66).

⁴⁶ San Hipólito became the first patron of the conquest after México-Tenochtitlan fell to the Spanish army on the day of his feast, that is, August 13. St. Hippolytus was a martyr, presbyter and antipope who died around 236. See J. P Kirsch, "St. Hippolytus of Rome," *The Catholic Encyclopedia* 7 (1910), <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/07360c.htm>.

⁴⁷ AHDF, Vol. 375a.

before, the connection with the conquest was also animated by a statue of Saint James that was used to open the processions.⁴⁸ By 1809 she was again called *conquistadora*,⁴⁹ which proves that despite some colonial authors' complaints that Remedios had been forgotten,⁵⁰ she was always connected with the conquest, and thus with the foundation of the city as a colonial entity.⁵¹ This character of Remedios as *Socia Belli* was still definitely recalled when in 1808, in the context of the Napoleonic invasion of Spain, the nuns of the convent of San Jerónimo adorned the statue with military regalia, and her appellative changed to "La Generala" or commander in chief.⁵²

The stop at the parish church of Santa Veracruz was the most important in the procession. On the many occasions when the statue arrived by carriage, it was at this site located at the city's fringes that the walking portion of the procession started, and the city council and many other religious and secular authorities officially welcomed the cult

⁴⁸ José Gómez, captain of the renowned halberd unit, mentions in his diary (*Diario curioso y Cuaderno de las cosas memorables en México durante el gobierno de Revillagigedo (1789-1794)*, ed. Ignacio González-Polo (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1986), 114), that the statue of Saint James ceased being used during the administration of the Viceroy Juan Vicente de Güemes, second count of Revillagigedo, that is, between 1789 and 1794, but he did not say exactly when or why this sculpture was added to the festivals. This was an important element of the processions because, according to the tradition, Saint James, like Remedios, appeared to the Spaniards during the battle of the *Noche Triste*. This double apparition was in tune with stories of the reconquest of the Spanish peninsula.

⁴⁹ AHDF, Vol. 3902, exp. 65.

⁵⁰ Oblivion is a rhetorical topic common in the three most important colonial chronicles on Remedios: Cisneros of 1621, Florencia of 1685, and Ignacio Carrillo y Pérez of 1808 (Ignacio Carrillo y Pérez, *Lo máximo en lo mínimo. La portentosa imagen de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, conquistadora y patrona de la imperial ciudad de México. Edición Facsimilar* (Mexico City: Biblioteca Enciclopédica del Estado de México, 1979 [1808]). Oblivion also appears as the cause of the city's calamities in Ribera's *Amoroso Canto* of 1663.

⁵¹ Curcio-Nagy in *The great Festivals* stressed that the Conquest did not play a relevant role in the history of Remedios during the eighteenth century. Following her interpretation, Antonio Rubial (*El Paraíso de los Elegidos*, 413), considered that it was only in 1810 is when she regained her role as a protector of the Spanish, which in my view is not accurate.

⁵² Taylor, *Shrines*, 151. Thus, "La Generala" was far from being a designation born out of the context of the Independence war, as is popularly believed.

image. From this point on, the pageants were organized following a strict order, according to the hierarchy of the groups involved, as I will describe in the last section of this chapter. It was also at the Santa Veracruz parish church where the music of trumpets, *chirimías*,⁵³ and flutes usually became louder, as if they were to compete with the bells of convents and nunneries that were being loudly tolled for the occasion. As Cisneros wrote in reference to the 1616 procession, the combination of these wind instruments along with fireworks and artillery salutes, was supposed to move the senses and the spirit to deep devotion.⁵⁴ The spectacle must have indeed captivated, considering that it was also enhanced by the smell of incense and flowers that the Indians at the front of the procession used to burn and cast about. The odor of gunpowder and of burning candle wax was also present in all the festivities, making the sensory experience of smell all the more salient. However, the element that Cisneros emphasized the most was the light from candles and torches emanating from all houses: by the time the procession reached the main plaza of the city at 8 p.m. in June of 1616. The light produced was so intense that the cathedral gleamed in contrast to the darkness of night. This effect was certainly repeated in many subsequent processions, as there is evidence that the aldermen used to invite the inhabitants to light torches and decorate the doors and windows of their houses with lavish cloths, mainly damask and velvet.⁵⁵ Along the procession path, there were

⁵³ The *chirimía* is a wooden lingual pipe, similar to the clarinet; it was introduced in the Iberian world by the Arabs. See <http://www.inah.gob.mx/index.php/boletines/247-historia/3733-la-chirimia-en-extincion>, First accessed September 13, 2011.

⁵⁴ Cisneros, *Historia*, 167.

⁵⁵ In 1706 it was asked "...que el señor corregidor procurador provea auto para que se pregone que los vecinos de las calles por donde pasa la procesión cuelguen y adornen sus ventanas y pertenencias, y que todos los vecinos de dentro y fuera de esta ciudad el martes en la noche pongan luces y luminarias." Much in the same way that it was done from 1616 and would be done until 1810. AHDF, Vols. 373a and 3902, exp. 66.

more music ensembles joining the spectacle, placed underneath the ephemeral arches and *enramadas* or flower-strung thatch made by the Indians, which helped transform the city into a truly numinous space.⁵⁶

The route that the Remedios' processions followed starting from the church linked to the conquistadors and into the city, was actually very simple (Figure 1): passing by the *Mariscala* fountain that ended the Santa Fé aqueduct on the *Tacuba* causeway,⁵⁷ the processions entered the city's grid from the west. In the first years of the seventeenth century the path continued on this street up to the Santa Clara convent, but by the early eighteenth century it became common practice to turn south before, at the street of *Santa Isabel*.⁵⁸ By the end of the colonial period, however, the turn was made further east, at the street of *San José El Real*—passing in front of the former Casa Profesa of the Jesuits, who had been expelled from New Spain in 1767.⁵⁹ Regardless of the exact point when the procession changed direction to the south, it arrived into the street of *San Francisco*, called *Plateros* in its last segment, where all the silversmiths had their workshops.

⁵⁶ In 1753 there was a decree in which the Indian governors from San Juan and Santiago Tlatelolco were asked to wear their traditional dress to open the procession. AHDF, Vol. 3898, exp. 8.

⁵⁷ The *Mariscala* fountain was built between February 1559 and October 1560 by Claudio de Arciniega, the architect who conceived the original plan for Mexico City's cathedral. The name was supposedly related to the house of the *Mariscala de Castilla*, who lived in front of the fountain and bridge (Pineda Mendoza, *Origen, vida y muerte*, 67 and 69).

⁵⁸ On April 29, 1726, a decree “Manda que los vecinos de las calles de Santa Isabel y San Francisco adornen con toda decencia y hermosura sus casas para el paso de la imagen.” AHDF, Vol. 3898.

⁵⁹ AHDF, Vol. 3902, exp. 66.



Figure 4.1: Unknown author. *View of Mexico City*, ca. 1760.
Museo Nacional de Historia, Mexico City

Following this important street, the processions finally arrived at the cathedral—and the main plaza in front of it—through the side where the cemetery was located. It is worth keeping in mind that the processions most often arrived at a massive church that was still in the process of being built: in 1616, for instance, only the lateral chapel dedicated to *Nuestra Señora de los Dolores* was vaulted and the eastern portals were finished; the sacristy and most of the naves were still open.⁶⁰ However, the display at the cathedral was always rich and expensive, as many candles and oil lamps were used to illuminate the holy guest. The expenses of each day of the nine that the statue of Remedios stayed in

⁶⁰ Eugenio Noriega Robles, "The Mexico City Cathedral," *Artes de México*, no. 182-183 (1960), 34-38. See also *Catedral de México. Patrimonio Artístico y Cultural* (Mexico City: Secretaría de Desarrollo Urbano y Ecología-Fomento Cultural Banamex, 1986).

the city was sponsored by a different part of the viceregal government; in 1794, for instance, copious alms were given by the viceroy, the archbishop, the cathedral's chapter, the university, the *Audiencia*, the mint, the city council, the court of accounts, and the consulate of commerce.⁶¹ The religious orders were in charge of singing the *Salve* during the afternoon daily ass, when they also delivered the daily sermon.⁶²

On its way back to the shrine, the statue of Remedios was usually taken again along the street of *Tacuba*, leaving the Cathedral through its western portal,⁶³ but this changed sometime in the late eighteenth century when it also went back through *San Francisco* Street, thus leaving from the temple's main entrance instead of one of its sides.⁶⁴ There are far fewer descriptions of Remedios' departures, as the event was mostly perceived as a moment of sadness in the city. There were eleven occasions when the returning of the image took place after prolonged stays in the capital, which aggravated even further the feeling of despair. The only occasion in which the return was celebrated by a written chronicle was in 1653, when the miraculous rainfall that was so long awaited arrived while the image was about to depart the city, near the convent of Santa Clara.⁶⁵ Years earlier, Cisneros emphasized that the landscape on the way back to

⁶¹ AHDF, Vol. 3915, exp. 348.

⁶² Ribera, *Acordes rendimientos*; Muñoz de Castro, *Descripción de la Solemne Venida*.

⁶³ On September 11, 1774, the proclamation of Remedios' return emphasized not only that the neighbors of the street of Tacuba should decorate their houses, but also banned the selling of any kind of food or sweets along the procession's path. AHDF, Vol. 3898, exp. 8.

⁶⁴ Gómez, *Diario*, 115.

⁶⁵ Terán de la Torre, *Romance a la dichosa partida*.

the shrine had changed completely due to the good weather brought by the virgin: the dry countryside had been transformed into a green and lush environment.⁶⁶

There were occasions during Our Lady of Remedios' sojourns in the city, that the sculpture was processed along other streets. In 1653, 1685, and 1694, for instance, the statue was placed on the same platform as the monstrance and was processed during the celebration of the *Corpus Christi*, following the route of that very important festivity around the capital.⁶⁷ This very unusual practice of adding the image of the Virgin Mary to that of the Consecrated Host—the body of Christ—allows us to understand the significance of this Marian devotion in the life of the city. The statue also used to visit various nunneries and convents for *triduos*, or three days of intense prayer, and thus, paraded through the city in many other occasions carried by the cathedral's chapter. The visiting of nunneries started in the second procession to the city, in 1597, where the statue stayed a couple of days at the convent of Concepción, the first one established in the capital. However, the practice of lending the image for *triduos* only took root in 1653, when Mexico City female religious communities that were not allowed to leave their convents asked for the opportunity to enjoy the presence of Our Lady of Remedios. Florencia highlighted in his 1685 chronicle the visits to the nunnery of *Jesús María* and to that of *Capuchinas*, from which I surmise the miraculous image was carried through the street of *Meleros* (where honey was sold), which further down was called *Tlapaleros*

⁶⁶ Cisneros, *Historia*, 194.

⁶⁷ Florencia, *Milagrosa*, 91-95. See also Gregorio de Guijo, *Diario 1648-1664* (Mexico City: Porrúa 1952); Antonio de Robles, *Diario de sucesos notables: 1665-1703* (Mexico City: Porrúa, 1946).

(tool sellers). The visits to the nunneries continued until the nineteenth century.⁶⁸ Earlier in time, the visiting practice extended to include private homes, despite concerns over issues of decorum associated with the miraculous image.⁶⁹ Another exception to the traditional route that allowed for a more extended presence of Remedios in the city was the 1721 processions to celebrate the bicentennial of the conquest. On that occasion, as mentioned earlier, the statue of Our Lady of Remedios joined the statue of Saint Hippolytus, also patron of the conquest, to lead the procession around the Cathedral that departed through the western portal onto *Empedradillo* street.⁷⁰

During the processions, common people certainly only got a glimpse of the image: as mentioned in Chapter One, Our Lady of Remedios is a tiny statue—barely eleven inches high—and not a processional figure in its own right.⁷¹ The function of the sculpture was deeply transformed as it went from being an image manufactured most likely for domestic devotional practices, to being used in public processions, for which its materiality was not originally considered. Her visual presence was undoubtedly enhanced by the rich garments worn by the statue, the wig made of real hair, and the rich jewelry,

⁶⁸ In the extended sojourn of 1844-1856, for instance, the city chapter authorized visits to fifteen nunneries and convents between July 1849 and August 1850. During the following year Remedios visited seven more churches. It seems that in every journey the ecclesiastical chapter was in charge of transporting the image, regardless as to whether the travels were made directly from convent to convent or if they included stops at the cathedral. AHDF, Vol. 3908, exp. 170, and Vol. 3909, exps. 203 to 224. For the ways in which the statue of Our Lady of Remedios was welcomed at the nunneries, especially at the Encarnación, see Concepción Lombardo de Miramón, *Memorias* (Mexico City: Porrúa, 1980 [1917]), 111-113).

⁶⁹ As mentioned in *Chapter One*, in 1797, the visits to particular homes caused the suspicion about the child being replaced. AHDF, Vol. 3902, exp. 48.

⁷⁰ AHDF, Vol. 375a.

⁷¹ For images made explicitly for use in processions, see Susan Verdi Webster, *Art and ritual in Golden-Age Spain: Sevillian confraternities and the processional sculpture of Holy Week* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998).

described in 1663 as “a gift of dawn”.⁷² On April 9, 1730, for instance, the image was dressed specially for the procession with a red dress decorated with pearls and diamonds, two golden crowns also with diamonds (one for her and one for the child), a golden butterfly, earrings of precious stones, a bracelet of two golden threads with pearls, and fifteen diamonds in her hair.⁷³ However, what the inhabitants and visitors of Mexico City were able to see, regardless if from balconies or from the ground, was the rich platform on which the holy statue was carried above the crowd that accompanied it. The emotional effect of knowing that Our Lady of Remedios was present in the city was complemented by the spectacle of the *palio* used to cover her. It was there, in those “tangible and visible orchestrations of bodies, artifacts and spaces,” where the activation of the image as a sacred object actually took place,⁷⁴ and the numinous entered the world of urban polity.

PARTICIPANTS AND BENEFICIARIES

There are very few reports that shed light on how the average observer perceived the statue while it was being carried through the city’s streets. Those accounts, despite the use of constant rhetoric formulae, make it possible to reconstruct both the intentionality of the processions in which the social order was so well represented, and the spiritual and material beneficiaries they aimed to include.⁷⁵ For instance, it is known that the spatial arrangement followed by the procession’s participants was settled in 1616. It was always

⁷² “lo costoso de las joyas/lo singular del vestido/solo lo podrá decir/el Alva que atenta quiso/dar las escogidas perlas/con que fuera guarnecido”, Ribera, *Amoroso Canto*.

⁷³ AHDF, Vol. 3898.

⁷⁴ Thøfner, *A Common Art*, 22.

⁷⁵ For descriptions of the processions of 1685, see Florencia. For those of 1706-1709, see AHDF, Vol. 373a; for those of 1761, see AHDF, Vol. 3898.

followed, with threat of conflict arising if for any reason it was altered. The procession in the city's streets began with a group of Indians from the *repúblicas* of San Juan or Santiago throwing flowers to sanctify the space. Then followed the confraternities, both of Indians and Spaniards, each with their banners. In 1616, Cisneros estimated that two hundred people formed this group, but it is unlikely this number was sustained for all the occasions. After this large group, the friars from the different orders joined the procession. At the end of the eighteenth century they were organized in the following order: Bethlehemites, Saint Hippolytus Hospital, Mercedarians, Carmelites, Augustinians, Franciscans, and Dominicans.⁷⁶ Behind the regular clergy, the Archbishop and the members of the ecclesiastical chapter—all wearing rich robes—accompanied the image through the city. To stress the importance of the leaders of the Church in these celebrations, Franciscan friar Agustín de Vetancurt called attention to the fact that in the 1642 procession, Archbishop Juan de Palafox y Mendoza—then both Archbishop and Viceroy—welcomed the statue at the Santa Veracruz parish church barefoot, as a symbol of humility and respect.⁷⁷ Behind the religious ministers, came the *andas* where Our Lady of Remedios was on display for the crowd. From the Santa Veracruz parish and all the way to the city, the platform was carried by members of the Cathedral's chapter, and was covered by a lavish *palio*, handled always by members of the city council and other noblemen.⁷⁸ The secular authorities, that is, the *Audiencia* and the Viceroy, came immediately after, followed by officials and members of other instances of viceregal

⁷⁶ The fourth synod of the Mexican church clearly stipulated that all religious orders needed to participate in all pageants taking place in the city. *Cuarto Concilio Provincial Mexicano*, Title XVI, § 16.

⁷⁷ Agustín de Vetancurt, *Teatro mexicano: descripción breve de los sucesos ejemplares de la Nueva España en el Nuevo Mundo Occidental de las Indias* (Madrid: J. Porrúa Turanzas, 1961).

⁷⁸ Ribera, *Acordes rendimientos*.

government, like the *tribunales* of commerce and of accounts.⁷⁹ At the end of the eighteenth century, a small militia was added to escort the group. The crowd of ordinary people (which included mulattos and *castas*, or racially mixed individuals⁸⁰) closed the procession, which was indeed a real “concurso de nobles y muchedumbre del pueblo” as Terán described it in 1653.⁸¹

Cisneros emphasized that more than 40,000 people filled the streets of Mexico City in 1616, all keeping a devout and strict silence, despite the surrounding music. Although his account might be seen in part as baroque hyperbole—thus, not entirely accurate—it certainly does show how the ideal procession was organized: people from all social strata were able to coexist harmoniously as they pursued the same devotional interest.⁸² This had to do with the idea that Our Lady of Remedios was perceived as a loving mother, available to all of Mexico City’s inhabitants: as an 1809 petition made clear, having Our Lady of Remedios visiting the city “make happiness appear and all fears vanish.”⁸³ There were at least three occasions on which the processions explicitly

⁷⁹ Carrillo, *Métrica Relación*.

⁸⁰ For an understanding of the society of *castas* and their visual representation, see Magali Marie Carrera, *Imagining identity in New Spain: race, lineage, and the colonial body in portraiture and casta paintings* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003); Ilona Katzew, *Casta painting: images of race in eighteenth-century Mexico* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

⁸¹ Terán de Torre, *Romance a la partida*.

⁸² Cisneros emphasized that in the 1576 procession, all monastic orders participated, mingling with the priests, which was even more relevant at a moment when the division between friars and ecclesiastical members was at its peak.

⁸³ Acknowledging the beneficial effects of the visits, the brotherhood sent a letter to the *ayuntamiento* on June 2, 1809 asking for its support in obtaining royal authorization to bring the statue to the city every year: “... en el momento que se piensa y determina la rogación y que se traslada la Santa Ymagen de su Santuario a esta Metrópoli, varia la estación, mejoran los Aires y se presenta la felicidad desapareciendo los temores... tenga a bien promover y solicitar del rey Nuestro Señor, la gracia de que se permita y establezca que todos los años se traiga precisamente a esta Capital a Nuestra Madre Santísima de los Remedios con las solemnidades acostumbradas para que se celebre el Novenario con que se le tributan sus cultos.” AHDF, 3902, exp. 66.

aimed to protect the Indians, in times of severe epidemics. That was the case of the first procession that took place at the end of 1576, and of those of 1642 and 1737.⁸⁴ It is clear that addressing the indigenous population aimed to include them as new Christians who could also receive the Virgin's protective mantle as much as the Spanish inhabitants.⁸⁵ The Indians, however, were never the main participants of the processions. They were asked to create and provide *enramadas* and other decorations for the festivals, to play music, and to wear their sumptuous traditional dresses to add to the magnificence of the pageants, as in many other festive occasions, like the oath to a new king or the entry of a new viceroy,⁸⁶ but they did not have a central role. Remedios processions were far from being as politically "indigenized" as were, for instance, the *Corpus Christi* festivities in colonial Cuzco.⁸⁷ The domain of indigenous devotion was the shrine: the alms collected from indigenous pilgrims who gathered at that sacred site during the August festivals were copious and constant, at least during the eighteenth century (even after that long

⁸⁴ The year 1737 has been considered the pinnacle of the cult to Our Lady of Guadalupe after she was named patroness of Mexico City. It is worth noting that Remedios was on display at the cathedral's main altar during the ceremonies that exalted Guadalupe so massively. See among others Cayetano Cabrera y Quintero, *Escudo de Armas de México* (Mexico City: Instituto Mexicano del Seguro Social, 1981 [1746]); David A. Brading, *Mexican Phoenix: Our Lady of Guadalupe: image and tradition across five centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

⁸⁵ As mentioned in *Chapter Two*, the shrine's *Sotocoro* included an explicit welcoming to the Indians into the Christian fold: the Virgin Mary was depicted while giving a Caduceus to an Indian underneath an inscription that read: "Now, therefore, you are no more strangers and foreigners: but you are fellow citizens with the Saints and the domestics of God (Ephesians 2:19)".

⁸⁶ Ilona Katzew, "Remedo de la ya muerta América: the construction of festive rites in colonial Mexico," in *Contested visions in the Spanish colonial world. Exhibition Catalogue* (Los Angeles: New Haven: Los Angeles County Museum of Art; Yale University Press, 2011). For more in the participation of indigenous people in religious festivities, and their construction of arches in *Corpus Christi*, see Osowski, *Indigenous Miracles*, 132-190.

⁸⁷ Carolyn Dean, *Inka bodies and the body of Christ: Corpus Christi in colonial Cuzco, Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999).

stay that lasted from 1741 to 1750), greatly exceeding those obtained in the feast of the Spanish devotees.⁸⁸

Processions were the best opportunities to obtain substantial revenues from people from all social strata within the city, regardless as to whether they were Spanish, creole or *castas*. The alms collected at Santa Veracruz, the Cathedral—and sometimes even along the processional path—started to grow considerably in the second half of the eighteenth century, when the processions became more frequent, to the point that in 1804 the Remedios brotherhood requested the image to come every year in order not to depend on the alms collected at the sanctuary.⁸⁹ The fact that alms were not at all scarce implies that the processions were among the confraternity's main assets. The funds collected during these festivals also argue against the idea that the increasing sojourns of the image to the capital affected the cult's popularity.⁹⁰ Another important source of funding for Our Lady of Remedios were the numerous religious memorabilia that were produced to support and encourage it, some of which were shown in Chapter One: medals and prints, rosaries and *medidas* (portions of ribbon that replicated Remedios' height). All these products were produced in large numbers and in different materials, being sold for various prices, thus encouraging different social groups to purchase them according to their means.⁹¹

⁸⁸ The feast of the confraternity for Spaniards always took place the Sunday after the Assumption of Mary (August 15), while the one specifically for the Indians was celebrated the following Sunday. In this festival Indians from various towns of the Basin of Mexico gathered at the shrine. A third festival was officially added in the late seventeenth century, but it only became a common practice a century later. This *fiesta de tabla* took place on September 1, and became the main festival of Our Lady of Remedios. See *Epilogue*.

⁸⁹ AHDF, Vol. 3901. This petition certainly did not echo Cisneros' petition of keeping the statue in its shrine in order to protect its sanctity, Cisneros, *Historia*, 195.

⁹⁰ AHDF, Vol. 3902, exp. 51. The complaint was signed in 1803 by Marquen, a *regidor* or alderman, but did not have any repercussion.

⁹¹ There were four different kinds of medals: those made of gold were sold for 16 pesos, silver ones were sold for only 1 real, and those of brass for only a single tomín. Prints also differed in price, depending on

However, processions were not a perfect business for the confraternity, or for the city council for that matter. The expenses were also high and most of the monies collected in the festivals were spent on candles used for the adornment of the cathedral's main altar, where Remedios used to be on display during the *novenarios*.⁹²

CONCLUSION

The physical space of a city is only a part of its geography. There is another aspect that is almost as crucial: the symbolic ways in which that space is used and re-signified within the daily life of its inhabitants. This chapter has shown that the processions made to in honor of Our Lady of Remedios were key to the construction of colonial Mexico City's symbolic geography as they constantly related to the Spanish origin of the city: the conquest.⁹³ It was a shared belief that the Virgin Mary protected the Spaniards in their time of greatest trouble, providing the necessary assistance to recover and begin the siege that would finally defeat the great Mexico-Tenochtitlan. As a result, all the people involved in the organization and enjoyment of the processions believed that this

the size and the quality of the paper used. AHDF, Vol. 3895. According to Taylor (*Shrines*, 261, n51) "The two *novena* periods in 1794 yielded 2,939 pesos and 1,813 pesos respectively from alms and the sale of medals, *medidas* and prints".

⁹² During the longest sojourn of the eighteenth century, the alms obtained totaled 1,749 pesos, but the expenses were 860 pesos with a profit of 716 pesos in almost ten years. This amount was the money collected among the indigenous pilgrims during the festivity at the shrine (AHDF, Vo. 3912, exp. 288). In 1771 something similar happened: from the 1450 pesos obtained in alms—donated by the viceroy, the *tribunal de cuentas*, the city authorities, the university, the consulate and the ecclesiastical chapter—only 215 pesos remained after deducting expenses.

⁹³ For more on the representation of conquest in the arts, see among others Jaime Cuadriello, "Tierra de prodigios. La ventura como destino," in *Pinceles de la Historia 1. El Origen del Reino de la Nueva España. Exhibition Catalogue* (Mexico City: Museo Nacional de Arte, 1999); Katzew, "Remedo de la ya muerta America"; and Kevin Terraciano, "Competing memories of the conquest of Mexico," in *Contested visions in the Spanish colonial world. Exhibition Catalogue* (Los Angeles; New Haven: Los Angeles County Museum of Art; Yale University Press, 2011).

miraculous image would help them overcome moments of crisis, both at the personal and public level. In the belief system they shared, the Virgin was seen as a powerful force that could intercede, if asked, on the people's behalf when problems such as the droughts that afflicted all the inhabitants of the city arose. It was in this context that Our Lady of Remedios became the remedy, the cure, and the solution to the natural disasters that affected the city, and she truly became the "well of living waters," one of the names given to the Virgin Mary in the Litany based on the Song of Solomon, 4:15.⁹⁴ She was also the guardian of the fleet and Spanish army. Thus, during the pageants organized in her honor, a combination of interests intertwined. Processions were indeed liminal events in which the earthly needs walked together with those of a heavenly nature.

As Cisneros stressed regarding the 1616 procession, Remedios was both the patroness of the city and of its inhabitants: she was protector of the Indians, the Spaniards and the Creoles, guardian of the city's authorities and of the Crown. Not surprisingly, in the seventeenth-century poems made to celebrate Remedios' *visitas* to the city, Mexico appears as an entity that express its gratitude for her intercession.⁹⁵ This is why the pageants can be understood as living representations of *policía*, the virtue by which community life was demonstrated through sharing of common interests. As the historian

⁹⁴ Cisneros, *Historia*, 148.

⁹⁵ Terán, accounting the day of copious rain that fell when Remedios was returning to the shrine, said: *No paso su devoción/Ni embarcación su afecto/Lo continuo de las aguas/Ni del lodo lo molesto./Llegaron a santa Clara/Y algún religioso reugo/Oyo MARIA pagando /Con la visita a su zelo/como México ese día/el favor agradeciendo/se mostró dando en retorno/humilde agradecimiento/No paso su devoción /Ni embarcación su afecto/Lo continuo de las aguas/Ni del lodo lo molesto.* Ena in his 1668 poem declared: *Pues al ir ya declinando /lluvia de las nubes impia/REMEDIOS iban buscando/.../Cerrado el cielo y desierto/de nubes sañudamente/antes se mostro por cierto/y oy vemos el cielo abierto/luego es milagro patente/.../De serenidad tan fresca /gloria a MARIA se intime/y que todo no perezca/este reyno se lo estime/y Mexico lo agradezca.* Ribera, after describing how the city council functioned as the Atlas that supported the holy statue, mentioned that: **La mexicana Ciudad/Preciada de agradecida/Motivaba generosa/Al impulso que la anima** (The emphasis in all three poems is mine, but not the use of capital letters).

Richard Kagan has indicated, this virtue had an Aristotelian spirit when understood as “the science and mode of governing a city,” but also a strong Augustinian and Thomist character that linked it to Christianity: “in the sixteenth century, *policía* broadly understood, implied all of the benefits that accrued from urban life: law, order, morality, and religion”,⁹⁶ all of which were symbolically depicted during these events. In that sense, Our Lady of Remedios processions can be understood as a type of social self-portrait in which piety, loyalty, and policy defined the city as a living entity and the locus of virtue.

⁹⁶ Richard L. Kagan and Fernando Marías, *Urban images of the Hispanic world, 1493-1793* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000).

Epilogue:

Mexico City's Appropriation of the Cult

On September 26, 1671, Antonio de Castilla, notary of the highest royal court of appeals of New Spain, visited the shrine of Our Lady of Remedios, located seven miles northwest of Mexico City. He did not journey to the shrine as a devout pilgrim, but rather as a public official following the instructions of archbishop friar Payo de Rivera, who had ordered him to copy the coats of arms located in the façade, the sacristy, and the main altarpiece of the sanctuary. These three heraldic signs (Figure 1), showing a tower in the middle of a blue field with two lions at the sides and an eagle on top, belonged to Mexico City.¹ By copying the seals and making them part of a legal document, the archbishop-viceoy intended to prove to the Crown that the city council was showing disdain for the king by appropriating a Marian image that should only be recognized as the monarch's property. In the archbishop's view the city had exceeded the jurisdictional rights of patronage that the crown granted it in 1574. Along with arguing for what limits the city should respect, he also attempted to audit the shrine's accounts and to appoint the sanctuary's chaplain.

¹ I thank Thomas B. F. Cummins for providing me images of the three coats of arms from the file at the Archivo General de Indias (ES.41091.AGI/16418.8//MP-ESCUDOS, 118). For the documents regarding the visit of the notary, see Archivo Histórico del Distrito Federal (hereafter AHDF), Vol. 3895, exp. 3. For more on how Charles V granted the coat of arms to Mexico City in 1523, see Antonio Rubial García, "Los escudos urbanos de las patrias novohispanas," *Estudios de Historia Novohispana*, no. 45 (2011).



Figure E. 1: Unknown Author.
The three Coats of Arms at the Shrine of Our Lady of Remedios, 1671.
Archivo Nacional de Indias, Seville

The quarrel took many years to be resolved, and as I will show later, the city council was ultimately favored. However, it was not the only occasion on which the city's patronage over the shrine was questioned. Before and after, similar disputes arose from two significant conditions. First, the sanctuary of Our Lady of Remedios lay outside the physical boundaries of Mexico City. Second, the caretakers of the holy image and its shrine were a secular authority, and not a religious order or group of clerics, as was common in other Marian shrines. In this last section of the dissertation, I discuss the legal and symbolic ownership of both the cult and the statue and examine the role played by the confraternity founded immediately after the patronage was established. In doing so, I

explicate how Mexico City's authorities made the cult of Our Lady of Remedios an urban devotion despite the shrine being far from the city's geographical limits.

THE CITY COUNCIL'S JURISDICTIONAL RIGHTS

The Mexico City council received the privilege of the *patrocinio* of Remedios' shrine on November 1, 1574 by order of viceroy Martín Enriquez.² The edict clearly stated that the city council would enjoy the stewardship of the holy place where the Virgin Mary offered remedy to the dejected Spanish army after the so-called *Noche Triste* battle, occurring on the night of June 30, 1520.³ The viceregal decree included the responsibility of refurbishing the shrine and the right to appoint a chaplain,⁴ who would be in charge of the spiritual needs of Spanish and *mestizo* visitors and the indigenous population living in the area, which is why fluency in both the Náhuatl and Otomí languages was required. The decree also requested the founding of a sodality for expansion of the cult. It made manifest that no ecclesiastical authority could ever intervene in the administration of the shrine and its brotherhood. The viceroy clearly stated that he, as "the king's living

² The edict was read in the council meeting of August 8, 1575. In Spanish, it reads: "hago gracia y merced de la dicha ermita, ciudad y cofradía del zerro nombrado tototepeque perpetuamente ... concedo universal patronazgo de la magestad en las Yndias y sin que en la ciudad, cofradía ni hermita se entrometa ningun arzobispo ni juez eclesiástico, *la cual reservo en mi y en el patrón* que a de conocer de la hermita y cofradía para que vaya en aumento y sin que ninguna persona pueda edificar ni labrar en el zerro ni en arte del (AHDF, Vol. 637a). The emphasis is mine.

³ Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España*, ed. Carmelo and Ramón Iglesia Sáenz de Santa María (Madrid: Instituto "Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo" C.S.I.C., 1982 [1632, m. 1553]), Chapter CXXVIII, 286.

⁴ As mentioned in Chapter Two, Juan Antonio Pichardo, *Historia del santuario de los Remedios en México* (Ms R9, Edmundo O'Gorman Collection, Benson Latin American Collection at UT Austin, ca. 1809) argued that the *ermita* at Totoltepec was made by order of Cortés, thus justifying the damage it had already by 1574.

image,”⁵ was the only authority who could intervene in the matters of the shrine. The *patrocinio*'s limits and obligations were defined almost in identical terms years later by regent queen Mariana of Austria in her royal decree of 1684, which brought to an end the legal quarrel between friar Payo and the city council. The *cédula* stressed that the city officials were the only authority who could appoint chaplains and explicitly asserted that there was nothing that could justify *dispossessing* the city of the shrine. However, it was emphasized that the viceroy had granted these prerogatives to the city on behalf of the crown, making clear that the cult image and its sanctuary were, above all, a royal possession.

The crown's "ownership" of Our Lady of Remedios became evident on at least two different occasions. Perhaps the most evident were the fifty-seven times that Our Lady of Remedios was brought to Mexico City, discussed in the previous chapter. Although the city council was solely responsible for covering all expenses of these festivals, they could only be organized after receiving viceregal authorization. As was mentioned earlier, throughout the colonial period, it was the viceroy, embodiment of the king, who had the final say about the frequency of the processions and Remedios' length of stay in the Cathedral's main altarpiece.

Another instance that visibly shows the crown's control over the development of Our Lady of Remedios' cult is the change in the date when its main festivity was celebrated. Throughout the colonial period, the feast took place on the two Sundays

⁵ Alejandro Cañeque, *The King's Living Image: The Culture and Politics of Viceregal Power in Colonial Mexico* (New York: Routledge, 2004).

following the feast of the Assumption of Mary, that is, August 15.⁶ The first Sunday, the members of the confraternity would enjoy a lavish meal at the shrine, while at the second, numerous indigenous people would pilgrim to the sanctuary. In 1696, however, King Charles II issued a decree imposing September 1 as the new royal feast or *fiesta de tabla* that must be celebrated at the shrine. The date was chosen to commemorate Remedios' divine intercession for the safe return to Spain in 1696 of viceroy Baltasar de la Cerda, eighth count of Galve, who was known to be her greatest devotee.⁷ As evident in the confraternity financial records, this new festival only started to be celebrated regularly around 1764, but by the end of the colonial period, the royal imposition had prevailed and September 1 became Remedios' day (see Table 3.1). By 1830, the acceptance of the new festival was already so strong that it was even called "*Fiesta de la Nación*."⁸ Even today, it is on the first day of September that pilgrims gather to praise Remedios at her shrine.⁹

Therefore, if the crown intervened in these two instances that so importantly defined the cult practices of Our Lady of Remedios, manifesting in so explicit a way the property rights to the statue, why was Mexico City's coat of arms placed in strategic

⁶ The information regarding the sixteenth century is scarce, but as mentioned in Chapter Two, Captain Ángel Betancur's poem of 1616 includes a reference to when the festivals took place at the beginnings of the cult. Pichardo, "Historia del santuario de los Remedios," includes a reference to August 15 as the day of the feast, as it was when the refurbished church opened to the public in 1575.

⁷ Although the viceroy's wife only briefly mentioned the devotion to Remedios in her letters to her brother-in-law, Robles highlighted it extensively. See Gelvira de Toledo Galve, *Two Hearts, One Soul: The Correspondence of the Condesa de Galve, 1688-96*, ed. Meredith D. Dodge and Rick Hendricks (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993); Antonio de Robles, *Diario de sucesos notables: 1665-1703* (Mexico City: Porrúa, 1946). In September 1719 the confraternity's council complained to the viceroy about not having enough funding to celebrate the new royal feast with *grandeza*, the reason why they asked him for contributions to perform this so-called *fiesta de tabla* with decency. AHDF, Vol. 3898, exp. 8.

⁸ *Regidor* (alderman) José Maria de Lebrija named it that. AHDF, Vol. 3904.

⁹ More than ten thousand people still gather in Our Lady of Remedios' shrine throughout the year, especially during the Holy Week and on September 1 to celebrate her main festivity.

locations at the shrine: the façade, the sacristy, and the main altarpiece? Even more importantly, why were the arms of the city partnerless, with no royal insignia next to them? In my perspective, the seals used in all three places at the shrine were placed to do more than merely celebrate and visibly establish the jurisdiction of the city, as was the case in the frontispiece of the first Marian chronicle written in the Americas (Figure 2.18).¹⁰ The coats of arms at the shrine were not to deny the property rights of the crown, but to send a sharp message to the local audiences within the territory of New Spain. First of all, the city fathers needed to show their authority over the sanctuary to the different religious orders that were interested in managing the cult, or at the very least, having a presence in the shrine. As Barbara Wisch has demonstrated for sixteenth-century Rome and William A. Christian has shown for Castile in that same period,¹¹ it was not unheard-of for a religious site to be overseen by a secular body. In the New Spanish context, however, this was a rare situation and the city council was forced to stop Mercedarians, Dominicans, Augustinians, and Capuchins that at different times throughout the colonial period who expressed interest in serving at the shrine.¹² Perhaps the most important of these attempts was by the Franciscan Order of 1587, only ten years after the first visit of Remedios to Mexico City.¹³ As we have seen, the clergy as well, in the person of friar Payo de Rivera, also tried to usurp the city's jurisdiction.

¹⁰ Luis de Cisneros, *Historia de el principio y origen, progresos, venidas a México y Milagros de la Santa Ymagen de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios extramuros de México*, ed. Francisco Miranda (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán, 1999 [1621]). As mentioned in Chapter Two, Cisneros' book was published with a loan that the city council granted to him; the institution was not at all interested in funding his work.

¹¹ Barbara Wisch, "Keys to Success: Propriety and Promotion of Miraculous Images by Roman Confraternities," in *The Miraculous Image in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance. Papers from a conference held at the Accademia di Danimarca in collaboration with the Bibliotheca Hertziana*, ed. Erik Thunø and Gerhard Wolf (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2004); William A. Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981).

¹² William B. Taylor, *Shrines and Miraculous Images: Religious Life in Mexico before the Reforma* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2010), 149.

¹³ See Cisneros, *Historia del origen*; and Francisco Miranda, *Dos cultos fundantes: los Remedios y Guadalupe, 1521-1649: Historia Documental* (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán, 2001), 134. For the proposal to establish a convent of Capuchins at the sanctuary in 1822, see AHDF, Vol. 3903, exp. 111.

Secondly, the city council needed to display its authority over the shrine, given its geographical location: the sanctuary was not located within the physical limits of the capital, but seven miles away, in the town of Tacuba.¹⁴ Thus, it became of utmost relevance to convey their authority over both the shrine and the hill of Totoltepec where the *ermita* was situated. In 1731, sixty years after the coats of arms were copied, the city demonstrated its jurisdictional rights by interdicting the *Alcalde Mayor* of Tacuba from attending the August festivities taking place in the shrine. This decision was not well received by the indigenous governors of the area (Naucalpan, Atzacpotzalco, Tlanepantla, Tultitlan, and the hamlets of Real Corona de Tenayuca) who threatened the confraternity and the city with their absence from the festival if the *alcalde* was not present to warranty the security of the event.¹⁵ It was also in 1731, and in the context of deciding whether a store located at the shrine's hill should pay taxes to Tacuba or to Mexico City, that the limits of the shrine's territory were physically laid out through a series of markers called *mohoneras*, following those first placed in 1608 and 1691, which tells us that the geographical limits of the shrine's realm were never too obvious.¹⁶ The problems about the jurisdictional rights of the city deepened in 1770 when *doctrinas* (or religious districts) were split and the shrine fell in the geographical limits of the San Bartolomé Naucalpan's parish, causing discussions regarding whether or not the parish priest from Naucalpan had the right to deliver Mass at the main festival at the shrine.¹⁷ So

¹⁴ According to Christian (*Local Religion*, 149), this condition was not at all rare in Spain. He writes: in agricultural towns the most sacred paces, the Marian shrines, were mainly outside in the country.

¹⁵ AHDF, Vol. 3898, exp. 12.

¹⁶ AHDF, Vol. 3902, exp. 59.

¹⁷ AHDF, Vol. 3901, exp. 28. This division of Tacuba's territory coincided with the movement known as "secularización," where archbishops Manuel Rubio y Salinas (1749-1765), Francisco Antonio de Lorenzana (1766-1772), and Alonso Núñez de Haro y Peralta (1772-1800) removed friars from regular orders from parishes attending indigenous population, replacing them with priests depending directly on the archbishop's authority. The *secularización* also had the intention of establishing parishes where the inhabitants of each region or barrio could join, regardless of their race. This fundamental change in the

serious were the struggles over the jurisdiction of the sanctuary against Naucalpan that the problems did not end with the colonial period, but rather continued into the affairs of Mexico as an independent nation: in 1823, it was established that while the statue of Remedios was in transit through the municipality of Naucalpan during its then yearly visits to the capital, neither the confraternity's rector nor the city's *corregidor* were allowed to carry it. Instead, the statue had to be handed over to the governor of the newly founded state of Mexico and the Naucalpan *Alcalde*.¹⁸ In 1738, the city also faced jurisdictional struggles against the Cathedral regarding the stone quarry located close to the shrine, in the territory of the barrio of San Lorenzo Totolinga. After a long process of landscape reconnaissance, it was established that the quarry was not in the Totoltepec Hill and therefore, not in the shrine's limits.¹⁹ Another important quarrel regarding the geographical boundaries of the shrine took place at the end of the eighteenth century against Jose Antonio Echegaray and his large land property, formed with lots once granted to Juan Ce Cuautli Tovar.²⁰

spiritual landscape of New Spain ended the division between *Repúblicas*, of Indians and Spanish, imposed at the beginning of the colonial period, and was according to the Bourbon reforms that sought to better control life in New Spain and the rest of the Spanish American territories. See among other authors, Ernest Sánchez Santiro, "El nuevo orden parroquial de la Ciudad de México: población, etnia y territorio (1768-1777)," in *Estudios de Historia Novohispana*, no. 30 (enero-junio) (2004); and Matthew D. O'Hara, *A Flock Divided: Race, Religion, and Politics in Mexico, 1749-1857* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010).

¹⁸ AHDF, Vol. 3902, exp. 66.

¹⁹ AHDF, Vol. 3900, exp. 14, and Vol. 3901, exp. 31. The limits were established as follows: "todo lo que compete al serro, a cuio pies y de la otra vanda quedando el rio que llaman de san Juan de por medio y mirando al norte con el barrio de los indios de Santa Cruz, al poniente el de San Juan, al sur [de la otra banda del rio san Juan] el de san Lorenzo Totolinga (todos tres pertenecientes al pueblo de San Bartolomé Naucalpan) y a el oriente ... el rancho que llaman de Paredes que posee Don Fernando Ortiz Canonigo de esta santa Yglesia catedral... Al norte, acorta distancia del pie del serro esta sitiada la casita que se dize de la Virgen y con poca mediación a este santuario la Hazienda del Rosario o Don Francisco Marcelo Pablo, entre los expresados barrios de Santa Cruz y San Juan."

²⁰ [esta hacienda se formó de varias otras tierras que] "como hago presente que este cerro de llama la Estancia de san Juan Totoltepec de que fueron poseedores todos los hijo e hijas de Juan Tobar Cequauthli (sic) que fue el feliz indio a quien se apareció la milagrosa ymagen de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios. Por el año de 1587 ya había muerto el dicho Juan de Tobar y estaban en posesion de las tierras de este cerro doña María de Tobar, Doña Lucía y Doña Anna, tres hermanas, hijas de del afortunado cacique y una de

Yet the city council's need to protect and clearly display its jurisdictional rights over the shrine was primarily symbolic, as Our Lady of Remedios was a significant symbol of the conquest, and as such, stood out as the most prestigious emblem of the founding of the city as a colonial entity.²¹ That is why it is not surprising that the coat of arms placed at the main altarpiece incorporated the eagle on top of the *nopal*, thus unambiguously recalling the Aztec founding of Tenochtitlan (Figure 2).²²

ellas que fue Doña Maria de Tobar caso con Juan Estevan Español, quien en nombre de su muger y de sus hermanas fue amparado en la posesión de este cerro de Totoltepec a veinte y nueve de enero de 1578 ... [a eso]se unieron unas cavallerias que mercó Estevan de las que les dio merced el conde de Monterrey a Luis de Figueroa en 1596. El vendió en 1600 a Diego Romero Labrador y este a Juan Guerrero que las vendio en 1603 a Juan de Chavarria y Marta Enzinas quienes en 1605 vendieron a Estevan ... se heredaron una y otra vez hasta que llegaron a ser parte de la cofradía, pero ya como dos haciendas la de los Ahuhuetes y la del Rosario. Y se vendió la del Rosario por conducto de Andres de Berrio [mayordomo]... los linderos de la hacienda son “por el norte linda con el rio y camino que baja de el monte a Mexico, por el sur con el camino de los coches que sube de México a el santuario, por el oriente con el pueblo de Santa Cruz, y por el poniente con unos arboles que llaman mapasuchiles hasta bajar al rio.” AHDF, Vol. 3900, exp. 14. Other lots of land that allegedly pertained to the cacique were donated in 1795 to the shrine by the people of the town of San Juan Totoltepec. AHDF, Vol. 3901, exp. 45-46.

²¹ Remedios' apparition during the battle of the *Noche Triste* and the help she provided afterwards at Totoltepec hill played a foundational role in very similar ways to what the apparition of Saint James and Mary played in the case of Peru. According to Juan Carlos Estensoro Fuchs (“Construyendo la memoria: la figura del inca y el reino del Perú, de la conquista a Túpac Amaru II” in Thomas B. F. Cummins et al., *Los incas, reyes del Perú*, (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2005). “Los milagros fundadores de la conquista del Perú aparecen ante la dificultad de resolver definitivamente un principio único para la transmisión de la legitimidad política, cuestión que tardará todavía en estabilizarse ... Son un pronunciamiento a favor de una sociedad cristiana indígena bajo la corona castellana. El milagro fundacional, que confirma que esta sociedad no sólo es posible sino ineluctable, lo constituye la doble aparición de Santiago Apóstol y la Virgen combatiendo contra los indios rebeldes.”

²² “Es lógico pensar que al no haberse dado propiamente un acto de fundación, a causa de que existía previamente una ciudad prehispánica, se utilizara el emblema fundador de ésta desde la fecha mítica de 1315. De hecho el escudo español tenía tan pocas referencias a la antigua ciudad (la laguna y los nopales [que lo rodeaban en una orla]) que no podía funcionar más que añadiéndole el de la fundación prehispánica,” Rubial, *Los escudos*, 20. For a discussion of the times the eagle on top of a nopal appeared in public spaces, both churches and ceremonies, see Solange Alberro, *El águila y la cruz: orígenes religiosos de la conciencia criolla. México, siglos XVI-XVII* (Mexico City: El Colegio de México: Fideicomiso Historia de las Américas: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1999).



Figure E. 2: Unknown Author. *The three Coats of Arms at the shrine of Our Lady of Remedios* (detail), 1671. Archivo Nacional de Indias, Seville

The council's interest in refurbishing the shrine in 1574 and obtaining the *patrocinio* of the shrine was based on this connection to that myth of origin.²³ For that same symbolic reason, it was stipulated in 1574 that the chaplain appointed to the shrine had to offer one of the two weekly Masses to honor the memory of those who assisted Hernán Cortés to conquer the Aztec capital, those same men who had found remedy at the site where the shrine was, and still is, located. The second Mass was for the city's *regidores*, most of whom were descendants of those same conquistadors. As discussed in Chapters Two and Four, the mythical past of Remedios as *Socia Belli* was saluted by Alonso de Villasana's 1595 paintings at the shrine's walls, and acknowledged by Luis de Cisneros and Francisco de Florencia in their respective chronicles of 1621 and 1685.²⁴ As

²³ Miranda (*Dos cultos fundantes*, 205), rightly pointed out to the connection that the refurbishment of the shrine and subsequent establishment of the *patrocinio* might had with the rebellion of Martín Cortés, as he was the leading force of the heirs of the conquistadors that in 1566 wanted to maintain privileges, like that of the perpetual *encomiendas*. See Juan Suárez de Peralta, *La conjuración de Martín Cortes y otros temas*, ed. Agustín Yañez (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México-Coordinación de Humanidades, 1994 [ca. 1590]).

²⁴ Cisneros, *Historia*, and Francisco de Florencia, *La Milagrosa Invención de un Tesoro Escondido en un campo que halló un venturoso cazique...patente ya en el santuario de los Remedios en su admirable imagen*

demonstrated in Chapter Four, this connection was actively alluded in different occasions, like the commemoration of the bicentery of the conquest. In fact, the link Conquest-Remedios became a problem until 1829, when a series of prints made around 1759 by Juan Sylverio, an important engraver, were destroyed, arguing that the Spanish soldiers that appeared praising the Virgin, and the sentences celebrating Cortés were not longer appropriate to the political circumstances.²⁵ In this sense, I consider that Our Lady of Remedios and her shrine can certainly be interpreted as the third symbol that showed the prominence of the council within the city's realm. The other two symbols were, according to the historian Antonio Rubial, the coat of arms granted to the city in 1523 by King Charles V, and the Royal Banner Procession on the feats of Saint Hippolytus.²⁶

If the connections that the city had with Our Lady of Remedios were as important as I argue they were, it might seem surprising that there was never a ceremony that officially celebrated the *patrocinio* of Our Lady of Remedios over the capital of New Spain. However, the formal status of patrons, and the canonical procedures through which that status could be attained, were only established by an edict of Pope Urban VIII in 1630.²⁷ That explains why the relation of divine protectorship was established by

de Nuestra Señora, señalada en milagros, invocada por patrona de las lluvias, defensora de los españoles, avogada de los Indios, Conquistadora de México... (Sevilla: Imprenta de las Siete Revueltas, 1745 [1685]).

²⁵ The prints were destroyed “por contener jeroglíficos y relatos de ingrato recuerdo para la nación, como por ejemplo verse en unas colgado el Pendón de Castilla al lado de la Santísima imagen, a sus pies hincados los españoles y abatidos los mejicanos y en otras leerse haver sido la conquistadora de [esta tierra] con otros epítetos o adjetivos honrosos para D Fernando Cortés, razones por que la Cofradía consideró que en las actuales circunstancias políticas era conveniente quitarlas de la vista de los ciudadanos para evitar el menoscabo que por estos accidentes pudiera hacerse de ellas por alguno.” AHDF, Vol. 3904, exp. 129. Taylor (*Shrines*, 189) includes a reproduction of the print.

²⁶ Antonio Rubial, *El paraíso de los elegidos: una lectura de la historia cultural de Nueva España (1521-1804)* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2010), 64.

²⁷ Christian, *Local Religion*, 92.

remembrance of the mythical past at the moment Mexico City's council demanded to hold stewardship of the shrine.

THE CONFRATERNITY OF OUR LADY OF REMEDIOS

The connections between Remedios, the conquest, the *ayuntamiento*, and the city, loom even larger when one considers that the confraternity founded for a better dissemination of the cult in 1575, months after the patronage was granted by viceroy Enriquez, was composed mainly of city council members.²⁸ It is highly possible that they were, in fact, the *only* affiliates of that sodality. At least, it is a fact that they were the only “active members,” as Christopher F. Black has labeled those people that appear in the quotidian activities of these kinds of corporations.²⁹ The historian has indicated that the brotherhood's members were prone to have passive roles and that consequently, in most cases, it is not possible to know the precise number of members in a given confraternity. However, it is worth considering that the Remedios' brotherhood only had city officials as its members for at least two reasons. First, the confraternity's members complained in 1779 about not having enough seats at the Santa Veracruz church and the Cathedral.³⁰ Such a petition to include chairs for all the brotherhood's members to attend mass during Remedios' visits to Mexico City would only have been possible to achieve if no more than few members constituted the brotherhood. Second, and most compelling, is that the financial records of the Remedios' confraternity established at the shrine fail to show

²⁸ On June 3, 1818, the rector stated that “todos los señores capitulares son cofrades natos de la cofradía,” or “all members of the council are brothers of the confraternity.” AHDF, Vol. 3903, exp. 85.

²⁹ Christopher F. Black, *Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

³⁰ AHDF, Vol. 3898, exp. 8.

monetary entries for new members despite the specific fees appearing in both the 1636 and 1771 indulgence sheets that functioned as membership certificates (Figures 3 and 4, and Appendix 6).



Figure E. 3: Unknown Author.
Summary of Indulgencies granted to the Confraternity of Our Lady of Remedios, 1636.
 Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City



Figure E. 4: Unknown Author.
Summary of Indulgencies granted to the Confraternity of Our Lady of Remedios, 1771.
 Archivo Histórico del Distrito Federal, Mexico City

Moreover, in these same financial records there is no evidence of payments made to cover the funeral or illness expenses of any of its members. One last sign that the confraternity of Our Lady of Remedios functioned more as the religious branch of a political institution shows in the fact that it did not perform any of the conventional tasks of social security these kind of corporations had for their members: as mentioned earlier, there are no signs of payments made to cover burial or illness expenses. There are only records between 1668 and 1677 of six female orphans that requested their dowries to be paid, after they were elected in the annual contest in which the confraternity assumed

such responsibility for two girls.³¹ These payments were long overdue and the orphans, their husbands, or the convents that had accepted them as nuns, took advantage of the jurisdictional problems with bishop friar Payo to seek their fulfillment, which indicates that the sodality never fulfilled its duty, even if this charity was established in the ordinances that marked its founding.³²

Since no record listing the names of all the confraternity's members exists, and in September 1797 it was discussed in the brotherhood's council meeting that no register ever existed despite a specific clause in the sodality's *ordenanzas* instructing to keep such an inventory, it is not possible to assert if the council members were indeed the only ones affiliated with the Remedios brotherhood.³³ The information regarding its leading members is enough, at least, to grasp how the congregation worked on daily basis: the confraternity council was to meet once a year on July 2, feast of the Visitation of Mary, to elect (or reelect, in most cases), a rector, an administrator, and four to seven deputies.³⁴ They were selected from the eminent personalities who were part of the city council, and in many cases, they received the news of their appointment only after being designated, implying that the appointments of deputies were not the result of personal decision or

³¹ AHDF, Vol. 3895, exp. 5.

³² According to Florencia (*Milagrosa invención*, paragraph 80, p. 50), the donation of 300 pesos as dowries was established in the third item of the ordinances, but he acknowledged there were many years it was not being practiced. The regulation does not appear in the ordinances published by Miranda, *Dos cultos fundantes*, 65-69.

³³ “en los libros de la cofradía ... no parece el de aciento de Cofrades por lo que se debe presumir no se ha llevado.” AHDF, Vol. 3901, exp 41. For the full transcription of the ordinances, see AHDF, Vol. 3895, exp. 1, and Miranda, *Dos cultos fundantes*, 65-69.

³⁴ The number of deputies established by the ordinances was four, but it grew to seven in the early seventeenth century. By the end of the eighteenth century they were twelve of *numero* and eight supernumeraries. These last ones were never authorized, according to a report made by Francisco Herrera on the conditions of the brotherhood in 1797. AHDF, Vol. 3901, exp. 41.

devotional interest, but a political resolution.³⁵ In the first days of every year, they would meet again to confirm or change the chaplain and the sacristan serving at the shrine. The rector, administrator, deputies, chaplain, and sacristan had to be ratified by the city council, thus making evident that the Remedios' brotherhood functioned as the religious counterpart to the political corporation: the two councils, the confraternity's and the city's, were not separate entities, but rather two sides of the same institution. This is why there was no contradiction in allowing the confraternity to administer a shrine that was under the city's patronage. According to the historians Alicia Bazarte and Maria Alba Pastor, this combination of interests—political, religious, and symbolic—worked similarly in other brotherhoods, like those of the Holy Sacrament, the Rosary, and Our Lady of Aranzazu, so closely linked to the Consulate of Commerce,³⁶ where the new Spanish elites “articulate and support each other for the strength of the Church, the loyalty to the crown, and the preservation of their social privileges.”³⁷ It is not clear exactly when, but already by the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Remedios' confraternity had received the title of *Archicofradía*, implying its social relevance; by 1745, it had grown so much, and the expansion of the cult was so broad, that the king

³⁵ I have only found one external petition from a merchant to be part of the confraternity council.

³⁶ Interestingly enough, the confraternity of Our Lady of Remedios shared members with the most important sodality of the Holy Sacrament. As an example, we know of merchant Francisco Sánchez de Tagle who, despite being among the most prominent members of the Holy Sacrament Brotherhood, performed his duties as rector of the Remedios brotherhood from 1735 to 1746. See Alicia Bazarte Martínez, *Las cofradías de españoles en la ciudad de México (1526-1860)* (Mexico City: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, 1989), 164, and AHDF, Vol. 3898, exp. 8.

³⁷ “Tres tipos de corporaciones se articulaban y apoyaban entre sí para fortalecer la ayuda religiosa, la lealtad al Imperio, y el mantenimiento de los privilegios estamentales”. María Alba Pastor, “La organización corporativa de la sociedad novohispana,” in *Formaciones religiosas en la América colonial*, ed. María Alba Pastor and Alicia Mayer (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México-Facultad de Filosofía y Letras-Dirección General de Asuntos del Personal Académico, 2000), 118.

himself became its *hermano mayor*.³⁸ However, during the Independence war (1810-1821), the sodality interrupted its work and it was only reinstated in 1829 to be finally disbanded in 1857.³⁹

In all the years that the confraternity was active, the main source of money that allowed its functions was the loans it provided to all members of the colonial society, individuals and corporations (convents, and other confraternities).⁴⁰ The financial health of the sodality lay also in the amounts of money that were bequeathed to it by rich people, and in property rentals. The alms collected during the processions to the city, at the shrine, or during the *Novenarios* at the Cathedral, although they were high, never surpassed the money coming from all the above-mentioned sources. Table 1 shows that the best financial years of the confraternity were experienced during the second half of the eighteenth century, a time when the amount of devotional paraphernalia that was produced by the confraternity, for the sake of enlarging the presence of Our Lady of Remedios within the city, also increased.⁴¹

³⁸ AHDF, Vol. 3898, exp. 8.

³⁹ AHDF, Vol. 3904, exp. 127.

⁴⁰ AHDF, Vol. 3895, exp. 2. For more on the role played by confraternities in loaning money, see Gisela von Wobeser, *El crédito eclesiástico en la Nueva España, Siglo XVIII* (Mexico City:Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México-Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas,1994).

⁴¹ From 1741 to 1750, for instance, during the longest sojourn of the statue in the capital, the prominent printer Juan Sylverio was chosen to stamp the image of Our Lady of Remedios. AHDF, Vol. 3897, f. 82.

Year/Administrator/Source	Expenses	Revenues	Profit
Don Juan Diosdado y Meneses from june 1677 to july 1679 (vol. 3912p1)			
1693-1694 Agustin Muñoz de Sandoval 3896p2	360	737	376
2 de julio de 1735 y julio de 1736 Jacinto MARTnez y aguirre. Vol. 3912p 14	3471	3119	351p
Junio 1736 a 37vol 3895.2p5-coincide con las de 3912p15 Jacinto Martínez Aguirre	1 582	1 160	422
De 37 a 38 Vol. 3912p16	1413	1023	390
De 39 a 39 Vol. 3912p15	1089	1121	525p loss
de 40 a 41 Vol. 3912p15	1421	727	699
2 de julio de 49 a dos de julio de 1750 vol. 3912p17	630 cargo	5244 data	4614 loss
julio de 1751 Vol. 3913p1 Jacinto Martínez de Aguirre	3123	6446	3323 loss
2 de julio de 1753 Vol. 3913p2	2567	4363 incluyendo los 3599 del año pasado	1796 loss
Entrega julio de 1757 ya es Juan Martin de Astis mayordomo Vol. 3913p2	1725	2581	856 loss
entrega dos de julio de 1764 Vol. 3913p4	3394	987	2407
junio 3 de 1772 Antonio Marin del Valle Vol. 3913p6	3080	1475	1604
1792 to 1793 el ultimo de Juan Eugenio Santelices como Mayordonmo vol 3901.36p1	12062	2391	9671
1794 joseph Pasqual Covian vol 3915p4	8583	6627	1956
1795 a 96 vol 3900p5	3526	2440	1085
Julio de 1796 a junio de 1797 vol 3900p5 y vol 3915p7	7533 vol 3915p8 dice que cargo es 7517	3711	3805

Table E. 1. Financial records of the Confraternity of Our Lady of Remedios (data show in pesos)

Julio de 1797 a junio de 1798 vol 3900p5	6546	3352	3194
De 99 a 1800 FRom joseph Pasqual Covian rcieves Juan velquez de la Cadena vol 3915p8-11	From his antecessor 1608 9446 p 7	data 6238 p 3t	3208 p 2t
From 1800 to 1801 Vol 3900.2p9	13 930	8643	5287
vol 3915p11 exp 355 julio 1801 a junio 1802 también	cargo 16036 p 3t	12 088 p 4t	3947
Fro 1802 to 1803 Vol 3900.2p9	5986	2596	3390
Juan velquez de la Cadena de julio de 1804 a fin e junio de 1805 vol. 3916p2	De la cuenta anterior registra 6315p 8034 p cargo	3973 en el borrador de Vol 3900.2p9 se dice que gastaron 3097	4061
1805 a 06 vol. 3916p2	7987	4246	3741
De 1806 a 1807 en vorrador Vol 3900.2p9	6361	2512	3849
1807 vol. 3916p5y7	3741 que quedaron, ojo no corresponden con los mencionados en Vol 3900.2p9 quiza se hizo uenta nueva por los meses restantes de Julio a diciembre 6361	2512	3849
1808 todo vol. 3916p8 ver Vol 3900.2p9 para borrador	13272p	5996	7276p 3
1809 vol. 3916p9 el mariscal de Castilla es el Nuevo mayordomo segun borradores de Vol 3900.2p9	13440 p	10259	3180 pesos
1810 vol. 3916p9 presentado el 31 de diciembre de 1811	2591	5362	2771 loss

Table E.1. (Continued). Financial records of the Confraternity of Our Lady of Remedios (data show in pesos)...

Also, it is worth mentioning that for the August festivities of 1769 alone, 6800 prints were produced.⁴² So large the benefits of this pious economy had become by 1771, that the confraternity was careful in regulating the artists who had authorization to

⁴² AHDF, Vol. 3900, exp. 14.

produce the hundreds of devotional prints. Thus, between April 12 and April 15, 1771, the notary visited the workshops of printers Phelipe Ontiveros, Joseph Nogal, Manuel Villavicencio, Joseph Jáuregui, Joseph Antonio Ortuño, Francisco de Prado, Don Joseph Mariano Navarro, Maria Agustina de Mesa (widow of don Francisco Guitierrez), and Cayetano Sigüenza to let them know it was necessary to own a permit from the sodality to create images of Our Lady of Remedios.⁴³ There is no evidence that such regulations were applied to the production of medals, rosaries, or *medidas* (portions of ribbon that replicated Remedios' height). There is evidence, however, that between 1794 and 1799, prominent engraver Jerónimo Antonio Gil, founder of the Academia de San Carlos, and his son Bernardo Gil, engraver of the mint, were commissioned to design several golden and silver medals.⁴⁴ Other important devotional items contracted by the sodality were the editing of Novenas, or guides for the prayers of the nine-day devotional exercise. Among them, it is noticeable that the one composed by Francisco de Gongora around 1732, entitled *Novenario de la Santísima Virgen de los Remedios*, was reprinted on at least five occasions, one of which was to accommodate the statue of Our Lady of Remedios venerated at the church of the Capuchin nuns in Puebla City.⁴⁵ *Iris Americano* is the name of another novena written in 1809 by José María Deza and endowed with

⁴³ AHDF, Vol. 3901, exp. 26. According to the document, a similar decree was issued in 1765 regarding the image of Our Lady of Guadalupe.

⁴⁴ AHDF, Vol. 3900, exp. 14, 18, and 25; Vol. 3903, exp. 68; Vol. 3915, exp. 348 and 353; and Vol. 3916, exp. 364.

⁴⁵ Francisco de Gongora, *Novenario de la santísima Virgen de los Remedios para impetrar su patrocinio al remedio de las enfermedades, y buscar su amparo* (Mexico City: Imprenta de la Bibliotheca Mexicana, junto à las RR. madres Capuchinas, 1762). See also editions of 1772, in Mexico City: Por D. Phelipe de Zúñiga, y Ontiveros, en la calle de la Palma, and the one of 1894, in Mexico City: Por don Mariano de Zúñiga y Ontiveros, calle del Espíritu Santo. The Pueblan edition is from 1786, in Puebla: En la oficina del Real Seminario Palafoxiano de dicha ciudad de los Angeles. I was not able to find a copy of the 1732 edition.

indulgences by archbishop Francisco Javier de Lizana y Beaumont. So popular it became, that it was reprinted in 1846.⁴⁶

The mention of these remissions of spiritual punishment makes it important, finally, to consider the numerous indulgences granted to the confraternity during its history. Pope Gregory XIII awarded the first set in 1576, only a year after its founding, but it was only published for the first time in 1627 (See Appendix 6).⁴⁷ The fact that this document explicitly mentioned that these indulgences were “specially granted to all the Indians that were recently converted into Christianity” makes evident, once more, the important role that Remedios played in the process of evangelization. The indulgences were also granted to all members of the confraternity at the moment of their inscription on the sodality. Francisco de Florencia mentioned in his chronicle that the spiritual benefits would be for all who visited Our Lady of Remedios’ sanctuary on the day of its official founding, which he identified as March 25, but the first summary of indulgences does not refer to this point (Appendix 6). However, according to the second summary of indulgencies published in 1771, the remission of punishment was only granted to those who visited the shrine the following Sunday after the Assumption feast (that is, August 15), during the most important festival celebrated at the shrine during most of the colonial period.

Two more sets of indulgences were granted in relation to the cult of Our Lady of Remedios. One, of eighty days to all who prayed the *Salve* in front of an image of her,

⁴⁶ José María Deza, *Iris americano para implorar los auxilios de Maria Santisima de los Remedios, por medio de esta novena* (Mexico City: Imprenta de Arizpe, 1809). The 1846 edition was published in Mexico by Imprenta de Luis Abadiano. See AHDF, Vol. 3903, exp. 67 for the presentation of the Novena to the confraternity.

⁴⁷ Florencia, *Milagrosa*, 124, par. 188. Miranda (*Dos cultos fundantes*, 71) says the Bull was published two years earlier, in 1625.

was granted at a local level by archbishop Alonso Nuñez de Haro y Peralta (1772-1800) in 1795 (Figure 1. 40).⁴⁸ The last set of indulgences was granted in 1805 by Pope Pius VII (1800-1823) and was attached to a set of medals made in Rome with effigies of Our Lady of Remedios, on one side, and San Felipe de Jesús, on the other.⁴⁹ The indulgences were several, depending on the activities performed by the devotees: praying specific prayers like the rosary or parts of the Divine Office, teaching the Gospel to imprisoned people, or assisting with Mass on special dates, including the birth of the apostles; the spiritual rewards varied from two hundred days of forgiveness to seven years. It is worth emphasizing the close devotional relationship between these two religious figures: since San Felipe was the first creole venerated in the altars, after suffering martyrdom in Japan in 1597 and being beatified in 1627,⁵⁰ and Remedios was the patroness of the conquest, it is clear that there was an association of creole pride by linking them together through the blessing of the pope. Moreover, this creole pride was unmistakably located in Mexico City, as he was born on that site in 1572 and, as mentioned previously, Remedios was named first protectress of the capital of New Spain.⁵¹ Significantly, all the indulgences, including those of the sixteenth century, were only granted to those devotees who also had the so-called Bull of the Crusade, which granted indulgences to those who took part

⁴⁸ Nuñez de Haro “se sirvió conceder ochenta días de indulgencias a todas las personas de ambos sexos que con la devoción debida rezaren una Salve delante de la imagen de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios y las mismas a los que con la misma devoción asistieren a las Vísperas, Misa, Sermón y procesión como consta por su superior decreto de 6 de agosto de 1795 y su Illmo dignísimo Sucesor [Francisco Javier de Lizana y Beaumont, 1802 – 1815] concede otras tantas indulgencias a los que hicieren lo mismo como consta de su decreto de 10 de julio de 1804.” AHDF, Vol. 3902, exp. 62.

⁴⁹ The Biblioteca Nacional at its Fondo Reservado preserves one of the documents used to spread the news regarding the indulgences bestowed to these medals. It is also to be found at AHDF, Vol. 3898, exp. 10, and in Vol. 3901, exp. 26.

⁵⁰ Cornelius Burroughs Conover, “A Saint in the Empire: Mexico City’s San Felipe de Jesus, 1597-1820.” (The University of Texas at Austin, Ph. D., 2008).

⁵¹ Beyond the medals, the links of Remedios and San Felipe show in the fact that an altarpiece dedicated to the saint was included at the shrine in 1830 (AHDF, Vol. 3904, exp. 131), and that relics of the saint were persevered there.

in the wars against the infidels,⁵² emphasizing once again the role of Our Lady of Remedios as the *Socia Beli par excellence*.

As a result of the city council's involvement, the devotion of Our Lady of Remedios became deeply intertwined with the capital of New Spain. The fifty-seven processions that brought the statue to Mexico City during the colonial period certainly helped to increase the devotion that its inhabitants had for this cult image. The historian William B. Taylor has recently argued that these festivals became so numerous in the eighteenth century that they contributed to "cooling down" the devotion,⁵³ but the constant requirement of nunneries to be visited by the statue during its sojourns in the city and the large money entries registered in the financial records show otherwise: Our Lady of Remedios was praised and celebrated as patroness of the city throughout the viceregal period, and always with the same fervent faith. There is even evidence of a second confraternity dedicated to promote her cult (Figure 5). It was established already by 1683 and so it seems it was fairly active up to 1750 at the parish of Saint Catharine

⁵² "The first of these Crusade Bulls which concerned Spain was that of Pope Urban II to the Counts Berenguer Ramón de Barcelona and Armengal de Besalú in 1089 at the time of the reconquest of Tarragona, and that of Pope Gelasius II to Alfonso I of Aragon, when he undertook to reconquest Saragossa in 1118. Pope Clement IV in 1265 issued a general Bull for the whole of Spain, when the Kings of Aragon and Castile joined in the expedition against Murcia. In the course of time these pontifical concessions became more and more frequent; in the reign of the Catholic kings alone they were granted in 1478, 1479, 1481, 1482, 1485, 1494, 1503, and 1505, and were continued during the following reigns, that granted by Gregory XIII in 1573 ... In virtue of the concessions granted by this Bull, the faithful of the Spanish dominions who had fulfilled the necessary conditions could gain the plenary indulgence, granted to those who fought for the reconquest of the Holy Land and to those who went to Rome in the year of Jubilee, provided they went to confession and received Holy Communion... Those who visited five churches or altars, or the same altar five times, and prayed for the intentions of the Crusade, could gain the indulgences granted to those who visited the stations in Rome. The Bull, moreover, permitted the faithful of the Spanish dominions to eat meat on all the days of Lent and other days of fast and abstinence, except Ash Wednesday, the Fridays of Lent, the last four days of Holy Week, and the vigils of the feasts of the Nativity, Pentecost, the Assumption, and Saint Peter and Saint Paul." Eduardo de Hinojosa y Naveros, "Bull of the Crusade," *The Catholic Encyclopedia* 4 (1908), <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/04543b.htm>, first accessed on January 16, 2012.

⁵³ Taylor, *Shrines*, 150 .

Martyr.⁵⁴ The heading image in the *patente* should certainly not be considered as a proof of its links to the sodality established in the shrine, as it is known that sometimes plates were used and reused extensively regardless of their visual content. Considering this other Remedios' brotherhood present in town should call attention to how the cult spread within the urban sphere. However, further research is necessary to establish connections—and reactions—that this sodality might have caused in the one established at the shrine, which was so closely linked to the city council.



Figure E. 5: Unknown Author.
Patente de la Cofradía de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios y Caridad
 established at the Saint Catherine Martyr church, ca. 1753.
 Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City

⁵⁴ Archivo General de la Nación (hereafter AGN), Indiferente Virreinal, caja 5196, exp. 6, and caja 4799, exp. 36. For the 1719 financial records of this confraternity, see AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 0816, exp. 031.

Another image that should be linked to that venerated at Totoltepec hill is the one venerated in a chapel at the main church at Jalapa City. From 1770, the Tribunal of Commerce gave monies to that image, even if for years the beneficiary of its annual donations was Mexico City's Remedios.⁵⁵ The tribunal decided to divide the contribution of 1000 pesos between the two places, Jalapa and Mexico, thus making evident how the devotion grew intense among the fleet members, who benefited from all the times the naval forces and merchants were put under the protection of Remedios during many of the processions that brought the image to the city.⁵⁶

DISPLAY OF THE IMAGE AT THE CATHEDRAL

A most relevant aspect of the urban character of the cult of Our Lady of Remedios was the way the statue was visually offered for the devotees while on display at the Cathedral. Just as was done at the main altar at the shrine, the site where the statue was placed—always at the main altarpiece of the church—was covered with candles of different sizes. During the 1714 novenario, for instance, the Cathedral's altar table was adorned with 2 small candles of a half pound, 6 big candles of two pounds, and 4 big candles of four pounds, completed by flowers and silver ornaments, all of which cost 165 pesos;⁵⁷ the rest of the altar was decorated with 84 candles of one pound. Two years later, in 1716, the altar was adorned with a hundred small candles and six medium ones of a pound.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ AHDF, Vol. 3896, confraternity council meeting of March 31, 1770.

⁵⁶ According to Table 4:1, eleven of a total of fifty-seven were petitions for protection to the fleet, which means 19.5 % of all processions (the four *novenarios* made with this same motive from 1741 and 1746, are not considered in the count as the statue was already here). See *Chapter Four*.

⁵⁷ “2 candelas de medialibra, 6 zirios de 2 libras para mesa de altar, 4 zirios de a 4 libras, ytt ramilletes y demas adorno de altar, ytt seis docenas de tres la docena.” AHDF, Vol. 3907, f. 49.

⁵⁸ “en donde tenia dispuesto el altar mayor y adornado por quenta de la cofradía con cien velas de zera de a media libra y seis de a libra,” *Ibid.*, f. 52.

Beside the candles lighted during mass, there were always some other candles used to illuminate the statue during the rest of the day: in 1639 there were four, and in 1818 there were six.⁵⁹ It is interesting that all the documentation regarding the amounts of money expended on wax emphasized that the confraternity had the prerogative of collecting the leftovers of all candles, a right that otherwise was only the ecclesiastical council's, in order to save on expenses as the wax was the most costly element of all.⁶⁰ Sometimes, however, it was covered by the special alms collected among the authorities of the viceroyalty: the viceroy, the city council, the university, the Audiencia (Higher Court of Appeals), the mint, the *tribunal de cuentas* (tribunal of accounts), the *consulado* (consulate), the archbishop, and the ecclesiastical council.⁶¹

CONCLUSION

The eleven years that Our Lady of Remedios was in Mexico City during the war of Independence definitely highlighted the urban character of the cult at the expense of its peripheral veneration.⁶² In this process, it is crucial the importance the role played by women as promoters of the devotion. Among them, the most important is Anna Yraeta, widow of Cosme de Mier, who championed the idea that Remedios should be proclaimed

⁵⁹ AHDF, Vol. 663a, city council meeting of June 12, 1639; and Vol. 3903, exp. 87.

⁶⁰ During the longest sojourn of the image in the city that lasted from 1741 to 1750, the confraternity complained about the money expended on the candles at the altar, arguing this to be the main reason for the statue to return to the shrine. AHDF, Vol. 3900, exp. 21.

⁶¹ AHDF, Vols. 3913, 3915, 3916.

⁶² As mentioned at the end of *Chapter Three*, the indigenous population at the shrine's surroundings were near to revolt when the statue was brought to the city in September 1810, as it was evident that its return was not going to take place while the armed conflict lasted.

the Generala of the Spanish Army.⁶³ Yraeta was also responsible for the organization of the group called *Patriotas Marianas*, a body of women that took turns to attend the Cathedral during day and night in order to have Remedios venerated with constant prayers and thus, warranty both the divine protection of the city and the defeat of the rebels.⁶⁴ Nunneries were also key in the consolidation of the cult of Remedios within the city, as they called for regular visits any time the statue was at the city, and mainly during those years of the Independence war.⁶⁵

It is a late eighteenth-century copper plate, now at the collection of Pablo Amador in Mexico City, which supports our understanding of the urban character of this devotion (Figure 6): as stressed by its inscription, Our Lady of Remedios was the protectress of Mexico City as a whole, thus embodying the city as a realm of *civitas*, or collection of citizens. As such, Marian protection transformed from being only for the city authorities and the Crown, as was the case in 1574 when the *patrocinio* was granted, to encompass

⁶³ *Bando de 18 de febrero de 1811, expedido pro el virrey Francisco Xavier Venegas proclamando a la Virgen de los Remedios especial protectora de las armas de este reino*, located at Fondo Reservado of Biblioteca Nacional. See also AHDF, Vol. 3903, exp. 73.

⁶⁴ Francisco González de San Pedro, *Extracto de los puntos mas instructivos que contiene el quaderno titulado Crisol del Rosario...Dedicado á el devoto sexo que baxo los auspicios de MARIA SANTISIMA, ha formado el cuerpo mas honroso con el distinguido e inmortal titulo de PATRIOTAS MARIANAS DE LA CIUDAD DE MEXICO para dar continuos y reverentes cultos a la Señora ante su prodigiosa Imágen de los Remedios, que ha sido y es la defensa de este precioso reyno, dirigiendo como sábia y poderosa Generala del Dios de los exércitos las acciones militares de sus predilectos hijos antiguos y nuevos españoles* (Mexico City: D. Manuel Antonio Valdes, Impresor de Cámara de S.M. Calle de Zuleta, 1812). She also paid for escapularios and medals to be distributed among the soldiers loyal to the crown. AHDF, Vol. 3916, exp. 366. The links that Yraeta had with Remedios did not start during the war of Independence as she had suggested to open a school at the shrine in 1808. AHDF, Vol. 3902, exp. 64.

⁶⁵ For a valuable description of how the devotion to Our Lady of Remedios was lived in the interior of the nunneries and by the rich female sectors of the society, see Concepción Lombardo de Miramón, *Memorias* (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1980 [m. 1917]). See also “Cartas descriptivas sobre los cultos con que el piadoso pueblo de México ha celebrado las rogaciones publicas a María Santísima de los Remedios verificadas en los conventos de religiosas de esta corte desde el día 31 de Mayo hasta el 10 de Agosto de 1810. Escritas por una señorita de esta capital a una amiga suya residente en Querétaro.” *Semanario Económico*, Núm 31 (1810).

all people living in the heart of New Spain. Much as friar Luis de Cisneros described the cult in his foundational chronicle of 1621, such protection became for the benefit of Spaniards, Creoles, Indians, and *castas*, despite social and economic differences.⁶⁶ Notwithstanding that other Marian images developed more visible veneration, *Nuestra Señora de los Remedios* remained a collective figure as Mexico City's first *patrona*, a symbol of its founding and its people. That idea, until the middle of the nineteenth century, certainly remained unquestioned.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ It is worth bringing attention to a booklet that circulated in 1810 highlighting this protection to all sectors of the population, specially to the Indians: *Desengaño de los Indios haciéndoles ver lo mucho que deben a los españoles: conversación que tuvieron en el campamento de esta Ciudad un Dragón con una Tortillera y su Marido Pasqual* (Mexico City: Oficina de Valdés, 1810).

⁶⁷ The liberal journalist Guillermo Prieto commented that it was only up to 1840 that the urban festivities decayed (Alberro, *Águila*, 123, n.6), an impression shared by Taylor (*Shrines*, 155-156). This means that the confraternity stopped the public devotion even before being officially disestablished in 1857.



Figure E. 6: Unknown Author.
Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, Patroness of Mexico City, 18th century.
Collection of Pablo Amador, Mexico City

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Using Our Lady of Remedios' cult as a case study, this dissertation has examined how devotion, aesthetics, and politics were intertwined in colonial Mexico City. My aim was to do justice to this miraculous image, which hitherto has primarily been explained mainly through teleological interpretations. As a result, during this research, and mostly by considering in detail the processions made to acclaim her, it became evident that the cult never fell into oblivion during the colonial period, as some authors had claimed. Equally important has been to learn that she was at all times honored as *Socia Belli* of the Spanish crown, both for its alleged role during the conquest and later during the many military conflicts in which the crown engaged. Indeed, she was always perceived as the *Conquistadora* of Mexico City, and not only as the provider of rainfall and health in times of drought and epidemics. Understanding how constant she acted as a strong symbol of protection has helped me to better comprehend the relation that the city council had with the cult, not only through the *patrocinio* established in 1574 but also through its strong involvement in the confraternity that was founded a year later for better dissemination of the devotion. At the same time, this research has shown that such a brotherhood performed differently to most sodalities, as it did not accomplish the most conventional activities of social welfare. As a result of understanding these entities—confraternity, city council, and viceregal authorities—it is now evident that the Remedios cult helped constructing the idea of *civitas* and *policía* within the urban context; that is, it aided strengthening the bonding between the rulers and their subjects. Close examination to the numerous processions that took place to worship Our Lady of Remedios had certainly illuminated how Mexico City became the locus of civilized and organized urban life

where law, order, morality, and religion were tied together for the well being of its inhabitants, at least in the perspective of the Spanish order.

Moreover, by reconstructing the iconographic program that adorned the shrine's wall from 1595—which was slowly destroyed from 1616 to 1629—I was able to determine the modes by which the Indian population was integrated in the religious discourse that justified the military and cultural conquest. I consciously avoided taking a stance that would favor a discourse of Spanish supremacy over the passive local population, or one that praises the Indians' agency. Rather, I looked for the ways, both visually and religious, in which the two cultures bonded together in one fervent faith. The legend that made the Cacique (Indian nobleman) Juan Ce Cuautli Tovar its main protagonist, and the maguey that became essential part of the iconography of Remedios, the first Marian image to have been massively venerated in New Spain, are but two examples of this process of mutual entanglement. This legend, I conclude, developed between 1574—when the city council took over the patronage of the image—and 1595—when Villasana's paintings on the shrine's walls were completed. This period of time coincides with the moment when the legend of Our Lady Guadalupe and the myth of Cortés-Quetzalcoatl were also being stabilizing, which totally supports the idea presented by the historian Maria Alba Pastor about those last thirty years of the sixteenth century is when the society of New Spain started its consolidation.¹ Locating the geographical span of this particular Marian devotion is also among the inputs I have achieved.

More than merely providing new interpretations, my dissertation has also contributed to the study of this miraculous image by identifying and examining new

¹ Maria Alba Pastor, *Crisis y recomposicion social: Nueva España en el tránsito del siglo XVI al XVII* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México-Fondo de Cultra Económica, 1999).

sources related to it. Among these, the seven chronicles written at the end of the seventeenth century at the time of the processional events stand out, and I hope scholars of New Spain's literature will find as interesting as I have, as they are *crónicas de fiesta* written as poems, which is an outstanding format, and they were made for occasions that were not considered before (viceroy and archbishop entries and oath to new kings are the most common events celebrated by similar pieces). Significant is as well, and also a contribution to the field of colonial literature, the fact I was able to locate one of the sources used in the creation of the 1595 mural paintings on the shrine: the anonymous poems, first included in the Sybil treatise by Dominican friar Filippo de Barbieri, were attached to the most erudite circles in the Old World, and their inclusion in Mexico City at the end of the sixteenth century shows how this kind of material made its way to rich intellectual spheres of New Spain, thus shedding light to the intellectual atmosphere of the capital. The other source that my dissertation highlights is the chronicle by Juan Antonio Pichardo. I learned a great deal from his approach (he locates, for instance, the first chapel on Totoltepec hill dedicated to Our Lady of Remedios in 1528), and I truly believe that just as much as the Cisneros chronicle was edited in recent years, this manuscript is waiting to be made available to modern readers, not only shedding light on the cult of Our Lady of Remedios, but also on the historiographical moods of the early nineteenth century. Finally, there is the discovery of the number of lamps used to illuminate the shrine's interior, which certainly enlighten our understanding of the religious experience at the colonial churches, hitherto assumed to be either in the dark, or decorated mainly with candles.

Through this research more than ten new images depicting Our Lady of Remedios were added to the known corpus of her iconography. Such material substantially contributes to apprehend how was she present in the visual world of New Spain, and help contextualize the images already known. Along those lines, I hope my hypothesis in regards to the physical character of the statue will also contribute to a better understanding of the cult. Although no conclusions can be asserted until a technical analysis of the statue is performed, I find crucial for the biography of the object to understand how it was at all conceived, and how it inform us about the aesthetic and religious values of the society in which it was inserted. At the end, that is what considering a cult image as a visual document is all about.

The technical analysis is pending, but also is imminent a deeper discussion on why marian images became immediately accepted by the indigenous population, where “Accommodation strategies” and Mesoamerican cosmogony, that was inclined to accept the addition of new deities, should be addressed. As a result, we might be able to locate the creation of other foundational Marian legends, like the *Nican Mopohua* for the case of the virgin of Guadalupe, in a similar time frame when the legend of Our Lady of Remedios took shape. In that sense it would be possible to deepen our understanding of how miraculous images helped consolidate the colonial regime, where both Indians and Spanish had common interests. Last but not least, I also consider necessary to investigate the relationship that the Cathedral Chapter developed with the cult and the city authorities in its promotion, in order to include the institutional body of the Church that so intensively promoted other cults.

Appendix 1

Locations in Spain that has Nuestra Señora de los Remedios as patroness

Taken from: José A. Martínez Puche, and Rafael del Olmo Veros. *María, Madre de la Hispanidad: Vírgenes Patronas de España y América*. Madrid: Edibesa, 2002.

	Community/Region	Province	Town
1	Aragón	Huesca	Fonz
2		Teruel	La Cerollera
3		Zaragoza	Romanos
4	Andalucía	Almería	Doña María
5			Paterna del Río
6			Serón
7		Cádiz	Chiclana de la Frontera
8			Olvera—august 15, 1966
9			Ubrique
10		Córdoba	Belmez
11			Navas del Selpillar,
12			Villafranca de Córdoba—c. sep 7, 1986
13			Zuheros
14		Granada	Ambroz (vega del Genil)
15			Campotéjar
16			El Fargue
17			Iznalloz
18			Montefrío
19		Huelva	Aljaraque
20			Arroyomolinos de León
21			Jabugo
22			Paradas
23			Villarrasa—crowned August 15, 1954
24		Jaén	Canena
25			Cárcel
26			Ibros
27			Jimena
28			El Molar
29			Santo Tomé
30		Málaga	Antequera—crowned September 10, 1922
31			Cártama
32			Mijas
33			Vélez Málaga—crowned May 20, 1956
34		Sevilla	Estepa
35			Mairena del Alcor
36	Asturias	Asturias	Caranga de Arriba
37			Carreño—crowned September 27, 1959
38			Carrio
39			Felgueras
40			Guimeran
41			Porcia

42			San Esteban de Miravalles
43			Villarquilla
44	Canarias	Las Palmas	Yaiza (Lanzarote)
45		Tenerife	Buenvista del Norte
46			San Cristóbal de la Laguna
47			Los Llanos de Aridane
48			Los Realejos
49			Tegueste
50	Cantabria	Cantabria	Barrio
51			Campuzano
52			Cohiño
53			Coo
54			Meruelo
55			Ongayo
56			Roiz
57			Ruiloba (Alfoz de Lloredo)
58			San Mamés del Meruelo
59			San Sebastián de Garabandal
60	Castilla-La Mancha	Albacete	Fuensanta *
61			Hoya Gonzalo
62			La Roda *—crowned September 10, 1934
63		Ciudad Real	Calzada de Calatrava
64		Cuenca	Horcajada de la Torre
65			Saelices
66			San Martín de Boniches
67			Valsalobre
68		Guadalajara	Albalate de Zorita
69			La Bodera
70			Cogolludo
71			Mochales
72			Pareja
73			Peralveche
74			San Andrés del Rey
75			Tortuera
76		Toledo	Cuerva
77			Espinoso del Rey
78			Montesclaros
79			Los Navalmorales de Pusa
80			Ocaña
81			Sonseca
82	Castilla-León	Ávila	El Arenal
83			Sotillo de la Adrada
84			Fresneda de Río Tirón
85			Peñaranda de Duero
86		León	Barrilillos de las Arrimadas
87			Luyego de Somoza
88			Mena
89		Palencia	Cervatos de la Cueva

90			Fuentes de Nava
91			Villallano
92		Salamanca	Topas
93		Segovia	Abades
94			Adrada de Pirón
95			Catroserna de Abajo
96			Cobos de Segovia
97		Soria	Ágreda
98			Noviercas
99		Valladolid	Cogeces del Monte
100			La Parrilla
11			Ponzáldez
12		Zamora	Otero de Sanabria
13	Cataluña	Barcelona	Arenys de Mar
14			Caldas de Montbuy (as Remei)
15			Vic
16		Lleida	Castell del Remei (as Remei)
17			Olíus
18			Ossó de Bellver (as Remei)
19		Tarragona	Alcover (as Remei)
110			Flix (as Remei)
111			La Miravet (as Remei)
112	Santa		Santa Oliva
113	Extremadura	Badajoz	Casas de Don Pedro
114			Fregenal de la Sierra—crowned April 27, 1906
115			Hornachos
116			Magacela
117			Puebla de la Reina
118			Segura de León
119		Cáceres	Aldea de Cano
120			Berrocalejo
121			Torrecilla de la Tiesa
122			Valencia de Alcántara
123	Galicia	Lugo	Mondoñedo— crowned September 12, 1954
124			Sarria
125		Ourense	Carballeria
126			Castro Caldelas
127			Villamayor del Valle
128		Pontevedra	Couso
129			Lamas
130			Ponteareas
131	Madrid	Madrid	Alcorcón
132			El Berrueco
133			Cervera de Buitrago
134			Colmenar Viejo
135			Valdemaqueda
136	Murcia	Murcia	Albudeite— crowned September 12,

			1954
137			Cañada de Trigo
138			Pliego
139			Rincón de Benisornia
140			Torrealta de Molina
141	Navarra	Navarra	Luquín
142			Tudela
143	País Vasco	Álava	Rivabellosa
144	La Rioja	La Rioja	Águilar del Río Alhama
145			Aldeanueva de Ebro—crowned March 23, 1951
146			Cirueña
147			Tirgo
148			Villalba de Rioja
149	Valencia	Alicante	La Algueña
150			Alicante
151			Callosa de Ensarriá
152			Encebras
153			Matanza
154			Monóvar
155			Petrel— crowned October 6, 1960
156			Pinoso
157			San Fulgencio— crowned October 14, 1952
158		Valencia	Albaida
159			Castellón de Rugat (as Remedio)
160			Chelva
161			Fuente Encarroz (as Remedio)
162			Liria
163			Navarrés (as Remedio)
164			Titaguas (as Remedio)
165			Utiel

Appendix 2

Description of Villasana's paintings by Luis de Cisneros, included in his *Historia de el origen* published in 1616. The transcription is taken from the 1999 edition, published by El Colegio de Michoacán, coordinated by Francisco Miranda, 73-103.

CAPITULO XI

Adorno de pintura que la iglesia tiene

/45v./San Bernardo confiesa ([a.m.] Apolog. ad Guill. Abbat. prop. fin) que la pintura mueve a los hombres a devoción si es cosa sagrada. Porque no sé qué viveza tiene por lo que se parece a la naturaleza, obra que definiendo Laureto, dice que es una viva representación de la forma y de la cosa.

Y así llamaron san Gregorio Damasceno y Beda ([a.m.] m. sil v. alleg. verb, pingere, lib. 4, de fi.ci. Tom.8,lib.8 de tem. Salom. el9), a la pintura, libro de ignorantes. Que los misterios que no se les pueden enseñar por escrito, porque no lo sabrán entender, se los enseñan por pintura, que es su escritura.

Por eso debe de llamar a la pintura el griego zoografía que quiere decir escritura viva porque no sólo enseña y adiestra a los ignorantes, pero no sé qué viveza tiene para imprimir en los corazones, que suele hacer el efecto en un corazón que el original: Mueve a respeto y reverencia, trae a la memoria las mercedes recibidas, representanse las hazañas obras que por nosotros han hecho.

De aquí nació, que casi con el nacimiento de la Iglesia quiso Dios, que siempre en ella se pintasen imágenes, que son las que nos provoca a devoción y acuerdan con viveza lo que, sin ellas, fuera con mucha tibieza.

Tertuliano ([a.m.] lib. de pudi.c.7, & 10.) hace mención de una imagen del Salvador pintada en un cáliz en que se decía Misa.

Eusebio ([a.m.] li. 3. & 4 de vi. constant.) refiere que el emperador Constantino hizo infinitas imágenes de oro y plata en toda Palestina.

Dámaso cuenta ([a.m.] in vit. Silvest.) que en el lugar del bautismo de Constantino, puso Silvestre Papa una imagen de plata del Bautista, mostrando con el dedo al Cordero.

En la Iglesia de san Juan de Letrán puso de talla de plata las imágenes de los doce apóstoles. Todos los primeros pontífices, como refiere Adriano ([a.m.] in inscript, pro imagin.), Silvestre, /46r./ Dámaso, Celestino, Sixto, León, Juan, Pelagio adornaron los templos con imágenes que despertasen los ánimos de los que en ellos entrasen. Y si prohibió Dios el uso de las imágenes en el testamento viejo, fue por la propensión que aquella gente tenía a la idolatría, no adorando en ellas el verdadero Dios sino a las creaturas, ax que les quedo de aquella larga comunicación con los gitanos. Y para quitarles no sólo la idolatría sino cualquiera tropezón que para esto pudiesen tener.

Pero como acá no corre ese riesgo, que hay más capacidad en la ley de gracia -uso de las palabras de san Juan Damasceno ([a.m.] Orat. 7. de. imaginib.)- conócese la verdad, conversase con Dios puramente, a El sólo se sirve, pasóse ya aquel tiempo de niñez y niñerías, ya están los hombres en estado perfecto, que no tienen necesidad de pedagogo, no se corre ese riesgo.

Y por eso, para animarnos a la devoción y veneración, están los templos llenos de imágenes, que son libros que a los más ignorantes despiertan y enseñan, como se ve en todos los templos.

Este despertador no falta en la devotísima capilla de la Virgen de los Remedios que, fuera de la excelentísima Imagen de nuestra Señora, que ella sola basta para levantar a Dios el más tibio

corazón del mundo, viendo aquel hermosísimo rostro suyo y el de su Hijo -porque por todas partes se despierte el que allí entrare- que, he advertido una cosa en él, en que mucha gente devota ha reparado, que si se mira con el rostro de la Virgen se hallan en él no sé que transmutaciones que no tiene siempre el mismo semblante, sino tan diferente como de persona viva, cosa que con cui- / 46v./dado advirtió un sacerdote que tuvo allí unas novenas.

Y para sólo ver si le engañaba su pensamiento, estuvo todo el tiempo de sus novenas notando esto y mirando con muy gran cuidado a la Virgen y siempre la hallaba de diferente aspecto. Cosa en que, por habérmelo referido, he tenido gran reparo y me parece, si no me engaño, que es verdad.

En especial lo advertí la noche que llevamos la santa Imagen a su Casa este año de seiscientos y diez y seis, cuando los indios iban ofreciendo flores e incienso, que llevaba la Virgen un rostro tan placentero y alegre que volví muchas veces a mirarle porque la llevaba cargada.

Y veía que parecía que con el rostro risueño iba agradeciendo las ofrendas de aquella simple gente que le hacía la salva para pasar a su Casa, a donde se iba con un rostro alegre a ver a aquellos sus simples hijuelos, que los días que había estado ausente de ellos en esta Ciudad le venían a pedir requestas a la Virgen, como yo lo oí a una india de aquella jurisdicción que entró un día en la Iglesia Mayor y se llegó a la Virgen y le dijo con ternura y sencillez:

-Señora, ¿Qué haces aquí? ¿Por qué no te vas a tu Casa, ya no basta la estada? Mira que tus hijos están muy solos sin Tí y no tenemos qué comer, como te nos veniste, y nuestros sembrados van muy malos sin tu presencia. ¡Vuélvete ya, Señora, y no permitas que carezcamos de tan sumo bien!

De estas requestas estaba la Virgen tan pagada que parece que iba a pagarlas a su Casa tan alegre, que aunque otras muchas veces la he mirado con cuidado, nunca la he visto tan regocijada. Que sabe hacer estas metamorfosis, como se cuenta de su Hijo cuando en- /47r/viaba a retratarle el rey, que no podían los pintores coger las líneas para poderlo hacer.

Y este mudar de rostro es que busca el nuestro para conformarnos con el suyo, como cuando un terso y limpio espejo de cristal, que nos vuelve el rostro conforme es, el cristal. Decía David ([a.m.] Ps. 28) mi rostro te buscó. Señor; ando buscando un rostro para componer el mío a su talle y aún, según parecer de Félix, el pedirle el rostro David a Dios, es porque el mismo Dios se lo mandó.

Y así dicen, que aquellas palabras que anteceden, a Tí te dijo mi corazón en vuestro nombre, Señor me dijo mi corazón que os pidiese vuestro rostro y que el mío te buscara. Y buscar el rostro de Dios, que tal le tiene -dice Agustín ([a.m.] In psal. 104)- es andarle mirando para obedecerle en todo y conformar nuestra voluntad con la suya, que es conforme al modo de hablar nuestro.

Para decir que estamos sujetos a la voluntad de uno decimos que le andamos mirando el rostro para vestirnos del color de él. Y este rostro le pedía la esposa ([a.m.] Cant. 2) cuando le dice mostrádmeme vuestro rostro, dice la paráfrasis caldea, mostrádmeme vuestras obras para que me conforme con ellas.

Por eso dice David ([a.m.] Ps. 15) que la mayor providencia que tenía era de tener delante de su rostro el de Dios para no tener vaivenes de cabeza. Y así dijo san Basilio ([a.m.] Reg. 5 esfuxis & 2 ex brebi.) que es tenerlo por regla y modelo a donde enderezar nuestras obras, que

bien conocía la resulta David ([a.m.] Ps. 19) cuando decía, si Dios me muestra su rostro (conviene a saber alegre, placentero y regocijado), doime por salvo.

De manera que aquella excelencia que la Virgen tiene en mostrarnos aquella / 47v./variedad en su rostro, quizá es para que tomemos modelo, que cuando nos lo muestra con ceño debe de ser que no está agrada de nuestras obras y entonces advertirlas y enmendarlas. Y si nos lo muestra alegre, pensar que se alegra de nuestros mi vicios y los tiene por gratos.

De esta santa Imagen, de este rostro celestial, está en el altar mayor un retablo de excelentísima pintura y talla, toda dorada y grabada, que coje todo el hueco de ancho v largo de la capilla, hecho con notable arte. Y así salió tan devoto y decente como era menester para que acompañase a la devotísima Imagen, en cuyo medio, como en el de l.i otra carroza de Salomón está el Dios de Amor en brazos de su Madre para enamorar ,i las hijas de Jerusalén que son las almas que, movidas a devoción, le buscan.

Está, pues, en medio del retablo un tabernáculo que dio a la Virgen doña María Quijada de Carvajal, viuda, mujer que fue de Miguel Hernández Duarte. Todo él de plata, con muchas piezas de él sobredoradas y esmaltes y otras muchas grabadas de obra moderna, excelentísima, digno del lugar que ocupa. En cuyo medio está la Virgen santísima debajo de una vidriera que tiene poco más de media vara en cuadro. Todo el hueco está lleno de piezas preciosas de inestimable valor que, cuando se descubre la Virgen (que es con muy gran decencia), y se encienden cuatro cirios, seis candelas y la descubre el vicario vestido de su sobrepelliz y corre dos velos que tiene, uno de volante y otro de damasco de Castilla bordado o tela según el tiempo (que también se muda el color conforme él), parece que es un cielo por-/48r./que las piedras preciosas, que toda la capillita donde está la Virgen adornan, parecen astros celestiales que están brillando y dando a entender que la que tienen es la Reina del cielo, que tiene por vestidura el sol, por chapines la luna y por diadema un par de doce estrellas.

Cosa es devotísima ver aquel santuario cuando se descubre, no sé yo que haya pecho tan helado que al fuego que sale de aquellas piedras y luces no se caliente e ilustre. Porque fuera de las luces de cera hay siempre encendidas cinco lámparas y muchos días a cuarenta y una que hay, como diré abajo. Piénsese qué tal estará aquel santuario cuando está de esta manera la Virgen santísima que la adorna todo, con el corderico de su Hijo en los brazos, vestidos de tela o bordado, el tabernáculo de plata dorada y grabada, lleno el sagrario de mil piezas de oro y piedras preciosas, en quien están reverberando cuarenta y una luces de lámparas, cuatro cirios, seis velas, todo el retablo grabado de oro, todo el santuario donde está la Virgen rodeado de pomas de ámbar engastadas en oro, todo el retablo colgado de pies, manos, cabezas, pechos, ojos de plata, que siendo todo metal terso, que vuelva la luz que recibe, y muchas veces duplicada, ¿Qué tal armonía hará aquello? ¿Qué tales pondrá los ojos de los que los miraren? ¿Qué tales los corazones de los que lo contemplan? Sin falta, todas las veces que lo veo, se me representa un vivo retrato de la gloria, un firmamento, esa octava esfera tachonada de astros en una noche serena, tal está aquel santuario.

Tiene el tabernáculo de plata, que dio doña Ma-/48v./ria Quijada de Carvajal, vara y media de alto y una de ancho. Pero porque para tan grandiosa obra faltaba ponerle un tablero de lo mismo, porque sin él estaba el tabernáculo desacompañado, trató el padre fray Alonso de Villaseca, de la orden de nuestro padre san Agustín y definidor de esta Provincia, de que se acabase por la devoción que tiene a la Santa Imagen y así ha dado orden.

Y no sólo le hizo el tablero bajo, con limosna que buscó ayudado de la devoción de Isabel López Galvan, conforme a la demás obra que le costó quinientos pesos, pero para que del todo

quede acabado, le está haciendo el arco que divide el tabernáculo del retablo, que cuesta mil y trescientos pesos, de los cuales los quinientos dio de limosna para el efecto el Consulado de esta Ciudad. Los ochocientos busca el padre fray Alonso de Villaseca, que acabado creo que será una de las grandes cosas que haya en este reino no sólo por la materia de que es hecho, sino por la labor que es de las más curiosas que en plata se puede labrar.

Costó el tabernáculo a doña María Quijada de Carvajal tres mil pesos, el banco costó quinientos, el arco mil y trescientos, de manera que cuesta todo casi cinco mil pesos. Presea digna de para quien es.

Tiene altar que acompaña bien tanta riqueza, porque todo el año está tan bien adornado de frontales de tela, brocado, terciopelo de Castilla, bordado, manteles, palias, candeleros, blandones de plata, de que tanta copia tiene esta santa Imagen como diré después, que hace muy buena correspondencia.

Las paredes de la capilla están colgadas todo el año de reposteros de terciopelo a-/49r./zul, con sus cenefas de terciopelo carmesí y oro. Dentro de la capilla mayor, al lado del evangelio, está un altar de un devoto crucifijo en cuyo pie está una imagen Nuestra Señora de las Lágrimas, pintada en tabla de una vara de alto y media de lio en su tabernáculo de oro grabado, con su velo de tela cubierta que, cuando la Hermita no tuviera otra presea ni cosa de devoción, bastaba esta santa imagen para ir de romería en muchas leguas a buscarla, porque es una de las cosas devotas que he visto en mi vida. Porque parece una cosa viva y que está derramando vivísimas lágrimas de compasión, de manera que a quien la mira mueve al mismo efecto. Y así hay muchas personas devotas y contemplativas, especialmente religiosas y que tratan de espíritu, que se van a hacer estación particular y novenas a esta santa Imagen. Y cierto es así que cuando la presea de la Virgen no estuviera en aquella Casa, bastaba ésta para que se le tuviese la devoción que se le tiene, que sólo verla enternece y hace estilar el corazón en lágrimas, que representa bien el dolor interior que la Virgen sentía cuando las derramaba.

Al lado de la epístola está otro altar de nuestra Señora con el Niño dormido, adorándolo la Virgen, el Bautista y san José. Pintura devota. Ambos altares defendidos por lo alto, del polvo, con sus cielos de terciopelo.

Como las lámparas son tantas y tan grandes y la capillita de la Virgen es pequeña, no caben. Y así están repartidas al proporción, de manera que hacen maravillosa labor en sus letreros por toda la capilla mayor, que bien es menester toda ella para que quepan, con estar tan api-/49v./ñadas y juntas. Este es el adorno que está en la capilla mayor.

CAPITULO XII

De la pintura que tienen las paredes de la santa Hermita.

Para que a tanto adorno acompañasen aún hasta las paredes de toda la Hermita, el doctor José López vicario que fue de aquella Hermita y después murió cura de esta Santa Iglesia Metropolitana, hijo de un hombre de los piadosos que ha conocido este reino, que fue el doctor Pedro López que fundó dos Hospitales de esta Ciudad, el uno el de los Niños Desamparados y el otro el de san Lázaro, y los sustentó y sirvió con su medicina y hacienda mientras vivió.

Siendo pues Vicario de aquella Hermita su hijo el doctor José López, con la piedad de ánimo heredada de su padre, trató el año de mil y quinientos y noventa y cinco de pintar todo el cuerpo de la Iglesia, para que tuviese correspondencia con todo lo demás, de los milagros más

célebres que la Virgen ha hecho en aquella Casa y por los devotos suyos, que dondequiera la han invocado, aunque muy distantes.

Porque tiene la Virgen muy agudos oídos para socorrer a los que de donde quiera la llaman. Eso es tener los cabellos como pimpollos de palmas que son tan altos sus oídos, como el pimpollo de la palma de allí oye. Son sus ojos farol, es la atalaya/ 50r./ que no parece de muy lejos la navecilla de la necesidad, impelida del viento de la oración, cuando luego la recoge en el puerto de su amparo, como lo han hecho con muchos en esta Casa. Pues unos llamándola desde lo último de este Mar del Sur, otros desde estas tierras distantísimas, a todos como puerto seguro los ha dado libres de las borrascas de sus trabajos.

Todas estas pinturas están en su Casa en memoria de lo que ha hecho por sus devotos, todas las hizo el devoto capellán, tan adornadas de versos, elogios, jeroglíficos. Pinturas que, haría agravio a su ingenioso trabajo y aún quedara manca la pintura del adorno de esta santa Casa, si no lo pusiera. Y así lo he de poner aunque me cueste trabajo que arguye todo, en quien lo trabajó, ingenio, erudición y gran lección de letras sagradas.

Yo sé que los curiosos me agradecerán el trabajo y quien no lo entendiere pase adelante, que porque el libro sirva a todos no he puesto en todo él cosa de latín, pero aquí no lo pude excusar porque no hago en esta parte mas de referir lo que está allí pintado.

En el lienzo de pared que corresponde al lado de la epístola, que es el siniestro como entramos, donde acaba el altar del Niño Jesús dormido, luego inmediatamente comienza la pintura que va repartida en cuadros asentados entre columnas, unas a un lado y otras a otro. Y cada cual de estas columnas tiene dos medias, entre las columnas, que se distinguen los cuadros. Está un encasamiento que sirve de lo que después diré: Cada cuadro contiene dentro de la pintura de uno de los milagros que la Virgen ha hecho.

Por/50v./ lo bajo de los cuadros van unas como cenefas donde, en sus tarjetas, están pintados elogios y jeroglíficos en honra de los misterios de la vida de la Virgen; en el pedestal de cada columna, de las dos que contiene el arco, está una octava que dice el milagro de aquel cuadro. Encima del cuadro hay pinturas y letras correspondientes a un misterio y excelencia de la Virgen, en todo con gran ingenio.

En el primer cuadro de la mano izquierda está pintado el milagro de cuando Nuestra Señora apareció en la conquista, el día que se recogieron los conquistadores a aquel lugar, rotos y desbaratados con tan gran pérdida como fueron cuatrocientos y cincuenta españoles, cuatro mil indios amigos. Que no siguieron los mexicanos el alcance porque la Virgen los cegaba con tierra que les echaba en los ojos, con que les atajaba los pasos e intentos.

No cuento este milagro aquí, de propósito, ni de los demás porque de ellos he de hacer particular capítulo donde referiré por menudo todos los que la Virgen ha obrado en aquella su Casa o por su medio. Debajo de este cuadro, en medio del pedestal, está una tarja dedicada a la Presentación de la Virgen con una letra que dice: **Sacrum divinae Virginis Praesentationi, por título, y luego en la misma Adducitur in templum María et in domo Domini plan ta ía et impinguata Spiritu, veluti oliva fructífera, omnis virtutis habitaculum facta est. Ab omni seculari vita et carnali concupiscentia, procul mentem sequestrans, et sic virgineam animam corpore conservans, ut decebat eam, quae sinu /51r./Deum susceptura est. D. Joannes Damascenus.**

A un lado de esta tarja está otra con un jeroglífico pintado, un huerto cerrado, tiene por mote: **Sacra Deo.**

La letra española dice así:

Tan tierna viene al jardín,

Porque sin pagar tributo
A de dar a Dios por fruto.

Del otro lado, de manera que coge en medio al elogio de la Presentación de la Virgen, está otra tarja con un jeroglífico: Tiene un templo con un altar y sobre él puesto un fuego. El mote dice:

Recedant vetera. Es de dos distintos latinos que dicen:

Cedite vestales ignes, fiet Deus ignis
Servare aeternam iam nova Virgo venit,
Sistitur ecce aris, sed pectoris ara pudici
Dignior hunc ignem. Quae tueatur erit.

Debajo de la columna, de las dos que ciñe el cuadro, está en una octava que declara el milagro que contiene el cuadro, dise así:

Aquí fue el peligroso trance, cuando
El invencible ejercito cristiano,
Iba el preciso punto dilatando
Huyendo el furor bárbaro e insano
Siguió amor inmenso no olvidando
No trocaras las suertes y la mano
Dando a su caro pueblo la victoria
Con un milagro digno de memoria.

La columna que corresponde a ésta, y ciñe el cuadro, tiene en el mismo lugar otra octava al mismo propósito que dice:

Y fue que en ocasión era forzoso

/51 v./Volver los campos con su sangre rojos
Con desusado modo milagroso,
La Virgen por no ver hechos despojos
Sus cristianos de el indio victorioso
De arena y polvo les cegó los ojos,
Ganando en tal jornada esta Señora
Pronombre insigne de Conquistadora.

En lo alto de la una columna, de estas dos, está pintada la esperanza con esta letra **Spes** y encima de ella una escala pintada y la letra **Scala coeli** y junto un ángel con una tarja en la mano y dentro de esta letra: **Spes omnium finium terrae Ps. 64.** Sobre la otra columna correspondiente está asentada la templanza con su nombre **Temperantia**. Encima pintado un pozo, la letra **Puteus aquarum**, y luego un ángel que corresponde al del otro lado con una tarja que tiene dentro de esta letra **miscui vinum et posui mensam.**

En medio del cuadro, por la parte alta, cojen estas dos figuras de virtudes una pintura de Judit con la cabeza de Holofernes en la mano y por mote, que coje por la parte baja de la pintura, esta letra **Per te ad nihilum redegit inimicos. Judich. 13.**

En el encasamiento, que está entre las columnas del primero y segundo cuadro, está una Sibila pintada, que coje de alto a bajo todo lo que dije la estatura de las columnas, bien dibujada en

hábito de Sibilia, tiene al pie esta letra **Sibila Tiburtina Virginem Dei Matrem, quam praevidit anno millesimo centesimo quinquagesimo quarto antecessit.**

/52r./Tiene en la mano una tarja con estos seis heroicos, que son de su profecía, dicen así:

Verax ipse Deus dedit haec mihi munia fandi
Carmine, quo Sanctam potui mostrare
Puellam Concipiet, quae nazaraeis in finibus illum,
Quem sub carne Deum bethlemica rura videbunt
Omnium felix cáelo dignissima Mater,
Quae tantam sacra lactabit ab ubere prolem.

Sobre la Sibila está una tarja en que está pintado el Dios Vulcano sobre una salamandra en medio del fuego y debajo esta letra: **Lampades eius lampades ignis, atque flammaram. Cant. 8.**

El segundo cuadro contiene en su pintura el milagro que la Virgen obró con don Juan, el indio su devoto, cuando halló a la Virgen, que con su santa sinceridad la encerraba en la caja, cuando se le iba al puesto donde la había hallado. Cómo le ponía de comer y beber para que no se le fuese.

En medio de este cuadro, al pie de él, está un elogio a la Anunciación, en una tarja dice así la dedicación: **Sacrum salutiferae Virginis Anuntiationi.**

Y la letra es esta:

Pariet coelum, tremunt angeli, creatura nos sustinet, natura non sufficit, quod una puella sic Deum in sui pectoris capit, recipit, oblectat, hospitio, ut pacem terris, coelis gloriam, salutem perditis, vitam mortuis, terrenis in coelestibus parentelam ipsius Dei cum carne commertium, pro ipsa Domus exigit pensione, pro ipsius veteri mercede conquirat. D. Petras Chrisologus.

A un lado de este elogio está pintado un jeroglífico-/52v./ fico, una flor que llaman mirasol, vuelta hacia un sol que está pintado. El mote es: **Sol floridus ex te.**

La letra española dice así:

Sois flor de maravilla
Virgen donde el fuerte amor
Al sol lo convierte en flor.

Al otro lado del elogio está pintado otro jeroglífico, una doncella con un unicornio arrodillado a su regazo. Dice el mote: **Gloria eius quasi unicornis.** La letra latina en dos disticos dice:

Inclite monoceros posita iam vincidis ira,
Virginis in gremio captus amator adest.
Came teges numen, reges cornu unget olivo
Culpa abiget virus copia dives erit.

Debajo de la primera columna, que ciñe este cuadro, está esta octava que declara el miento de la pintura y dice:

Es engaño pensar, que de su intento
Vuelva atrás en amaros solo un punto
La que es de nuestro bien el fundamento
Aunque le impida el mundo todo junto,
Que como tiene en Dios su nacimiento,
El amor de la Virgen, y es trasunto:
De el hombre Dios de amor puro y sincero

Es el quebrar de bronce, es más que acero.

Al pie de la otra columna, que corresponde a ésta y cierra el cuadro, está el mismo intento y lo acaba de declarar esta octava:

/53r./Si esto Don Juan supiera no intentará
Privaros virgen de esta amada cumbre
Cumbre dichosa, y más que el cielo clara
Pues goza Sol Virgíneo vuestra lumbre,
México venturoso pues de cara
Tienes un Sol, que alumbra por costumbre
No hay por qué temas ya noche en tu día,
Que dicen mal tinieblas con María.

Sobre la una columna de estas dos, está la **Prudencia** con la insignia que siempre le pintan y su nombre escrito encima de ella. Está un espejo y la letra: **Speculum sine macula** y un ángel junto con su tarja en la mano que tiene escrita esta letra **In prudentia tua fecisti tibi fortitudinem. Ezechiel. 28.**

Sobre la columna que corresponde a ésta, está pintada la Misericordia con su insignia conocida y el nombre **Misericordia**. Encima están pintadas unas flores y letra que dice **flos campi** y junto un ángel con su tarja, que tiene esta letra **faciens misericordiam in millia, his qui diligunt eum.**

En medio del cuadro, por la parte superior, está pintado Jacob durmiendo, con la visión de la escala delante y la letra que ciñe la pintura dice **Non est hic aliud nisi domus Dei et porta coeli. Gen. 28.**

En medio las columnas del segundo y tercero cuadro, en el encasamento que hace, está pintado Salomón, al pie tiene una letra que dice: **Salomón enigma proposuit, quod post annum millesimum octuagessimum Virginis partus apparuit.** Tiene en la mano una tarja en que está escrito: **Tria mihi sunt difficilia et quartum penitus ignoro, viam viri in virgine. Proverb. 30. 30.**

/53V./Encima está pintado Mercurio con su caduceo, esta letra que dice **Mirabilis facta est scientia tua ex me. Ps. 138.**

En el tercer cuadro está pintado el milagro cuando cayó el pilar sobre don Juan, que quedó descoyuntado, que le sanó la Virgen dándole el cinto, que ceñido con él quedó bueno y sano.

En medio del pedestal que corresponde a este cuadro, está una tarja con elogio a la expectación del parto de nuestra Señora. Dice el título **Sacrum ardentissimae expectationi.** Y luego dice **Speciali constitutione sanctitur, ut ante diem octavum conatus est Dominus genitricis quoque eius dies habeatur celeberrimus et praeclarus. Nam quod festum matris est nisi incarnatio Verbi? Cuius festum ita debet esse solemne sicut et eiusdem nativitatis Verbi. Concil. Toleta. 10. Canon I.**

A un lado del elogio está pintado un jeroglífico, lloviendo el cielo. Y el mote dice: **Aperiatúr térra et germinet Salvatorem.**

La letra española dice:

Abrid y dad el tesoro
Do ponga el alma el trofeo,
Cúmplase nuestro deseo.

Del otro lado del elogio está otro jeroglífico, pintado un árbol con fruto. Y el mote dice: **Fructum dabit in tempore suo.**

La letra en tres dísticos dice:
Arbor fatalis vértex cui surgit olimpo
Áurea tota comis flore referta Dei,
Expectes licet interdum virgo indita fructum
Flos feret iste Deum nec tamen ille cadet,
Fructu et flore nitens paries sine labe tonantem
Flos tua virginitas fructus at ipse Deus.

/54r./Debajo de una de las dos columnas que ciñen este cuadro está una octava que dice el intento del milagro y dice:

Virgen más pura que el más puro cielo
¿En tanta ingratitud tanta largueza?
¿Tanto fuego de amor a tanto yelo?
¿En tanta deslealtad tanta firmeza?
Que apenas llega el mal, cuando de vuelo
Vienes tras de él con tanta ligereza,
Que aunque para el deseo se esté abierta
Ten cuenta siempre Virgen a la puerta.

Debajo de la otra columna correspondiente está otra octava al mismo intento. Y dice:

Si adoleció don Juan en tu servicio
don Juan y el mundo todo está pagado
Pues es de cielo y tierra propio oficio
Estar dispuesto todo a tu mandado
Y no, que con un nuevo beneficio
Le des salud y dejes obligado
Con una rica cinta de tu mano,
Con que aún quedara el mismo cielo ufano

Sobre la una columna de éstas está pintada la figura de la Verdad con el nombre que dice: **Veritas**. Encima está pintado un sol y la letra que dice: **Electa ut sol**. Cerca un ángel con una tarja y la letra que dice **Omnes viae tuae, veritas. Ps. 133**.

Sobre la una columna está pintada la Contemplación con su nombre que dice **Contemplado**. Encima está pintado un ciprés y la letra que dice: **Quasi cipresus**. Y junto está un ángel con esta letra en una tarja: **In meditatione mea exardescet ignis. Ps. 38**.

/54V/ En medio del cuadro, por la parte alta, está pintada Esther hincada de rodillas ante Asuero. La letra que ciñe la tarja dice: **Non propter lex posita est. Esther. 15**. En medio de las columnas del tercero y cuarto cuadro, en el encasamiento que hace, está pintada una Sibila, tiene esta letra: **Sybilla Europea ante centessimum decimum tertium annum vaticinata est**. En la tarja que tiene en la mano está su profecía en seis heroicos que dicen así:

Virginis aeternum veniet de corpore verbum
Purum quod valles et montes transiet altus
Ule volens etiam stellato missus Olympo,
Edetur mundo pauper, cui cuneta silenti
Rex erit imperio sic credo et mente fatebor
Humano simul, ac divino semine natus.

Sobre la Sibila está pintada la figura del Dios Apolo y la letra dice: **In solé posuit tabernaculum, suum.**

En el cuarto cuadro está el milagro de la nao del mariscal Alonso de Ribera, que libró la Virgen destrozada en el Mar del Sur viniendo de Filipinas.

En medio de la peana de este cuadro está un elogio a la Purificación de la Virgen santísima. Dice la dedicatoria: **Sacrum obsequentissimae Virginis Purificationi.** Y la letra dice: **Nihil in hoc conceptu, nihil in partu impurum fuit, nihil illicitum, nihil purgandum, nimirum proles ista fons puritatis sit et purgationem venerit faceré delictorum, quid in me legalis purificet observado, quae purissima facta sum /55R./ ipso parto immaculato? D. Bernar.**

A un lado de este elogio está un jeroglífico, una mano que sale del suelo, otra que sale del cielo con una esmeralda, que la recibe de la mano que sale de la tierra. El mote dice: **Hac debita solvo.** La letra española dice en un terceto:

Con la piedra que presento
Se hace la recompensa
De la culpa, aunque es inmensa.

Del otro lado del elogio está otro jeroglífico, el arca de Noe sobre los montes de Armenia con la paloma que vuelve a ella con un ramo de oliva en el pico. Y dice el mote **In plenitudine pacis.** Y la letra en tres dísticos dice:

Pulchra oculis torque irradians, quo viñeta tonanti
Fele animi carens nuncia pacis ave.
Sorde carens ramum nostris pro sordibus offers
Hostia nec poterat gratior esse Deo
Est Deus hic ramus stigii reserator averni
Ignem animis nutriens foedera pacis habens.

Debajo de la otra columna de las que abrazan este cuadro está una octava que dice el intento del milagro:

Cuando la mar furiosa embravece
levanta sus olas hasta el cielo.
Cuando el aire con vientos se encruelece
se viste de obscuro y negro velo
el pobre navegante que perece
No puede hallar alivio ni consuelo
Si acaso Virgen vuestro nombre invoca
Luego el remedio con sus manos toca.

/55 V./Debajo de la otra columna que corresponde a esta otra octava que concluya el intento y dice:

Dígalo un caballero que volviendo
Desde las Islas Filipinas puesto
Entre ansias y congojas viendo,
De la vida el peligro manifiesto
Vuestra misericordia conociendo
Gloriosa Virgen acudió de presto
Y en vuestras manos halla sin tardanza
De su vida y salud cierta esperanza.

Sobre la una columna de estas dos está pintada la Tranquilidad con la letra de su nombre **Tranquilitas**, y encima una estrella con la letra que dice: **Stella maris**. Y junto un ángel con una letra en su tarjeta que dice: **Sicut laetantium omnium habitatio est in te. Ps. 86.**

Sobre la otra columna que le corresponde, está pintada la Obediencia con su nombre **Obedientia**. Encima está un rosal, la letra dice **Plantatio rosae**. Cerca un ángel con su tarjeta y dentro esta letra: **Fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum. Luc. I.**

En medio del cuadro y, entre las virtudes, está pintada en una tarjeta María la hermana de Moisés con el cordero de los hebreos, con sonajas las manos, saliendo del mar bermejo. Y letra que dice: **Cantemus Domino gloriosse enim magnificatus est. Exod. 15.**

En el encasamento que está entre el cuarto y quinto cuadro está Jeremías con esta letra en una tarjeta: **Creavit Dominus novum super terram, femina circumdabit virum. C. 31.** Al pie del profeta esta letra: **Hieremias maerentem populum laetissimo virgineae sobolis nuntio annis ante centesimo quinquagesimo quinto, recreavit.**

/56r./Encima del profeta está el dios Júpiter y la letra que dice: **Jucunditatem et exultationem thesaurizabit. Ecclesiast. 15.**

En el quinto están pintados los milagros del tullido de cuatro años que poniéndole la Virgen en la cabeza, sanó. Y del otro que arrastró una mula más de tres leguas, espantada de haber tirado tras ella una escopeta, que no le lastimó, ni perdió de la mano el rosario, ni dejó de llamar a la Virgen de los Remedios. Al pie de este cuadro está, en medio de la basa, un elogio a nuestra Señora de las Nieves. Y dice así la dedicatoria: **Sacrum festo purissimae Virginis ad nives** y luego **Joannes Patricias sub Liberio Papa locum nivibus designatum Nivae Virgini dedicat: Aestivo mirare nives in solé rigentes Ulla ñeque calida damna tulisse cave Virginis et morís niveum mirare pudorem, Ulla ñeque e partu damna tullisse novo.**

A un lado de este elogio está este jeroglífico: Dos corazones metidos en fuego y una mano que de arriba está lloviendo sobre ellos nieve. Y por mote: **Reficit et refovet.** Y la letra española dice así:

Al mundo abrazara el fuego
Más por vos el cielo llueve,
Para que le apague la nieve.

Al otro lado está otro jeroglífico: Un volcán coronado de nieve y por mote: **Sit frigus nivis in diebus mesis.** Y la letra en tres dísticos que dice:

Quid Líbano glacies medio se fundit in estu?
Mese, quid in media frigora grata nivis
Nix tua virginitas mater candentior omni,
/56v./ Lacte, ligustro ebore, marmore, olore, nive
Temperat illa ignís flammis, puer aliger abde
Flammam, virgineus sit mea flamma pudor.

Debajo de una de las columnas que ciñen este cuadro está esta octava que dice el intento de los milagros de él. Y dice:

No fue una vez, o Virgen soberana,
El descubrir el amoroso pecho
Porque sois fuente que continuo mana,
Para nuestra salud, vida y provecho
Sois en el suelo celestial fontana

Que para su remedio Dios ha hecho,
Gloria del cielo, de la tierra lumbre
En este monte y levantada cumbre.
Haya frío de nieve en los días de la mies.

Debajo de la columna que corresponde, esta otra octava que concluye el intento de la primera. Y dice:

El testigo será de esta probanza
Quien sin pies los recibe y el tullido
Que ya cual gamo al campo se avalanza
Sin saber cómo ser agradecido
Y el que Virgen, por vuestra ayuda alcanza
El no ser del caballo despedido,
Que en detenerle se cansaba en vano
Si no lo refrenara vuestra mano.

Sobre la primera columna está pintada la Inocencia con su nombre escrito encima, pintado un huerto y la letra es **Paradisus Dei** y junto un ángel con una tarjeta en que está esta letra: **Absque peccato et innocens. Hierem. 2.**

Sobre la otra columna está el Silencio, con esta letra **Taciturnitas** y encima pintada la luna. Y la letra /57r./ **Pulchra ut luna.** Y junto el ángel con esta letra en la tarjeta **María conservabat omnia verba haec. Luc. 2.**

Entre las dos columnas, por la parte alta, está una tarjeta en que está pintada Jael clavando el clavo en la cabeza del capitán Sisara. Y la letra que dice: **Benedicta tu ínter mulieres Jael. Judicum 8.**

En medio de las columnas, en el encasamiento, está pintada una Sibila y al pie tiene esta letra: **Sybilla lepsica Virginem sempiterna Dei omnipotentia Christum parituram, millessimo ducentessimo anno, praevidit.** Tiene una tarja en la mano con su profecía en seis heroicos que dicen:

Nentarde venit tacita, sed mente tenendum
Hoc opus, hoc memori semperque corde reponet;
Huius pertentant congaudia magna prophetae,
Eximii qui virgínea conceptus ab albo
Prodibit, sine contactu maris, omnia vincet,
Hoc naturae opus, at fecit qui iuncta gubernat.

Encima de la Sibila está pintado el sol, luna y estrellas. Y dice la letra: **Tu, supergressa es universas. Proverb. 31.**

A un lado de este elogio está este jeroglífico: Dos corazones metidos en fuego y una mano que de arriba está lloviendo sobre ellos nieve. Y por mote: **Reficit et refovet.** Y la letra española dice así:

Al mundo abrazara el fuego
Más por vos el cielo llueve,
Para que le apague la nieve.

Al otro lado está otro jeroglífico: Un volcán coronado de nieve y por mote: **Sit frigus nivis in diebus mesis.** Y la letra en tres dísticos que dice:

Quid Líbano glacies medio se fundit in estu?

Mese, quid in media frigora grata nivis
 Nix tua virginitas mater candentior omni,
 /56v./ Lacte, ligustro ebore, marmore, olore, nive
 Temperat illa ignis flammam, puer aliger abde
 Flammam, virgineus sit mea flamma pudor.

Debajo de una de las columnas que ciñen este cuadro está esta octava que dice el intento de los milagros de él. Y dice:

No fue una vez, o Virgen soberana,
 El descubrir el amoroso pecho
 Porque sois fuente que continuo mana,
 Para nuestra salud, vida y provecho
 Sois en el suelo celestial fontana
 Que para su remedio Dios ha hecho,
 Gloria del cielo, de la tierra lumbre
 En este monte y levantada cumbre.

Debajo de la columna que corresponde, esta otra octava que concluye el intento de la primera. Y dice:

El testigo será de esta probanza
 Quien sin pies los recibe y el tullido
 Que ya cual gamo al campo se avalanza
 Sin saber cómo ser agradecido
 Y el que Virgen, por vuestra ayuda alcanza
 El no ser del caballo despedido,
 Que en detenerle se cansaba en vano
 Si no lo refrenara vuestra mano.

Sobre la primera columna está pintada la Inocencia con su nombre escrito encima, pintado un huerto y la letra es **Paradisus Dei** y junto un ángel con una tarjeta en que está esta letra: **Absque peccato et innocens. Hierem. 2.**

Sobre la otra columna está el Silencio, con esta letra **Taciturnitas** y encima pintada la luna. Y la letra /57r./ **Pulchra ut luna.** Y junto el ángel con esta letra en la tarjeta **María conservabat omnia verba haec. Luc. 2.**

Entre las dos columnas, por la parte alta, está una tarjeta en que está pintada Jael clavando el clavo en la cabeza del capitán Sisara. Y la letra que dice: **Benedicta tu ínter mulieres Jael. Judicum 8.**

En medio de las columnas, en el encasamiento, está pintada una Sibila y al pie tiene esta letra: **Sybilla lepsica Virginem sempiterna Dei omnipotentia Christum parituram, millessimo ducentessimo anno, praevideit.** Tiene una tarja en la mano con su profecía en seis heroicos que dicen:

Nentarde venit tacita, sed mente tenendum
 Hoc opus, hoc memori semperque corde reponet;
 Huius pertentant congaudia magna prophetae,
 Eximii qui virgínea conceptus ab albo
 Prodibit, sine contactu maris, omnia vincet,
 Hoc naturae opus, at fecit qui iuncta gubernat.

Encima de la Sibila está pintado el sol, luna y estrellas. Y dice la letra: **Tu, supergressa es universas. Proverb. 31.**

CAPITULO XIII

De la pintura que tiene el otro lienzo de la pared de la santa Hermita.

Como somos tan cosijosos y tan presto nos cansamos los hombres de cualquier ejercicio, aunque sea de gusto, es menester en cualquiera ha-/57v./cer pausa para que no canse.

Entre muchos nombres que el hombre tiene y le dan las sagradas letras, que declaran bien sus propiedades, que en la lengua santa se deduce y deriva de miseria y cansancio. así cuando el profeta dice: El hombre es como el heno, está en hebreo una palabra que significa sus pocas fuerzas; es como un heno que hoy nace y mañana está seco, hecho una estopa para el fuego, un poco de aire le mueve, un poco de sol le marchita. aunque no hubiera ni sol ni viento, él mismo se secara porque dentro de siesta la raíz y principio de sus daños. Y así no hay que espantarnos que se cansen.

Para reparar este daño y si se cansare pueda, hallando distinción, descansar, me pareció hacerla de capítulo en este intento, que si bien es el mismo que el pasado, podrase cansar alguno de leer lo que está pintado en uno de los dos lienzos de la pared de la Hermita. Y si se cansare podrá hacer pausa y comenzar a ver las ingeniosas tarjas que hay en el otro lienzo, comenzando con nuevo capítulo.

Aunque los dos primeros lienzos no podré poner enteros porque para abrir una puerta a aquel lado, para que el día que se celebra fiesta a la Virgen salga la gente, que es mucha, se quitaron las pinturas. Y aunque he querido averiguar lo que estaba allí, no he podido si bien me he aprovechado de los borradores de Alonso de Villasaña que fue el que lo pintó, que vinieron a mis manos. Y aunque puse diligencia no pude hallarlo todo. Contentarse ha el lector con lo que hallare.

En el primer cuadro está pintado cuando el Marqués del Valle derribó del Templo Mayor los ídolos principales de este reino y en su lugar colocó la /58r./santa Imagen de nuestra Señora de los Remedios. Hallé las dos octavas que estaban puestas al pedestal de este cuadro que dicen así:

Un hecho, que a valor humano excede
Sobre fuerzas de todo atrevimiento
No es bien, que el tiempo su memoria vele
Pues que en la eternidad tiene su asiento
En columna de bronce y marmol quede
En diamantes escrito tal intento,
La fama de la hazaña y su ruido
Haga parar las aguas del olvido.

Quando el Señor del Valle antiguo ameno
Dejando al Mundo Nuevo, raro ejemplo,
Puso de fuerzas celestiales lleno
La Imagen de la Virgen en el templo
Despide el lago Estigio su veneno
La resistencia bárbara con templo,
Mas contra tal Señora no hay quien baste

Ni quien las fuerzas del Marqués contraste.

Y según parece de un jeroglífico que hallé al pie de este cuadro, estaba un elogio a la Concepción de la Virgen, y no parece el jeroglífico que le corresponde de la letra latina. El jeroglífico que parece es un pliego de papel blanco y por las orlas todo resplandeciente, y una mano que tiene una pluma sobre el pliego y que está como para caer un borrón y otra mano que desvía la pluma. El mote dice **Ne cadat**.

La letra dice:

Porque no caiga el borrón
En quien ha de estar escrito
/58v./ El Verbo eterno, la quite.

No parece otra cosa de este cuadro.

El segundo cuadro contiene el milagro que la Virgen hizo cuando los indios quisieron quitar del Templo, a donde la había colocado el Marqués, a la santa Imagen, que no pudieron ni con maromas y se les quedaban pegadas las manos. Parecieron las octavas a este propósito, dicen así:

El indio ciego, que de luz carece
No conociendo la que el cielo envía
Desecha la ventura que le ofrece
Teniendo en más los Dioses que tenía
En furor y coraje se embravece
Por derribar la Imagen de María,
Pero quedaron sus intentos vanos
Sin poder desasir de ella las manos.

Bien parece Virgen poderosa
Cuánto queréis honrar a nuestra tierra,
Aunque la gente ingrata y desdeñosa,
Con tantas ocasiones os destierra
Vencéis benigna, dulce y amorosa.
Por mirar por su bien aquesta guerra,
Y mientras, Virgen, más tu fuego prende,
A mayor resistencia, más se extiende.

Debía de estar debajo de este cuadro el elogio a la Natividad de nuestra Señora según lo da a entender el jeroglífico que parece, que es este pintado un hermoso cielo azul, que de él sale una rica pieza de brocado, que la muestra una mano. Y un mote que va subiendo de la tierra al cielo que dice **Hinc pulcher** /59r./ **amicus**. La letra:

Si tela a nuestra medida,
Determina Dios vestir
De esta pieza ha de salir.

Desde aquí adelante esta cabal la pintura. Y así está en el tercer cuadro el milagro de cuando aparecían, en el lugar donde hoy está la Hermita, todos los días de san Hipólito, ángeles edificando casa con grandes luces y resplandores, con música y gallardetes.

Antes de este cuadro y pilar, está pintado David. En el pedestal tiene una tarja con esta letra: **David regiam e suo semine virginem, Deum iuxta millesimum septuagesimum primum annum parituram praescivit.** Tiene en la mano una tarja con esta letra, **Dominus dabit benignitatem et terra nostra dabit fructum suum. Ps. 84.** En medio del cuadro, por la parte baja, está un elogio a la Visitación de la Virgen con esta dedicatoria que dice: **Sacrum humili Virginis Visitationi** y luego **ascendebat in montana María, fervebat in inquirendagratia, charitas splendebat in carne virginitas, humilitas in obsequio emminebat, etc... Si omnis qui se humiliat exaltabitur, quid hac humilitate sublimius?. D. Berard.**

A un lado de este elogio está un jeroglífico pintada una litera a la puerta de una casa, tiene una litera por la parte de fuera un sol reververando hacia la casa. El mote dice a **lumine lumen.** La letra:

Esa luz que nos traéis
Aunque encerrada, destierra
Las tinieblas de la tierra.

A otro lado del elogio está otro jeroglífico, pintada una espiga inclinada, y por mote **Ubertas mea /59v./me flectic.** Y la letra en tres disticos dice:

Faeta Deo Regina potens cui servit olympus
Agnato obsequium sedula virgo parat
Quamque Deus revehit cáelo, et dat gignere numen
Et magne reptat humi, quo mage plena bonis
Ubertas veluti plenam sua flectit aristam
Et mage dificitur, quo magis illa ferax.

Debajo de una de las columnas que cierran el cuadro, está esta octava que declara el misterio de él y dice:

Como la Virgen nuestro bien procura
Cuando más de él estamos descuidados
Decláralo muy bien esta pintura
Donde veréis, señores ocupados,
Por vuestro bien con próspera ventura,
Del cielo los espíritus alados
Fabricando a su Reina rico templo,
Donde mil fuentes de salud contemplo.

Debajo de la otra columna que corresponde, está otra octava que concluye intento de la primera y dice:

No porque la que en el cielo empireo habita
Servida de felices cortesanos
Nuestro servicio o templo pone o quita,
Un punto de sus gozos soberanos
Sino porque el amor la necesita
Que haga de si entregos sobrehumanos
Dejándole la llave del tesoro
De las Indias de Dios que no hay tal oro.

Por la parte de la columna está pintada la Virginitad con su título **Virginitas** Encima de la cabeza/60r./ está un huerto cerrado con esta letra **hortus conclusus** y a su lado un ángel con ésta **post partum, etc. Virgine permansisti.**

Sobre la otra columna está pintada la Paz, encima una palma. Y la letra dici **columba formosa**, a un lado un ángel con una tarja con esta letra que **posuit finetuos pacem. Ps. 131.**

Entre los pilares del tercero y cuarto cuadro está pintada una Sibila, debajo de los pies tiene esta letra **Sybilla retro annis millesimo centesimo septuagessimo quinto Dei Filium ex haebrea virgine nasciturum prophetavit.** Tiene en la mano una tarja con estos seis heroicos de su profecía:

Cerno Dei natum, qui se dimissit ab alto
Ultima faelices reserent cum témpora soles
Haebrea, quem virgo feret de stirpe decora
In terris multum teneris pasurus ab annis
Virgine matre satus prudenti pectore verax.

(a verse is missing)

Sobre la Sibila esta pintada Venus con Cupido en los brazos y esta letra **Ego mater pulchrae dilectionis. Eccles. 24.**

En el cuarto cuadro está pintada la traída de la santa Imagen a esta Ciudad, la primera vez, en tiempo del virrey Don Martín Enriquez y el arzobispo Don Pedro Moya de Contreras por ocasión de la peste, el año de setenta y siete, en una carroza acompañándola virrey y arzobispo.

Por la parte baja, en medio del cuadro, está un elogio al parto de la Virgen. Y dice así la dedicatoria **Sacrum admirabilis virginis partui** y luego **opportuit /60./ ut priman virginis integritatem nascens incorruptio custoridet et complacitum sibi claustrum pudoris et sanctitatis hospitium divini spiritus virtus infusa servaret. D. Leo Papa.**

Al lado de este elogio está un jeroglífico, pintada una fuente cubierta por arriba y un raudal de agua que sale por el pie. Y la letra **fons signatus.** La letra española dice así:

Cerrada queda la fuente
Y con traza no entendida
nos da las aguas de vida.

Al otro lado del elogio está otro jeroglífico pintado un vaso de vidrio, demás de él unas pajas que hiriendo el sol en el vaso por la parte opuesta, las abraza. Y el mote dice **Illaesa virginitas.** Y la letra:

Sol radiis stipulam per vas transmisus adurit
Vas manet illaesum solé manente simul
Cum tua conciperent aeternum viscera
Solem Integra virgo manes, integer ille simul,
Nunc etiam genitrix parís intemerata parentem
Magnus erit nobis editus ille Deus.

Cuadro del parto de la virgen admirable.

Debajo de la columna que ciñe este cuadro, está una octava que dice el intento. Y dice así:

Como en presencia de la clara aurora.
Coje la obscura noche el negro manto
Y así Febo las nubes pinta y dora
Que al mundo priva del horror y espanto
No de otra suerte sacra Emperadora

Huye de ti la muerte, que entre tanto,
Que te mostraste ausente en flor cogidas
Con gran rigor segaba nuestras vidas.

Debajo de la otra columna, que corresponde a la/6 Ir./ otra, está esta octava que concluye el intento y dice:

Testigo es aquel tiempo venturoso,
En que la muerte con mayor licencia,
Prueba dura, y cruel si tu clemencia
No le pusiera freno riguroso,
Que no pudo ni en tu presencia
Parar sombra de muerte, pues es llano
Que lo que puede Dios está en tu mano.

Sobre una de estas columnas está pintada la Humildad y sobre su cabeza una palma con esta letra **quasi palma**. Sobre la otra columna está pintada la Sabiduría, encima pintado un cedro y la letra **quasi cedrus**.

En medio del cuadro, por la parte alta, está pintada Abigail hincada de rodillas ante David y esta letra por orla **Benedicta tu, qui prohibuisti me ne irem ad sanguinem. I Reg. 28**. En el encasamento que hay del cuarto y quinto cuadro está pintado Isaías con esta letra al pie **Isaías virginis post annum octuagessimum trigessimum octavum, pariturae non tan vates, quam evangelista fuit**. En la mano tiene una tarja con esta letra: **Ecce virgo concipiet et pariet filium et vocabitur nomen eius Emanuel. C.7**.

Sobre la cabeza del profeta está pintado el dios Marte y por mote **Ipsa conteret caput tuum**.

En el quinto cuadro está pintada nuestra Señora en otro altar, con enfermos delante y arrastrando una muía a Luis Mayo, mayordomo que fue de la Hermita.

En medio del cuadro, por la parte baja, está un elogio a la Asunción, dice la dedicatoria **Sacrum/61 v./gloriosissimae virginis Assumptioni**. Y la letra **Haec dies in qua usque ad troni celsitudinem intemerata mater et virgo procesit, atque in regni solio sublimata iuxta Christum gloriosa residet. D. Hyer**.

A un lado del elogio está un jeroglífico, pintada un águila en lo alto mirando al sol y muchos aguiluchos en la tierra, mirándola. Y dice el mote **Haec tollit in ardua nidum**. Y la letra:

Pues sois águila real
Y subís tan alto el vuelo
Poned el nido en el cielo.

De la otra parte del elogio está otro jeroglífico, pintado un fénix sobre el fuego, mirando al sol. Y el mote dice **ut vivat**. Y la letra:

Uritir extractis flammis, diis aemulus
Ales Vivere ut incipiat; incipit ille mori,
Cum magis arderes genitrix heu numinis alti,
Ad geniti intuitum nunc tibi dulce mori
En moreris virgo cáelo tamen arduus vivis,
Aemula numinibus, numinis ipsa parens.

Debajo de una de las dos columnas que ciñen el cuadro, está esta octava al intento del misterio pintado en él. Y dice:

No hay bien, que como en cifra, y propia fuente

No se encierre y derive de María
Es de la noche luz resplandeciente
Es hartura de nuestra hidropesía
Es nuestros pies y manos, finalmente
Es lumbr de los ojos, cierta guía,
Que nos preserva y si al despeñadero
Damos, nos restituye el ser primero.

/62R./Debajo de la otra columna está otra octava que concluye el intento y dice:

No es pues razón que queden en olvido,
Virgen, tan singulares beneficios
Y es de ánimo y de pecho agradecido.
Que el corazón se muestre por indicios
Y pues se aumenta el bien reconocido
Tengan la pluma y lengua por oficios
Propios, de hoy más eternizar su gloria,
Celebrando mil siglos su memoria.

Sobre una columna está la Paciencia y sobre ella pintadas unas azucenas y letra **lilium inter spinas.**

Sobre una columna está la Penitencia pintada y encima un árbol de mirra y la letra dice **mirra electa.**

En medio del cuadro, por la parte alta, está Rebeca pintada apeándola de un camello Eleazer y entregándola a Isaac. Y por orla esta letra **Haec est mulier, quain preparavit Dominus filio domini mei. Gen. 24.**

En el encasamiento que divide el quinto y sexto cuadro, está pintada una Sibila con esta letra al pie **Sybilla pérsica hominum reparationem in filio virginis post annum quingentessimum quinquagessimum nomun futuram praedixit.** En la mano tiene una tarja con estos seis heroicos de su profecía:

Virgine matre satus pando reisdebit a coelo,
Jocundus princeps unus, qui ferré salutem.
Rite queat lapsis tamen illis forte diebus,
Multi multa ferent, immensi fata laboris
Solo, sed satis est oracula prodero verbo,
Ule Deus casta nascetur virgine magnus.

Encima de la Sibilia está pintado Saturno y letra /62v./ que dice **Tuam ipsius animan pertransibit gladius.**

Debajo del coro está pintado un gran cuadro sobre el cual está una tarja con esta dedicatoria: **S.P.Q.M.** que quiere decir **Senatus Populusque Mexicanus auxiliatrici Virgini fidissimae suae Patronae ob innúmera, quae accipit, beneficia et ob praesentissimam suam opem, tantis probatam miraculis gratitudines et honoris ergo dedicat.**

En medio de la tarja está la Virgen con su Hijo en brazos dando a un indio un caduceo. Y la letra dice **Pax vobis.** Y una que sale de la boca de la Virgen que dice: **Iam non estis hospites et advenae sed civesanctorum et domestici Dei. Ad eph. 2.**

En medio tiene pintada una estrella sobre la cabeza alrededor de ella esta letra: **inter omnes.** Está la iglesia recostada sobre una vasija que está derramándose sobre la laguna y dice la

letra efundam **super vos aquam mundaet mundamini. Ezech. 36.** Está pintada un águila comiendo una culebra, que son las armas de México y esta letra: **Aufertur iniquitas tua.** El Niño que tiene la Virgen está vuelto hacia una figura de la Fe que está pintada y le dice: **Non invenit tantam fidem in Israel. Mataei 8.**

A una parte del cuadro están pintadas las tres gracias, cada una con su insignia. La una tiene un dado en la mano, la otra una rosa de Alejandría, la otra un ramo de mirto. Y están asidas unas de otras poos las manos; de la mano de una de ellas sale esta letra **Ecce convertimur ad gentes.**

Actorum 18. Junto a ellas está pintado el dios Apolo que, apuntando a la Virgen, dice **Ab ipsa.** Al otro lado está pintada la ninfa Amalthea que está /63r./ derramando sobre las Ciudades que están pintadas en hábitos de mujeres con sus torres en las cabezas, y cada una de ellas con sus insignias propias, desnudas, con arcos y flechas y sentadas sobre animales, caimanes, ciervos, camellos, según la insignia de cada ciudad. Sobre todas éstas derrama Amalthea la cornucopia que contiene, en lugar de flores, todo género de monedas de oro y plata. Y dice la letra: **Non es mihi voluntas in vobis, dicit Dominus, ab ortu enim solis usque ad occasum magnum est nomen meum in gentibus. Malachiae I.**

A este cuadro ciñen la Fe y Castidad, con sus insignias. Del cáliz que tiene la Fe sale este título: **Bibite et inebriamini, charisimi. Cant. 3.** En la mano donde tiene pintados unos pámpanos, en un jarro, dice: **Velera transierunt. I Corinth. 5.** La Castidad tiene pintadas sus insignias al otro lado del cuadro, que son unas tórtolas en una mano y esta letra: **O quam pulchra est casta generatio cum claritate. Sapient. 4.** En la otra mano tiene el arco y flechas de cupido y esta letra: **Ecce nova facio omnia. Apocal. 21.**

Al pie de la tarja está este soneto:

Cuando el sol de mi gloria estuvo ausente
no tuve más de él bien que la pintura
Mostróse en mi horizonte y mi ventura
El bien en los colores aparente.

Más Virgen vuestro Sol en mi occidente
Trocó con resplandores mi hermosura
Tan nuevos que quien mira mi figura
Ven que soy del mundo claro Oriente.

Gozo de las edades la del oro
/63v./ De tiempos el verano y primavera
De lo estimado lo precioso y rico.

El otro terceto está borrado. Y pues aquí no hago sino oficio de referir, no quiero añadir cosa mía. Cada uno lo acabe como le pareciere.

En la testera del altar mayor, donde caen los dos altares colaterales, están estas dos sobre el altar de Nuestra Señora de las Lágrimas: Está pintado Moisés descalzando ante la zarza y una tarja debajo de una letra que dice: **Rubum quem viderat Moy inconbustum conservatam agnovimus tuam laudabilem virginitatem.** Y sol la cabeza una letra que dice: **In capite libri scriptum est de me.**

Sobre el otro altar correspondiente está pintado Gedeón con el vellocino delante y esta letra en una tarja: **Quando natus es inefabiler tune impletae sunt scripturae.** Sobre él está esta letra **ab aeterno ordinata sum.**

He puesto tan por menudo toda la pintura y letras en este capítulo porque, ultra de la obligación de historia, tienen muy grande artificio y muestra gran erudición todo, el que lo hizo. Y no quiero defraudar de este gusto a los curiosos y ni inteligentes, que no le pueden ver pintado en la Hermita (que es una cosa vistosa) o no se pueden parar a leerlo. Porque para entenderlo es menester mucho espacio, discurso como ello está allí pintado y por eso doy por bien empleado este trabajo mío en servicio de la Virgen.

Appendix 3

Fragment of Captain Ángel Betancur's *Historia de la Milagrosa Imagen de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, cuyo santuario está extramuros de México, cuya conquista se toca*. Archivo General de la Nación. The emphasis is mine.

/244v./ Cortes agradecido a la Señora
que tantas veces remedió su suerte
le hará el santuario a nuestra Aurora
su diputado siendo Villafuerte.
Viendo Tenochtitlán tal protectora
para vivir inmortal contra la muerte
admitió el Patronazgo que le encumbía
que le remedia, gana y que le alumbre.

/245/ *Alli se ven al óleo bien pintadas
Algunas maravillas con grandeza
De valientes pinceles afamado
Venciendo el arte a la naturaleza
De esta imagen milagrosa señalados
De grandes lienzos de sublime alteza
Que en marcos dorados agallones
Nos muestra de la virgen los blasones.*

*En uno esta la rua y retirada
Del batallón de Carlos César Quinto
Y allí la inclíquica a Palas consagrada
Cegando el Mexicano laberinto
Esconde un heroe de española espada
A la estrella del mar que tosca pintó
Donde se ve que entre el maguey punzante
El magate la esconde diligente.*

*Otra enseña a don Juan el Indio noble
Hablado y dando huevos a María
Y que pino, aguacate y roble
De Guadalupe forma a alquería
Cae sobre un indio una columna innoble
Y es libre al punto por la Reyna Mia
El que ofreció este marco esta marcado
/245v./ Con una cruz por ser adelantado*

Viene de China un galeón valiente
Y quien el mar meterlo en su vanega
Por un rayo que vino refulgente

Sumergido el bagel en su fatiga
Llama a la Virgen la turbada gente
Y es remediada la Eter amiga
Consagrándoles *en este lienzo* un nuevo Apolo
Que merece laurel por esto solo.

Muestrase en otro un joven despeñado
De un alto risco y erizada peña
El cavallo feroz despedazado
y el dueño libre de la robusta breña
porque en el ayre dixo cantando
Virgen de los Remedios y ella enseña
Al Cavallero el rosedal del niño
Salud del hombre y soberano Armiño.

El quinto cuadro la seca representa
Quando a mediados de junio no llovía
El año de seiscientos a mi cuenta
Y dieciseis naciendo hambre impía
Mas don Juan de la Serna que alimenta
Entonces su ganado que prendia
/246/ Se resolvio a traernos el remedio
Que ponía el savio en las desdichas medio

Descalza tráela el consagrado Archimandita
Desde Tacuba pisando los temores
Con la Ymagen que a Mexico acredita
cuyo cavildo es cuna de sabores.
Entró la sacrosanta navecita,
vertiendo agua a las hembras y varones
que hizo operación en nuestros ojos,
por quitarle a su hijo los enojos.

El sol de Guadalcazar y la Audiencia
la grave procesión acompañan
el cielo se rindió a la pestilencia
y las naves cristales derramaban.
La hambre hermana de la pestilencia
quedó vencida y todos se alegraron
que esto de no haver pan es cosa fuerte
y con pan se para hasta la muerte.

Appendix 4

Inventory made on Abril 2, 1675 as part of the protocol established by archbishop friar Payo de Rivera after he questioned the patronage the city council had over the shrine of Our Lady of Remedios. Archivo Histórico del Distrito Federal, vol. 3895 exp. 3.

Primero la reliquia e imagen de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios que es de bulto de una tercia de alto con el niño Jesús en los brazos

- un vestido de ambar dorado de perlas y alforjas de todo genero con vestido del niño del mismo genero que tiene puesto la sacratísima imagen todo entero con zifras y atributos de las mismas perlas
- Una corona imperial de oro y perlas que asimismo tiene la santísima imagen con nueve diamantes en la cruz que tiene sobre la dicha corona y cinco calabazas de perlas que cuelan dentro de dicha corona
- Un zetro de oro con un diamante grande en punta por remate
- Una sortija en forma de texa que asimismo tiene la sacratísima imagen en la que tiene el zetro con treinta y cuatro diamantes medianos y uno grande cuadrado en medio
- Una joya en forma de rosa que tiene la sacratísima imagen en el pecho de oro con treinta y ocho diamantes ocho rubíes y un zafiro azul en el medio
- Otra joya que tiene más abajo en forma de un niño con una cruz de oro y diamantes la qual tiene treinta y cuatro diamantes
- Mas tiene la sacratísima imagen otra joya en forma de rana con sus cadenillas todas de oro con onze diamantes triángulos y dicha calabaza con dos perlas grandes pendientes de las cadenillas y la una grande y buena
- Mas una sirena de oro fundada en JH Berrueco
- Mas tiene la sacratísima imagen en una cruz de oro con diez rubíes
- Mas tiene al cuello un Bejuquillo de oro de china de rosetas de dos bueltas
- Mas ocho granos netos que tienen la sacratísima imagen en l garganta
- Mas otro y lo de alsofar redondo que tiene alrededor de las Balona con dicha calabazita
- yten cantidad de jazmines de perlas que tiene sembradas por el cabello
- una corona pequeña de el niño de oro y sálate con quatro diamantes
- una sortijita de oro con siete diamantes
- un mundo que tiene en la mano de oro con tres diamantes
- un topacio mediano guarnecido de oro que tiene en medio del vestido y mas parece cristal
- un pedazo de besuquillo de dos vueltas de oro con dicha lagartija esmaltada de berde con dicha esmeralda
- una peana de plata sobredorada en que esta puesta la sacratísima ymagen con quatro sobre estos esmaltes de oro y quatro piedras en el
- el tabernáculo en que esta la sacratísima ymagen en el primer cuerpo de el retablo del altar mayor que es todo de plata desde la mesa hasta el primer areo dorado y con esmaltes azules con sus bassas pilastras, alquitranes y cornisas y el sagrario con un topacio grande esmaltado en plata sobredorada en diferentes partes
- doce arbotantes de plata de diferentes tamaños que tiene el dicho cuerpo del tabernáculo que estos manifestó el dicho Licenciado Don Juan de Grijalva que dixo haver dado de limosna diferentes personas

- una media corona de plata que tiene por remate el tabernáculo
- un espejo de cristal de media vara escasa en quadro que sirve de puerta al tabernaculo guarnecido de filigrana de plata sobredorada por ambas partes que asimismo manifestó el dicho Juan de Grijalba le dio un devoto de limosna por haverse quebrado asimismo en tiempos que el estaba
- y todo el dicho cuerpo en que esta el tabernáculo y sagrario declara Manuel de Lamata Leparoz que tendrá doscientos marcos de plata de peso
- un retablo de tres cuerpos acabado en toda perfección ... dorado y con pinturas con su banco que coje todo el presbiterio
- ocho lienzos de pintura de diferentes tamaños con marcos dorados que guarnecen todo el dicho presbiterio
- dos colaterales el uno de dos cuerpos y el otro de tres acabados en toda forma el primero con la hechura de santo christo de escultura con los pañetes blancos de lienzo con su cortina d de tafetan morada y una tabla de pintura de JH Salvador ..lo de madera y su cortina de tela vieja que sirve de palio al sagrario, y el segundo con la Ymagen de Nuestra Señora de las lágrimas con sagrario en guarnición con lunas pedestales y coronación de plata sobredorada y blanca en que esta una tarja de san Ildefonso quando le hecho la casulla la reyna de los cielos con su cortina de zama berde con varilla de plata y un espejo que cubre toda la ymagen de media vara de ancho y dos tercias de alto de resguardo en la orla diferentes reliquias
- **dos cortinas tapan todo el retablo de tafetán azul con su varilla de hierro**
- un caxon que esta en el hueco del altar de dicho colateral y la pared de zedro para ornamentos
- un quadro grande de el nacimiento que esta enzima de la puerta de la sacristía que coxe de pared a pared y desde enzima de la dicha puerta hasta la cornisa con el marco fingido en el dicho lienzo
- otros dos cuadros que estan a los lados de la puerta de la dicha sacristía el uno de dos varas de alto y vara y media de ancho de san francisco con marco dorado y el otro algo mayor de san Nicolás con marco de madera porque aunque decían que estaba cubierto de plata estampada de peso, al presente no tiene ninguna
- otro quadro de una milagro de la Virgen santisima que esta debajo de la vera de la tribuna y coje de pilara a pilar y de dos varas de alto con marco dorado
- un quadro de san Isidro Labrador por arriba en zirculo cin su arco dorado y guarnicion de pinturas por los lados y coronado con los milagros del santo que hacen forma de retablo
- otra imagen de Nuestra Señora de la Antigua de do varas y cuarta de lato y vara y quarta de ancho con marco dorado y negro con las qualaes pinturas esta adornada la capilla mayor de dicha ermita
- **ocho cuadros de seis varas de alto y seis y media de ancho con sus marcos y agallones dorados en que se manifiesta el origen de su santisima imagen y diversos milagros que estan en el cuerpo de la iglesia**
- una reja de hierro con sus puertas que estan en el presbiterio dorada y dada de color azul
- otra de esta de hierro con supuestas y cerrojo que esta en el cuerpo de la iglesia pegada al altar de Nuestra Señora de la Lágrimas

- otra LEGA grande de madera de zedro de mas de dos varas de alto con sus agallones de bronce sobredorados con dos puertas y cerradura y llave
- un reloj de pesas y su caxon de madera que esta en el cuerpo de la iglesia
- un pulpito de madera dado de azul y sobredorada con su escalera
- una tabla pequeña de carey en que esta la aparicion de Nuestra Señora al indio Juan Diego
- Dos tarimas iguales con quatro bancas fixas en ella que coxen la mitad del cuerpo de la iglesia
- Diez bancos de nogal iguales con su clabos y tachuelas sobredoradas
- Una rueda con doze campanillas pequeñas de bronce para el servicio del altar
- Un organo grande con sus fuelles
- Un fasistol grande que esta en el choro de zedro blanco, unos libros de canto llano
- Una caja de tres cuartas de largo y dos de alto que sirven de zepo con tres llaves que esta en dicha grada del altar mayor
- Ochenta y tres piezas de plata pequeñas y grandes asi de pechos y pernas, cabezas y otras cosas que diferentes personas han ofrecido por su devoción que habiendose pesado por el dicho Manuel de Lamatta se hallaron tener setenta y cinco marcos
- Un atabla grande en que estan las indulgencias con sus letras gravadas de oro
- Dos cuadros pequeños con sus bastidores el uno mayor que el otro de los milagros de la virgen santisima
- **Una lampara grande que esta en el arco rotal de plata quintada con un rotulo que dice haver dado Christobal de Zuleta y habiendose pesado se hallo tener cincuenta y quatro marcos y quatro honzas con su vara de hierro como esta**
- **Tres lampas de plata quintada con un rotulo que dice haber dado Juan Cardoso y habiendose pesado se hallo tener cincuenta marcos**
- **Otra lampara de plata quintada sin rotulo que peso cincuenta y cinco marcos y quatro honzas**
- **Otra lampara de plata de rescate con rotulo que dize don Fr Marcos Ramirez de Prado y peso veintey dos marcos**
- **Otra lampara de platta llamada la del milagro que peso cinco marcos y quatro honzas**

Con estas se acabaron las que estaban en el arco Toral

- **Otra lampara que esta en el altar del salto cuerpo con quatro candeleros que peso doze marcos**
- **Otra lampara con quatro mecheros con rotulo de Vicente Lopez de platta quintada que peso treinta marcos**
- **Otra lampara arbotante con otras tres lamparas que son quatro en todas con dos mecheros y su cruz y su vanderá arriba que peso treinta y tres marcos con sus baritas de hierro**
- **Un arco de hierro sobredorado que esta en el Pilar del presbiterio del lado del evangelio numero uno con diez y seis lamparas chicas y grandes que pesaron noventa y seis marcos y quatro honzas. Los setenta y tres marcos y quatro honzas de**

- plata quintada y los treinta y tres marcos de plata de rescate que faltaron ocho remates de otras tantas lamparas
- Otro arco numerados de la misma manera que el antecedente que esta en el pilar del presbiterio del lado de la epistola con diez y seis lamparas chicas y grandes que pesaron ciento y nueve marcos y quatro honzas. Las ochenta y dos marcos y quatro honzas de platta quintada y los veintisiete marcos de plata de rescate y en sesis de las dichas lamparas faltan los remates
 - Mas otro arco de hierro como antecedentes tres que esta en el pilar del arco Toral que divide la capilla mayor y el cuerpo de la yglesia de lado del evangelio en que estan diez y seis lamparas chicas y grandes que pesaron noventa y ocho marcos, los setenta y tres de plata quintada y los veinte y cinco marcos restantes de plata de rescate y faltaron en las dichas lamparas siete remates de abaxo
 - Mas otro dicho arco de hierro como los anteriores que esta en el pilar de dicho arco toral al lado de la epistola y enzima del pulpito numero quatro con diez y seis lamparas chicas y grandes que pesaron noventa y cinco marcos los ochenta y un marcos de platta quintada y los catorce marcos restantes de plata de rescate y faltaron en ocho de las dichas lamparas los remates de abaxo.
 - Mas otro arco de hierro como los antecedentes cinco que esta en el pilar de en medio del cuerpo de la iglesia del lado del evangelio con diez y seis lamparas chicas y grandes que pesaron ochenta y un marcos, las cincuenta y seis marcos de plata quintada y los veinte cinco marcos estantes de plata de rescate y faltaron en siete de dichas lamparaas los remates de abajo
 - Mas otro arco de hierro en la forma de los antecedentes seis que esta en el pilar de los de en medio del cuerpo de la iglesia correspondiente a la del antecedente del lado de la epistola con diez y seis lamparas chicas y grandes que pesaron ochenta y dos marcos y quatro honzas, las veintiún marcos de platta quintada y los sesenta y un marcos restantes de plata de rescate y en cinco de las dichas lamparas faltan los remates de abajo
 - Por manera que por todas son las lamparas que van inventariadas y hay en la dicha hermita ciento y seis y el dicho Manuel de Lamata que las a pesado declara necesitar de reparo en muchas de ellas en lo principal y en las demas en cadenillas arcos y remates y en el todo su limpieza
 - Un frontal de quatro varas de largo y una vara y quarta de ancho de plata estampada blanca y dorada con sobrepuesto y en medio la encarnacion de medio relieve y un rotulo que dize le dio Do;a Catalina de Dios dado el cual esta bien tratado y sin falta conocida y dixo el dicho Manuel de Lamata pesar hasta ochenta marcos poco mas o menos
 - Ytten en unas andas de platta blanca y dorada con sobrepuestos lo esmaltes de dos cuerpos, uno grande para nuestra Señora y otro menor para el santisimo sacramento con ocho de lunas, quatro perillas grandes y quatro santos que atan las columnas de fuera su linterna y el cuerpo de arriba que es para el santisimo sacramento con SU BURIL con pie de plata sobredorada con dichas aguilas de oro con esmeraldas y dos leones de oro baxo de china y ocho perillas sobre las quatro dichas y encima de la linterna por remate un san jerónimo y el viril tiene quatro piedras diferentes guarnecidas en oro con seis brazaletes todos de plata y sus caidas doradas sobre terciopelo carmesí que haviendolo reconocido

- el dicho Manual de Lamatta dixo que valdran en la manera que esta hasta ocho mil pesos y que pesaron hasta trescientos marcos
- Una custodia de plata sobredorada ... con sus viriles de Cristal con otro cuerpo arriba en que esta una campanilla y Quatro menores abaxo y por remate la resurrección que pesa doze marcos como esta y parecen faltarle dos campanillas de las chicas
 - Dos ziriales de platal con sus cañones que pesan veinte y seis marcos los que las estan maltratados y con mucha necesidad de aderezo y le faltan siete arbotantes
 - Un ... y hisopo de plata ... que pesea 13 marcos y seis honzas y esta quintad
 - Dos blandoncillos de plata quintada y cincelada se menos de tercia que pesaron seis marcos y seis honzas
 - Dos candeleros hordinarios grandes cada uno con tres conchuelas por pies de plata lisa que pesaron diez marco y estan quintados
 - Diez candeleros de diferentes echuras y tamaños ... e tablillas, dos de ... redondo, dos de Altar y dos de friso de Plata quintada que pesaron Veinte marcos y tres honzas
 - Mas otros dies candeleros de plata de recate. Los quatro cuadrados y ... con sus bolas que falta una, dos de ... redondos grandes y dos de ... redondos chicos y dos de tablilla que todos dies pesaron veinte marcos y dos honzas
 - Seis pebeteros triangulados con quatro calones cada uno y en uno falto un cañon de plata de rescate que pesaron tres marcos y dos honzas
 - Ocho pebeteros triangulos de plata quintada los seis y los dos de rescate de a un cañon, Lo quatro iguales y los dos con pirámides en medio , y los otros dos mas bajos y lisos pesaron cinco marcos y seis honzas.
 - Dos pebeteros ... de plata de rescate con sobrepuestos, pesaron dos marcos y tres honzas
 - Otros ocho pebeteros los seis redondos con BAJE y los dos con frisos de rescate que pesan tres marcos y dos honzas
 - Dos pebeteros triangulos de filigrana de la Havana con quatro cañoes cada uno que pesan cinco marcos y cinco honzas
 - Dos candeleros o pebeteros redondos de filigrana que pesan un marco y dos honzas
 - Dos blandoncillos de mas de tercia de plata lisa de rescate cada uno con quatro conchas por pies con su varas de hierro dentro que como estan pesan diez marcos
 - Un juego de seis blandones grandes de altar de plata cercada de rescate con sobrepuestos de cartelas y bolas abajo con rotulos de quine los dios que con sus baras de hierro y asientos de madera como estan pesan ciento y veinte y seis marcos y quatro honzas
 - Doze arandelas nuevas de plata de rescate con sus cadenillas y abuxas que declara el Capitan Domingo de Cantabrana, mayordomo de la cofradía, haverlas hecho y el aderezo de bufette que va delante de la plata que habia quedado en el marco de San Nicolas y pesan nueve marcos y una honza
 - Quatro ramilleteros ... en forma de Jarras con sus asas y letreros de quien los dio de plata de rescate y en el mismo falta un asa que pesan doce marcosy cinco honzas
 - Otros dos ramilleteros en forma de harras grandes con sus cartelas, remates y assas y letrero de quien los dio de platta de rescate que pesan catorce marcos
 - Otros dos Blandonzitos de ... trainagulos de tercia de Alto con letrero que dice son de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios de plata de rescate que declara y manifiesta ora el dicho licenciado don Juan de Grijalva y pesan siete marcos y una honza

- Una palabras de la congregación con su pie y enbasamiento de plata guarnecida con unos serafines, sus carteles que se guarecen quintada que peso diez marcos y quatro honzas
- Un atril de plata cercada y guarnecida con sus molduras ... en medio y quatro botas por pie fundado en madera gruesa que como esta peso 21 marcos
- Un bufette de plata estampado que valdra según lo a declarado el dicho Manuel de Lamatta catorce marcos
- Un perfumador grande que es tambien brasero con pebetero cartelas, mascarones y pirámides y su ... de platta quintada que sin la ... de cobre que tiene pessa 59 marcos y dos honzas
- Un yncenciario de plata blanca de rescatte con sus quatro cadenas y una nabeta con su cucharita que pessa cinco marcos y seis honzas
- Otro yncenciario que se echa de ver fue dorado con sus quatro cadenas y la guarnición de la naveta que era de un caracol que esta hecho pedazos y su cuchara que pesso cinco marcos y tres honzas
- Una cruz de manga grade zincelda con sus arbotantes y un santo Cristo en ella quintada con el alma de ... en la cruz pesso 19 marcos
- Una cruz de altar zincelada con si pie con nueve relicarios de cerca de media vara de lato que peso cinco marcos y dos honzas
- Una Vara de Guion con ocho cañones iguales y dentro de la cruz y la cruz de el, que son madera ninguna pesso diez marcos y seis honzas y es quintado
- Una ... lisa de quatro luces con si sortija debajo de platta de rescate que pesa un marco seis honzas
- Un perfumador de plata dorada de rescatte zincelado con su pie redondo y ... ochavada y cercada y con su moldura al canto que uno y otro peso 4 martcos y seis honzas
- Un ... con la coronación de Nuestra Señora guarnecida de plata dorada con su pie de ... que como esta pessa un marco y siete honzas es quintado
- Un baso de ... de plata quintada que peso dos narcos y una honza
- Una campanilla de plata de rescatte que pesso un marco y siete honzas
- Dos pares de tixerias de espabilar de plata unas quintadasy otras de rescate que pesaron un marco y cinco honzas
- Una binajeras con su platillo de plata dorada con sobrepuestos de esmalte azul que pesso quatro marcos y cinco honzas
- Otras binajeras también de plata dorada y con sobrepuestos de esmalte azul sin ... y mayores tambien de rescate que pesan tres marcos y una honza
- Otras binajeras llanas blancas con su salbilla ... con letrero de quien la dio de rescatte que pesan tres marcos y 5 honzas
- Otras dos binajeras del china de tubo con su salbilla ... de rescate que pesan tres marcos y una honza
- Otras dos binajeras sin tapas lisas y con pie y echura de cubo y con plato redondo labrado de cercado muy maltratadas de rescate que pesso dos marcos y 4 honzas
- Otras dos binageras seis ... sin tapas con su plato con encaxe para ellas labrado de cercado y con dos pares de armas de plata de rescatte que pesaron so narcos y 4 honzas
- Otras dos binageras de echura de cubos con sus platos redondos de plata quintada y sin tapaderas que pesaron 3 marcos

- Una cruz de cristal con pie de plata dorada y engastes y crucifijo de oro y dos piedras en el pie que por la abaluacion que hizo el dicho Manuel de Lamatta valdran 30 pesos y esta en su caja
- **una urna para el deposito del jueves santo fundada sobre madera y cubierta de plata delgada blanca y dorada con bideras y pilares de cristal que por cosa conocida y sagrada no se abalua ni pesa aunque es en mucha estima**
- una chrismertas de plata en su caxita que por la misma causa no se pone mas razon
- siete calizes con sus patenas. Los tres dorados y con sobre puestos, los dos y los quatro blancos que la misma razon no se pone cuenta
- Un baso de deposito dorado con su cruz y su pabellón
- Otro basso tambien de deposito con pie, bassa y cruz de platta blanca con su pabellón
- Y en estas dos partidas de arriba milita la misma razon que en las antecedentes
- **Una caxita de madera ... con su vidriera hordinaria en que esta el tecomate del Yndio que tubo la sacratisima ymagen con su guarnicion y pie de plata sobredorada**
- **Un baulito de marfil zincelado guarnecido de plata y cerradura de lo mismo en que esta metido el zinto de la virgen santisima que dio al Yndio en el milagro del pilar= Y esta reliquia la entregó el dicho capitán Domingo de Cantabrana al Licenciado Don Juan de Grikjalba por que estuviere en la hermita y se diese a adorar los dias festivos y se le de testar de su cargo**
- Una custodia de plata sobredorada nueva con sobrepuestos de serafines de plata blanca y cartelas y rayos y estrellas y una cruz por remate que por cosa sagrada y que ... al Santisimo Sacramento ni se pesa ni se abalua y declaro el dicho Lic, Juan de Grijalva haverla dado un devoto en su tiempo de limosna. Y assi llaman a fiesta
- **(vestidos al margen)** un vestido entero de rasso blanco escamado de besuquillo de oro de chiona con ino relumbrones sobre azul en medio que baluado por el dicho Manuel de Lamata por ser oro dixo que tendra ciento cincuenta castellanos de oro
- otro bestido de zamablanca bordado de ... de colores con asientos de perlas alforjas, y unas piedras blancas guarnecidas en filigrana de oro que abaluado lo que tiene de perlas asientos alforjas oro y piedras blancas sin llegar a lo demas el vestido lo pueo en doscientos pesos
- otro bestido azul bordadao de oro todo entero
- otro bestido de tela encastinada entero con la capa de la sacratisima imagen en tela azul que dixo el dicho licenciado don Juan de Grijalva haverse dado en su tiempo por un devoto
- otro bestido de tela azul y oro con la capa de Cama blanca todo con punta pequeñas de oro que dixo el dicho haverla dado en us tiempo una devota
- unas **andas** para baxar a Nuestra Señora a México de ... encarnado y plata guarnecida con galon y luces encarnados y tachuelas doradas assi las andas, huma, peana, linterna y brazaletes y todo de vidrieras de cristal muy grandes que se las dio de limosna el capitán Domingo de Cabatrana mayordomo actual de la cofradía con costa de mas mil pesos que por estar moderna esta dadiva se pone asi
- tres laminas con relicarios con Marcos negros que estan en el altar mayor
- un agnus guarnecido de plata con el pie de palo que tambien esta en el altar mayor
- un pedazo de la canilla de san felix en una caja de maque de china redonda

- **una caja o cofrecillo de madera dorada con bidrieras cristalinas en que esta in cofrecillo de filigrana de plata de quatro dedos de largo y en el el sudario de San Phelipe de Jesús en dos pedazos y un huececillo suyo**
- una manga de cruz de tela blanca de flores con galones ... y borlas de oro
- un guion de la misma tela y con una bordadura al canto y un sacramento y una maria bordados
- un hornamento de tela blanca con flores de oro aforrado en lasso de china blanco con galones de oro que consta de casulla , dalmaticas , capa y paño de pulpito
- otro hornamento de tela de primavera con flores de oro aforrada en raso de china con casulla y dalmaticas
- otro hornamento de tela blanca y plata con flequecillo de oro forrado en damasco carmesí de china que consta de casulla, dalmaticas y capa
- otro ornamento de brocado carmesí y oro con las cenefas y demas aderientes de ymageneria de oro y seda y figuras de relieve aforrado en damasco azul de china que contiene casulla dalmaticas, capa y frontal
- Otro ornamentos de Chamelote negro con galon de oro aforrado en ... que consta de casulla, almaciga, capa, manga de cruz y guion
- Siez casullas con sus manipulos y estolas dos de rama blanca y otra de lamisca lama prensada y dos de las lama berde y una de lama negra y otra rosada y otra plateada y otra de lama falssa con flores y otra de lama carmesí
- Seis casullas con sus estolas y manipulos y galones de oro y plata los dos de chamebote ... con flores negras, otras dos de Damasco blanco de china una de chamebote morado y otra de negro
- Un frontal nuevo de damasco blanco de china con las frontaleras de Brocatel de la tierra carmesí con flores blancas y amarillas y su fleco que dixo el dicho licenciado don Juan de Grijalva haverse dado de limosna en su tiempo
- Un palio de tela de china blanca y oro con galones fleco y botadanura de oro y seda plateada
- Una cortina de tela encarnada y plata felpada con ... aforrada de tafetán carmesí con mas de tres ceras de largo
- Un baldequin de una vara de largo de ... de oro y seda con una puntillas de oro
- **Tres velos de tafetán azul de la tierra con que se cubre todo el retablo principal de la hermita**
- Quatro cortinas diferentes para el tabernáculo de NS muy malparadas y una para NS de las lágrimas de tela ... nueva con puntas de plata
- Ocho palias nuevas diferentes que sixo el dicho Licenciado Juan de Grijalva haberse dado en su tiempo
- Dos palias ricas blanca y oro, una bordada de ... y otra de cortados
- Mas quinze palias de todos colores
- Veinte y tres paños de caliz de diferentes cosas y colores y algunos correspondientes a los hornamentos
- Trece bolsas de corporales también de diferentes generos y colores
- Diez y nueve pares de corporales con sus ... en que ay correspondientes a las palias ricas

- dos pares de manteles de altar nuevos de Bretaña los unos y los otros de cambray y los unos con unas puntas grandes blancas y el dicho licenciado D Juan de Grijalva dijo haverse dado en su tiempo con la toalla para el santo Christo del Colateral con las mismas puntas
- tres albas de cambray con puntas y deshiladas buenas
- ocho albas de diferente sgeneros de lienzsps de puntas y deshiladas maltratadas
- otras catorce alvas tambien diferentes y muy viejas y rotas
- seis pares de manteles de altar de diferentes lienzos y puntas bien tratados
- otros alemaniscos con puntas pequeñas tambien bien tratadas
- otros seis pares de manteles de altar maltratados y rotos
- tres sobrepellices de ruan nuevos nuevas con sus puntas chicas y tres opas coloradas para los acolitos
- siete misales, los siete maltratadisimos y el otro razonadisimo y dos manuales del mismo genero
- seis frontales. Uno de pintura sobre lienzo y oro y otro de tela Azul y plata y flecos a de lo mismo, otro de lama blanca prensada, otro de damasco de china blanco con unos ... bordados, otro de damasco blanco de china, otro de tela blanca con flores de oro sin frontaleras y todos que no son de servicio
- mas ay en la sacristía lo siguiente
- dos lados de caxoneria muy buena y bien tratada de caoba con herrage dorado y pabonado
- un santo christo crucificado de cuerpo grande que dizen es de caña son un baldaquín muy viejo y a los lados y al pie una resurrección un san Isidro y san Nicolas de bulto y un eccehomo tambien de bulto pequeño
- dos cuadros iguales a dos varas y media de lato y vara y media de ancho de la concepción y oracion en el huerto
- un san miguel en pintura de vara y media de alto y una de ancho
- **dos lienzos con las armas de la Nobilísima Ciudad de Mexico**
- un espexo con su marco negro demas de tercia de alto laguna y de ancho mas de quarta
- una cruz hueca de madera con su rotulo
- una pileta de plomo para el ...
- un candelero para el cirio pasqual de madera tallada de china dorado
- un ... con sus espaldas y brazos
- en la antesacristía ay los siguiente
- tres sillas de altar de tela berde y flores de plata con su clabazon dorada
- nueve pedazos de alfombras diferentes de ningun servicio
- una alfombra caidita de doce varas de largo
- otra alfombra nueva ... de quetaro varas que se dio nuevamente por mano del Capitan de Cartabrana
- un Santo Christo crucificado aun no de estatura entera con baldaquín berde y amarillo muy viejo
- Otro santo Christo del sepulcro menor que la estatua hordinaria con sus almoadas de Ruan labradas de seda rosada y un coxin bordado de seda rosada
- Un nulo Jesús de mas de tres cuartas de alto con alba y casulla azul

- Las **andas viexas con que yba NS a Mexico** bordadas sobre terciopelo carmesí de oro de ... que consta la bordado de la media naranja cielo, faldones, caidas de los andas y pilares con sus flecos y alamares todo muy bien tratado
- Cinco santos de bulto muy maltratados
- Sus cruces de palo
- un monumento (*i?*) de dos cuerpos cabal y con todo lo que le pertenece
- cinco cuadros de mas de vara y quarta de lato con sus marcos dorados de diferentes hecuras y el uno roto
- otros quatro lienzos pequeñitos de ... de alto
- un santo christo de mas de una vara de alto en criz de madera y su baldaquín de damasco rosado con flores blancas
- un ... grande
- dos doseles de terciopelo labrado con onze piernas con sus cenefas de oro con forma de pilares y rotos

Appendix 5**List of the towns invited to join the August Festivals, 1751. Archivo Histórico del Distrito Federal.**

1. Achipilco	71. San Matheo Tescayacac
2. Amilpas	72. San Miguel de los Jagueyes
3. Atengo San Mateo	73. San Miguel Mimiapa
4. Atitalas tescualuca	74. San Pedro Escapusalton
5. Atlapulco	75. San Pedro Guaximalpa
6. Atlatlauca	76. San Sebastián de Mexico
7. Atleta	77. San Angel
8. Atotonilco	78. Santa Anna Gilonzingo
9. Ayotla	79. Santa Barbara
10. Ayozingo	80. Santa María Magdalena
11. Calimaya	81. Santa Maria Nativitas
12. Capielalpa	82. Santa Martha
13. Chalco	83. Santiago Atlatongo
14. Chapa de Motta	84. Santiago de Teposotlan
15. Chicolapa Tapacoya	85. Santiago Tianguistengo
16. Chictepeque	86. Santiago Tlatelolco
17. Chilopana	87. Santiago Tlautla
18. Chimalhuacan	88. Sinacnatpeque
19. Churubusco	89. Siquilucan
20. Coyottepeque	90. Sumpango
21. Cuernavaca	91. Tacuba de Tierra Caliente
22. Cuioacan	92. Tacubaya
23. Escapusalco	93. Tarasquillo
24. Estapulucan	94. Tecialoyas
25. Guapastongo	95. Tecosauatla
26. Guastepeque	96. Tejaquique
27. Guautitlan	97. Tepeapulco
28. Guautla	98. Tepetlispa
29. Guadalupe	99. Tequisquiaque
30. Guichilaque	100. Tescuco
31. Guipustla	101. Tettepango
32. Huisquilucan	102. Tezonttepeque
33. Huistlahuaca	103. Thecama
34. Jocotitlan	104. Thecomatlan
35. Juchimilco	105. Themascalttepeque de Españoles
36. Juchitlán	106. Themascalttepeque de Yndios
37. Juchittepeque	107. Themoaya
38. Jumiltepeque	108. Thenango
39. Lerma	109. Thenango del Valle
40. Malinalco	110. Thenazingo
41. Mecameca	111. Theoloyuca
42. Mettepeque	112. Thepexi del Rio
43. Mexicaltzingo	113. Theposotlan
44. Miscoaque	114. Tibayican
45. Misquiahuala	115. Tlalmanaco
46. Nativytas	116. Tlalnepantla
47. Neppualco	117. Tlapusiquaia

48. Ocoyaque	118. Tlayacapan
49. Octupan	119. Tlayaque
50. Ocuituco	120. Tlotetepeque
51. Oculta	121. Tocyica
52. Ostotitlan	122. Tochimilco
53. Otumba	123. Tonacatepeque
54. Ozumba	124. Tornacustla
55. Pachuca	125. Totolapan
56. Pachuquilla	126. Tottolzingo
57. Papalottla	127. Tula
58. Pasayucan	128. Tulancingo
59. San Agustin de las Cuevas	129. Tulpetlac
60. San Andres	130. Tultitlan
61. San Bartlomé Osolottepeque	131. Villa nueva
62. San Cristóbal	132. Xalostoque
63. San Francisco	133. Xaltocan
64. San Hidrónimo	134. Xilottepeque
65. San Juan de Mexico	135. Yacaplista
66. San Juan del Rio	136. Ystapaluca
67. San Juan Teotihuacan	137. Yxmiquilpan
68. San Lorenzo Gtchichipa	138. Yxtacalco
69. San Luis de las Peras	139. Zapotitlan
70. San Matheo Amoloya	140. Zempoala
	141. Zultepeque

Appendix 6

Summary of Indulgencies granted to the Brotherhood of Our Lady of Remedios published in 1636 and 1797

(Archivo General de la Nación and Archivo Histórico del Distrito Federal, respectively)

Sumario de las Indulgencias concedidas por nuestro muy sano padre Gregorio XIII a la Hermita e Yglesia de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios de la Ciudad de México de Nueva España. Año de 1576

Rezando casa uno lo que por devoción tuviere y dando limosnas a la calidad de cada uno.

Primeramente concede su santidad a todos los Fieles Christianos, en especial a los Indios nuevamente convertidos a nuestra Sante Fe Cathoica, en el día que fueren escritos y admitidos en esa santa cofradía y en el artículo de la muerte de cada uno ellos, Indugencia plenaria y remision de todos su pecados y que valga para siempre jamás.

¶ Iten concede Su Santidad en cada un dia del año, dos veces Indulgencia Plenaria y tres veces remision de los pecados, y una vez absolución y remisión de la tercera parte de los pecados y mil ciento y diez y ocho años y quarenta días de perdón, y mil y veinte Quarentenas de perdón ¶ Iten, que los Bienhechores, y cofrades puede elegir Confesor, Clérigo o Fraile el qual una vez en la vida les pueda absolver de todos los casos reservados a la Sede Apostólica y de Simonia y de horas no rezadas y de otros muchos casos que están expresados en la Bula Original. ¶ Iten, que todas la veces que (ILEGIBLE) estuvieren en el artículo de la muerte, sean absueltos todos los pecados plenariamente. ¶ Iten, que los Cofrades y Bienhechores de la dicha Cofradía sean participantes de todas las peregrinaciones de Roga Ierusalen y Santiago y de los divinos officios que se dicen en todo el mundo y de los autos, disciplinas y oraciones que en qualquier parte se hizieren. ¶ Iten, que los Cofrades rezando tres veces el Pater Noster con el Ave Maria en los días que hay estación en Roma, ganan las mismas Indulgencias y remisiones de pecados que ganarían si personalmente visitasen las Yglesias y lugares de Roma donde están concedidas. ¶ Iten, el día de la Concepción de Nuestra Señora, cinco veces Indulgencia plenaria. ¶ Iten, en la Vigilia de Pentecostés remisión de todos los pecados y quinze mil años de perdón. ¶ Iten, todos los que dieren un florin de oro para la sustentación de la dicha Cofradía sean absueltos de todos los pecados que se hubieran confesado. ¶ Iten, se relaxa la pena de las animas por quien se diere la dicha quantia. ¶

Iten, quelquier Cofrade que en el articulo de la muerte, connscritos y confesados llamaren el nombre de Jesus alcanzan plenaria remisión de todos su pecados. ¶ Iten, que qualquier Christiano, asi hombre como muger que mandare a la dicha Cofradía en su testamento cinco ducados de oro, o su valor, alcanzara remision de todos sus pecados como todos los que se entierran en la Campo Santo de Roma.

Estas son las Indulgencias de San Juan de Letran, agregadas a esta dicha Cofradia de Nuestra Señora:

Primeramente concede Su Santidad a los que visitaren esta Yglesia, la Indulgencia que el Papa Bonifacio concedio a la Yglesia de San Juan de Letran, a los que por devoción, oración o peregrinacion viniesen a ella, que fuesen limpios de todos sus pecados, como el dia en que nacieron por el Bautismo. ¶ Iten, les concede la Indulgencia que ganan los que visitaren la Capilla de San Juan de Letran. Y esta Indulgencia es perdon de todos los pecados. ¶ Iten, concede Su Santidad la Indulgencia que ganan los que visitaren la capilla de San Lorenzo que se llama de Sancta Sanctorum. Y esta Indulgencia es perdon de todos los pecados. ¶ Iten, les concede Su

Santidad en todas las fiestas de Nuestro Salvador Iesu Christo, como su Nacimiento y la Epifania, Circuncisión, Transfiguración, Resurrección, Ascension, Corpus Christi, Pentecostes, y todas las demás fiestas de nuestro Señor y en las fiestas de san Juan, los domingos de Cuaresma y de Adviento y en toda la Semana Santa y en todas las fiestas de los Apóstoles y Evangelistas y el dia de todos Santos remisión de sus pecados y todas las demás Indulgencias concedidas por los romanos Pontífices hasta agora. ¶ Iten, concede la Santidad del papa Paulo Tercio por la Bula de los Niños recogidos de Roma, al colegio de los de Mexico, a los Cofrades, Gobernadores, Administradores, Sirvientes y Familiares, Ministros y Mayordomos y todos los demás Cofrades que pueda elegir Confesor idóneo, Secular o Regular, de cualquier orden que sea, el que les pueda absolver de cualesquier pecados por graves que sean por todo el tiempo que estuviesen en la dicha cofradía aunque sean los contenidos en las forma y estatutos de la Chancolleria Quinterna de Roma

¶ Iten manda su Santidad a los todos los escribanos y Notarios que fuesen llamados para hazer testamentos que antes que ninguna cosa escriban con detalle las Indulgencias y perdones que ganan y mandaren la quantia sobredicha a la dicha cofradía. Y que asimismo sean obligados a manifestar los dichos (ILEGIBLE) a los Mayordomos de la dicha cofradía dentro de ocho días de la muerte de los que asi mandaren so pena de excomunión.

Ganase estas indulgencias teniendo la Bula de la Santa Cruzada de la ultima Predicación

Con licencia de los señores D Lope Altamirano. Comisario General de la Santa Cruzada y del Doctor D Diego (ILEGIBLE) gobernador deste Arzobispado, En Mexico, en la Imprenta de Bernardo Calderón, Mercader de Libros, año de 636

Las demás Indulgencias de esta cofradía de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios se hallaran en un librito que anda impreso (ILEGIBLE).

Sumario de las Indulgencias

Concedidas por Nuestro Santísimo Padre Inocencio XI por su Breve dado en Roma a doze de Mayo de 1687 el año undécimo de su Pontificado, de que gozan los Cofrades de de Nuestra Señora de los REMEDIOS en su Santuario extramuros de México.

Primeramente Indulgencia plenaria y remisión de todos sus pecados a todos los Fieles de Christo, hombres y mujeres, verdaderamente arrepentidos, y confesados, y de la Sagrada Comunión apacentados, que entraren en la Cofradía el dia primero de su entrada.

Indulgencia plenaria y remisión de todos sus pecados a los mismos Cofrades y Cofradas, en el articulo de la muerte de qualquiera de ellos, si verdaderamente arrepentidos, confesados y de la Sagrada Comunión apacentados, en tanto que esto pudiera hacer, invocaren el Nombre de JESUS con la boca, si pudieren, y si nó con el corazón.

Indulgencia plenaria á los mismos Cofrades y Cofradas verdaderamente arrepentidos y confesados y de la Sagrada Comunión apacentados, si visitaren devotamente cada un año la Iglesia de la Inmaculada Virgen Santa MARIA la Dominica infraocatva de la Asunción desde las primeras Visperas hasta ponerse el sol de esta Dominica, y allí derramaren piadosos ruegos por la concordia entre los Príncipes Christianos, extirpación de las heregias y exaltación de la Santa Madre iglesia. Fuera de esto, a los dichos Cofrades y Cofradas que verdaderamente arrepentidos, confesados y de la Sagrada Comunión apacentados visitaren la dicha iglesia la Dominica

inmediatamente siguiente después de la Octava de la Asunción: Los días de la Purificación de Nuestra Señora: el día de la Concepcion Purísima; y el día de su Natividad, y orando (como se ante pone) el día de los sobre dichos, que esto hicieren, siete años y otras tantas quarentenas. Mas, quantas veces se hallaren presentes á las Misas, y otros divinos Oficios, que por el tiempo se huvieren de celebrar, y rezar en dicha Iglesia, o á las congregaciones públicas, ó secretas de la misma Cofradia, donde quisiera que huvieren de hacerse; ó recibieren a los Pobres con hospedaje; ó entre enemigos compusieren paz, ó hicieren, ó procuraren que se compongan; y á los que acompañaren para la sepultura los cuerpos de los difuntos, asi de los Cofrades de esta Cofradia, como de cualesquiera otros; ó fueren acompañando las Procesiones, que de licencia del Ordinario huvieren de hacerse; ó a el Santísimo Sacramento de la Eucarestía, asi quando se llevare a los enfermos, ú otras veces en qualquiera parte y de qualquiera parte y de qualquier modo, según el tiempo; ó si estando impedidos para ello, hecha señal de campana dixeren una vez la Oración Dominica y Salutación por las Almas de los difuntos Cofrades; ó reduxeren a algún descaminado a el camino de la salvación; y enseñaren a los ignorantes los mandamientos de Dios y las cosas que son para la salvación; ó exercitaren qualquiera otra obra de piedad y caridad, tantas veces por qualquiera de las sobredichas obras en la acostumbrada forma de la Iglesia, perdona Su Santidad sesenta días de las penitencias impuestas á ellos, o por otra razón de qualquiera modo debidas: Haviendo las presentes de valer perpetuas en los venideros tiempos.

Indulgencia plenaria y remisión de todos sus pecados apara todos los Fieles Christianos, que confesados y comulgados visitaren la Hermita de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios en el Domingo de la Infraoctava de la Asunción desde las Primeras vísperas hasta puesto el sol de aquesta Dominica, y rogaren a Dios Nuestro Señor por la concordia de los Principes Christianos, extirpación de las heregias y exaltación de la Santa Mare Iglesia.

Es necesario tener la Bula de la Santa Cruzada de la última Publicación.

Se PREVIENE que para asentarse en la Cofradia han de dar la limosna por Marido y Muger de tres pesos: Por una sola Persona la de dos pesos; Por los menores de doze años un pesos; Y por los difuntos, que sus albaceas quieran asentarlos han de dar la limosna de quatro pesos.

Reimpresa en ls Imprenta del Bachiller D. Joseph Fernández Jauregui, en la Calle de Santo Domingo esquina de Tacuba. Año de 1797.

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