

A Spanish Virgin and an Aztec Mother: The Virgen de Guadalupe and the Formation of a Mexican National Icon

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John Cabot University

Department of Art History

Bachelor of Arts in Art History

A Spanish Virgin and an Aztec Mother: The *Virgen de Guadalupe* and the Formation of a Mexican National Icon

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Abstract

This thesis will investigate how the Spanish Catholic Church reshaped the image of the Aztec Goddess Tonantzin into a Catholic icon, the Virgin of Guadalupe. I will analyze how Nicolás Enríquez's (1704–1790) painting of the *Virgen de Guadalupe con Los Cuatro Apariciones* (*The Virgin of Guadalupe with the Four Apparitions*) was designed, diffused, and received in the context of syncretism to convert the belief systems of the indigenous populations of New Spain to align with the ideologies of Spanish colonization. How is the use, reception, and dissemination of the image used to enact a transformation from the indigenous Aztec belief-system to that of Castilian Catholic faith in 18th-century New Spain?

I will also focus my thesis on what remains of Tonatzin in this Hispanicized Virgin by looking at Church edicts, contemporary critical responses regarding the image, and its reproductive success. I will explain how the use, reception, and dissemination of the Virgin's image was used to further inculcate new Spanish cultural values. This is an example of a larger intention of the Spanish conquistadors to overwrite the traditions and beliefs of the indigenous peoples of Mexico. With the hope, through this syncretism, their devotion will be transferred from Tonantzin to that of the Virgin of Guadalupe.

Dedication

To my brothers, whom I could never do without,
Amir Zepeda-Sheppeck and John Zepeda-Sheppeck

To my rock Alicia Sheppeck

To my hero Jorge Zepeda

To my love Pio Cruz

To my best friend Alisha Karmacharya

To my Nina Lamarre

And to all of those who supported me and my continuous efforts to try and learn a little
something here and there, thank you; you will never be forgotten.

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Introduction

On December 9, 1531, the indigenous missionary Juan Diego Cuauhtlatatzin descended Tepeyac Hill and revealed to the Spanish colony Bishop Juan de Zumárraga, that as he was praying to Tonantzin (the Aztec goddess of Mother Earth), the Virgin of Guadalupe miraculously visited him. She demanded of him a church be built upon that very hill to honor her. It would take three more visitations until the Spanish Bishop would be properly convinced of Juan Diego's story. On the fourth visit by the Virgin, her image miraculously appeared upon Diego's *tilma* (cloak) (figure 1). She instructed him to pick flowers from the hill, which turned into Spanish carnations as they fell out of his cloak. This was a flower not indigenous to Mexico and therefore could only be the work of God. The miraculous appearance of the carnations and of the Virgin on the *tilma* was the final piece of evidence needed to convince the bishop to build the church.¹

This story is documented in the *Nicān Mopōhua*, a poetic dialogue between the Virgin of Guadalupe and Juan Diego and is credited with being the official document that recounts the four miraculous apparitions of the Virgin of Guadalupe to Juan Diego. The *Nicān Mopōhua* is the second section of the book *Huei Tlamahuiçoltica* ("The Great Event") written originally by Miguel Sánchez in the Aztec language of Nahuatl in 1648.² This original version is housed at the National Library of Mexico in Mexico City, Mexico. Later versions were created and translated

¹ Eduardo Chávez, *Our Lady of Guadalupe and Saint Juan Diego: The Historical Evidence* (Littlefield Publishers, 2006), 18.

² Marie-Theresa Hernández, "Chronology," in *Cosmopolitanism in Mexican Visual Culture* (Rutgers University Press, 2014), 177, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt7zvzrg.17>.

into Spanish by the Vicar of the Chapel of Our Lady of Guadalupe at Tepeyac, Luis Laso de la Vega, and these were used in the process of canonization of Juan Diego.

The miraculous vision of the Virgin of Guadalupe as seen on Juan Diego's *tilma*, along with a visual recounting of the four crucial moments in the account of Juan Diego's story, is represented in Nicolás Enríquez's (1704–1790) 1773 painting of the *Virgen de Guadalupe con Los Cuatro Apariciones* (*The Virgin of Guadalupe with the Four Apparitions*) (Figure 2). This oil on copper painting reproduces a fusion of the iconographic aspects in the representation of Aztec Goddess Tonantzin with that of the Spanish Virgin Mary. An updated version of Mary is created using combined cultural iconographic languages and beliefs. The Virgen de Guadalupe strays from the pale skinned, blue-eyed, light-haired Virgins that were common in Europe at the time. By changing to a more rounded, pigmented face and a middle parted black-haired woman, the Virgin reflects the people witnessing this new icon. Indeed, she would come to replace the Aztec goddess of Tonantzin, with whom she shared important spiritual characteristics.

Like the Virgin Mary, Tonantzin was a maternal figure in the Aztec pantheon of deities. The translation from the Aztec language, Nahuatl, is “Our sacred Mother.” Therefore, the faith and dedication that was directed to the Earth Goddess, Tonantzin, was more readily and easily transferable to that of the Virgin of Guadalupe. This created a smoother transition from the indigenous belief systems to that of the Spanish traditions and therefore allowed the Spanish to fully indoctrinate their cultural and religious ideologies onto the indigenous population of New Spain.

1. Chapter 1

Literature Review

The discourse surrounding the image and cult of the Hispanicized 18th-century Virgin of Guadalupe, within Spain and in New Spain, focuses on how the Virgin's Hispanic iconic imagery is used in a new context and how both the icon's imagery is related to its prototypes and predecessors. Scholars make the connection between the Aztec Gods, notably Quetzalcoatl, and the Virgin, and how Aztec iconography is reoriented into Catholic iconography to further indoctrinate Spanish culture and values. However, the specific connection between Nicolas Enríquez's *Virgen de Guadalupe con Los Cuatro Apariciones*, and the Aztec Goddess Tonantzin has not been emphasized or thoroughly explored. Therefore, the dialectic between these two icons is not made evident in how their images get transformed into this new Mexican image or how the remnants of the Aztec icon and the Spanish icon are put forth into the newly invented Mexican icon that is present in Nicolas Enríquez's 1773 painting.

This paper will attempt to add to and deepen the overall discourse involving the *Virgen de Guadalupe* by emphasizing this connection with the Aztec Goddess Tonantzin and its significance. The literature that exists surrounding the Virgin of Guadalupe, Tonantzin, and Nicolas Enríquez, and their relationship to one another is scarce. Historical scholarship focuses on the construction of the political and ideological mindsets of the growing mestizo population in Mexico, and how this construction leads to an ever-increasing devotion and cult of the Virgin of Guadalupe. It is necessary to connect the different scholarly discussions of the *tilma* image, the

transformation of Aztec religion in the conversion to Christianity, and the development of an independent Mexican iconography seen in Enriquez' painting.

Eduardo Chávez analyzes in his 2006 book, *Our Lady of Guadalupe and Saint Juan Diego: The Historical Evidence*, through the use of historical documents such as the *Nican Motecpana* and the *Nicān Mopōhua*, that the historic account of Juan Diego's "Great Guadalupian Event" are key to understanding how the Latino spirituality and their belief systems are conveyed and utilized by a contemporary Christian audience. These events are described through Pope John Paul II's accounts and are aimed to give a clearer insight as to what exactly occurred on this miraculous day. This will be utilized in understanding the actual events that occurred on December 9, 1531. It is crucial to understand this story of Juan Diego and the larger historical context within which it takes place to understand how the Spanish Missionaries used syncretism to colonize the indigenous population of New Spain. This book also provides elaborate detail on how the visual culture of the indigenous population is clearly understood by the Spanish clergy, and how by their understanding of this reception process will make itself evident in how the Spanish will introduce the Virgin of Guadalupe to the indigenous population. Chávez will also use direct accounts from the *Nicān Mopōhua*, written by Miguel Sanchez, to solidify the connection between the recorded account of the apparition of the Virgin of Guadalupe and image that is subsequently shown on the *tilma*.

Maria Fernandez uses case studies of Mexican art and architecture, ranging from the 17th-century to the 20th-century, in her 2014 book, *Cosmopolitanism in Mexican Visual Culture* to understand the relationship between cosmopolitanism and the Mexican art that was created post-colonization. She argues that the relationship between regional Mexican art and national Mexican art has not been analyzed on a visual, ideological, or discursive level. Her argument,

therefore, finds the connections between the different historical periods within which the artworks were created while also offering an understanding of them as works of their own time, relating to their own local language and discourse. This analysis will be essential for this thesis in understanding how the identity of Mexican art was created within a local context and at a multi-regional level during the colonial and post-colonial eras. This source will be fundamental in understanding the origins of Mexico's current visual and cultural ideologies and, therefore, how their creation is rooted in colonial iconography.

Stafford Poole discusses in his 1995 book, *Our Lady of Guadalupe: The Origins and Sources of a Mexican National Symbol, 1531-1797*, the historical events that surround the miraculous Vision of the Virgen de Guadalupe. He argues that there is a lack of intense study done by the scholars within his field, including William B. Taylor and Jacques Lafaye, regarding the historical accuracy of these events and how, in turn, these events are then transcribed to a symbolic level and this, in turn, created the cult of the Virgen de Guadalupe. Poole argues that this Guadalupian cult did not begin in 1531 in Tepeyac, but rather, in 1648 in Mexico City when the connection between the historical events and symbolism was made in Miguel Sánchez's *Imagen de la Virgen María Madre de Dios de Guadalupe (Image of the Virgin Mary Mother of God of Guadalupe)*. This book will lend a different methodology for understanding how a symbol is created, even if the historical account of the events has been significantly revised in the last 25 years.

Marie-Theresa Hernández creates a Christian historical chronology in her 2014 book *The Virgin of Guadalupe and the Conversos: Uncovering Hidden Influences from Spain to Mexico*. Her study documents the major events that led up to and surround the miraculous vision of the Virgen de Guadalupe. Hernández cites historical texts, primary historical figures, and locations

to create a concise historical documentation of the events surrounding the miraculous vision. Hernández separates the chronology into two separate lists, one that focuses on the events that occurred concerning the Guadalupian Vision, in Europe from the 1st-century CE to the 17th-century and another list that focuses on the events that occurred in Mexico from the 16th-century to the 20th-century. This is quite different from Stafford Poole's chronology, as she focuses on Mexico's historical events with the European events weaved in. This will be crucial for this thesis as it will create a foundation for understanding what events occurred and when which literary texts were published, in both, the European and Mexican contexts.

Another text that will be essential is Paul B. Niell's 2013 book, *Buen Gusto and Classicism in the Visual Cultures of Latin America, 1780-1910*, a collection of essays that aims to examine the cultural implications of a revival of "buen gusto" (good taste) in the late 18th and 19th-century in the Latin American context. Niell discusses how, through a series of case studies, classicism was treated in the later colonial and early national Latin America in the late eighteenth and 19th-century to "impose imperial authority, to fashion the nationalist self, and to form and maintain new social and cultural ideologies," and therefore form a renewed set of socio-cultural ideologies and politics. This book will aid in the thesis' understanding of how the re-installation of "buen gusto" brought about neo-classical imperial ideologies and politics to New Spain.

Jeanette Favrot Peterson analyzes in her 2014 book *Visualizing Guadalupe: From Black Madonna to Queen of the Americas* how the images of the Virgin of Guadalupe in Spain and New Spain were perceived and understood in the religious and political context that the artists, patrons, and overall audience who lived in New Spain. Peterson argues how this image of the

Virgin of Guadalupe was aimed to be “a symbol of conquest,” yet became a symbol of liberation for the people of Mexico in the years following the conquest of New Spain. His argument is placed within scholarly debates, namely amongst the arguments of Jacques Lafaye, William B. Taylor, Stafford Poole, and David A. Brading, yet Peterson extends his argument towards the visual relationship between the viewer, patron, and artist, and how the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe was intended to inculcate the politics and religion of Spain into Mexico through this visual language. And how, the image was transformed to represent Mexico and thus became a national symbol of liberty for the Mexican people to venerate and to assume as their own national identity.

Alena Robin, in her 2016 article “Voices From the Archive: Phelipe Chacón, José de Ibarra, Nicolás Enríquez, and the Painter’s Profession in Mexico City in 1735” published in the anthology *Agents of Space: Eighteenth-Century Art, Architecture, and Visual Culture*, aims to understand how the physical spaces in which 18th-century Mexican, Italian, Indian, British, and French art were produced conditioned their reception and thus interpretation. Robin specifically looks at the case study of Phelipe Chacón, and how José de Ibarra and Nicolás Enríquez were brought in to examine the validity of Chacón’s architectural and painted works. Robin argues that this led to the artist's rise in status and a rise in status for Mexican artists. Robin is also able to give a rare, and brief, history of Enríquez’s life and his artistic profession as a “Master Painter” of the “New Spanish artistic tradition”³ in Mexico Cities school of painting in the early

³ Alena Robin, “Voices from the Archive: Phelipe Chacón, José de Ibarra, Nicolás Enríquez, and the Painter’s Profession in Mexico City in 1735.” In *Agents of Space: Eighteenth-Century Art, Architecture, and Visual Culture* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016), 185.

18th-century. Robin's argument will be essential to this thesis in understanding Nicolás

Enríquez's position as an artist in 18th-century Spain and New Spain.

Rosemary Radford Ruether reveals in the chapter "Tonantzin-Guadalupe: The Meeting of Aztec and Christian Female Symbols in Mexico," published in her 2005 book, *Goddesses and the Divine Feminine: A Western Religious History*, how the image of the goddess is treated in the Western World, using archaeological investigations and visual analysis of contemporary art. Like Peterson, Rosemary Ruether specifically investigates how the image of the Virgen de Guadalupe was used to eliminate the image and ideologies connected with the Aztec Goddess Tonantzin; that is, it argues that the creation of a Marian devotional cult superseded the Mesoamerican pagan ideology to transform the indigenous religion to align with Spanish Catholicism. This argument will be essential in understanding how the image of the Virgen de Guadalupe was used to inculcate Catholic doctrine into the New Spanish Culture.

William B. Taylor explores in his 2011 book, *Shrines and Miraculous Images: Religious Life in Mexico Before the Reforma*, how the use of the local and national Mexican devotional images, from the seventeenth to 19th-century, is essential in understanding how the political and religious practices functioned in Mexico before the Reforma. He uses the image of the Virgen de Guadalupe as a case study to understand the 17th and 18th-century Mexican relationship and reception to this devotional image and therefore how "history, art, religion, and geography intersect" to create the New Spanish culture. This argument will create a basis for how Mexico functioned before the Reforma and how the image of the Virgin de Guadalupe was received in the New Spanish context.

In another article by William B. Taylor, “The Virgin of Guadalupe in New Spain: An Inquiry into the Social History of Marian Devotion,” published in 1987 in the *American Ethnologist*, Taylor, unlike Peterson and, specifically, how, Taylor agrees with how Ruether sees the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe and the “Indian” goddess as syncretic, William B. Taylor argues that the Virgin Mary’s image was created in Spain and could be changed in this new context, but not necessarily as an intentional form of syncretism. Taylor’s focus is not on the “Indians”’ reception of the Virgin of Guadalupe, but rather that of the Catholic priests and those who were not of the indigenous culture or region. Taylor’s argument will be utilized in this thesis as a different point of view on how the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe was understood and received in New Spain.

Michael Schreffler, in his 2007 book *The Art of Allegiance: Visual Culture and Imperial Power in Baroque New Spain* asserts a question that is integral to my research, as he states: “How was the presence and power of the Spanish Habsburgs asserted in New Spain for nearly two hundred years (1521-1700), and how was the crown's authority there conceptualized by its distant subjects?”⁴ This question will help guide my thesis in forming my argument to prove the necessity of images, such as Nicolas Enriquez’s painting, so that there is a lasting and continual allegiance to Spain in New Spain. This would be due to the Virgin of Guadalupe’s continued imagery being shown, even 200 years after the miracle occurred.

These scholarly texts will aid as a basis for procuring my own method of analysis of the images to come. I will analyze the image’s repetition of composition and stylization from a European context to a New Spanish context, and to that of an eventual Mexican context. This

⁴ Michael J Schreffler, *The Art of Allegiance: Visual Culture and Imperial Power in Baroque New Spain* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007), 9.

will be done through the lens of a historically based background, which uses a story of the creation of the Virgin of Guadalupe to convert the indigenous Aztec population.

2. Chapter 2

The Virgen de Guadalupe from the *Tilma*

The syncretic methods of mixing the Spanish Christian religious culture and the indigenous Aztec religious ideologies in 16th-century New Spain, and onwards, were managed in a variety of ways: in the ritualistic practices performed by the indigenous people, in the locations in which these religious practices would take place, and in how their iconographic representations were replicated and combined.⁵ The *tilma* image is an example of the last form of syncretism being managed in the New Spanish context. It was essential that this miracle of the Virgin of Guadalupe was shared to the population in the form of a visual image, and not one that was described in a book or what witnessed in writing, as visual literacy was a more common practice and an easier form of communication to the indigenous population, as this would be a story that the indigenous population could decode and ‘read’ visually.⁶

To fully comprehend the Enriquez image of the Virgen de Guadalupe, there must first be an understanding of the original image of the Virgin of Guadalupe as she appears on the *tilma* of Juan Diego. It is now displayed above the high altar in the Basilica of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Mexico City atop Tepeyac hill. Early scholarship on the *tilma* speculated that Juan Diego was the author of the image. Although other than no evidence proves that Juan Diego would have been

⁵ Eleanor Wake, *Framing the Sacred: The Indian Churches of Early Colonial Mexico* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2010), 60-61.

⁶ Jeanette Favrot Peterson, “Creating the Virgin of Guadalupe: The Cloth, the Artist, and Sources in Sixteenth-Century New Spain.” In *The Americas* (2005), 18, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4490973>.

capable of painting such an image, it would have been and continues to be beneficial to the Catholic Church, both in the 16th and 21st-century, in maintaining the *tilma* image's miraculous status. The *tilma* image constitutes the introduction not only of a Catholic icon, but an entirely new holy site in New Spain. As such, an established Catholic image was inserted into indigenous religious practice, supported by the narrative of the miracle on native ground. Catholicism as practiced in Spain is a core element of their politics and ideologies and because of this, it is crucial in the solidification of a connection to the indigenous population. The authorship of the *tilma* image has been suppressed to preserve the miraculous quality of its making. More recent scholarship instead has attributed the *tilma* image the indigenous artist Marcos Cipac de Aquino.⁷ Native painters were trained to create Christian imagery soon after Spanish conquest, as there was a small number of artists that came from Europe and therefore much of the religious buildings and art was done by the hands of indigenous peoples⁸. These native painters became familiar not only with Christianity as the subject matter but were also trained in European visual practice of representation.⁹

The sanctity of the image has been essential to the construction of Mexico's national identity because it has an indigenous man present at its center. Juan Diego is the key to this story, and the location of the miracle took place on Mexican soil. This miraculous event would not be as highly venerated if not for the presence of this painting on the *tilma*. The apparitions of the Virgin Mary are accounted for in a poem, yet for an audience that resonates with visual imagery, this image needed to be miraculous and not from the hands of a human.¹⁰ In fact, the miraculous *tilma* image has a creation story that follows the same patterns as Aztec god origin stories.

⁷ Peterson, "Creating the Virgin," 571.

⁸ Wake, *Framing the Sacred*, 171.

⁹ Wake, *Framing the Sacred*, 171.

¹⁰ Chávez, *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, 19.

The *tilma* or cloaks used by the indigenous population was a customary practice and it was used in wedding ceremonies where the men and women tied their cloaks together to show their matrimony, therefore these pieces of clothing were quite important in indigenous culture and life as they symbolize eternal love in the form of marriage.¹¹ By having the Virgin of Guadalupe appear on this piece of important ceremonial piece of clothing, which would have been recognized by the indigenous population, it ensures that the indigenous population recognizes the importance of her image appearing on the *tilma* as this was a symbol of love and sacrality. The use of *tilma* was essential in creating this sacred connection in the minds of the indigenous population to the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe. If this image were painted on a panel or canvas, then there would not be a tie to indigenous religious practice. It represents an example of how the Spanish clergy uses a language that is known to the indigenous population while mixing in Catholic icons and ideology in a recognizable format. This makes her image more readily available to be accepted.

It is also important to note that the identification of the image as the Virgin of Guadalupe's name may come from a mispronunciation of a Nahuatl word that Juan Diego would have said to the Spanish Bishop Juan de Zumárraga upon his first meeting with him. It is possible that Juan Diego went to the Bishop saying he saw "tequantlanopeuh" which he translated as "She who originated from the summit of the rocks," which the Bishop would then have understood as "Guadalupe", though this word would be next to impossible for the indigenous man to say as the letters 'd' and 'g' did not exist in Nahuatl. This purposeful misidentification represents another way in which the story of Juan Diego could have been curated to fit the agenda of the Spanish. It is not exactly known what Juan Diego said to the

¹¹ Chávez, *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, 18-19.

bishop or whom he saw, but when the *Nicān Mopōhua* was published it became canon that he did in fact see the Virgin of Guadalupe.

The life-size *tilma* image of the Virgin of Guadalupe measures five feet tall and three feet wide. The paint is made from an unknown substance, but a derivative of tempera paint, and is painted on a mantle made of agave fibers, a common fabric used in indigenous dress.¹² In contrast to this piece of indigenous clothing, the image of the Virgin follows the long-standing iconography for her representation. This *tilma* image can be strongly associated with Byzantine styled Marian icons, in that she stands prominently, almost full frontal facing and taking up the full frame.

In the form of golden triangle rays that radiating from behind the Virgin of Guadalupe's back, there is the creation of a mandorla that surrounds the Virgin (figure 1). The rays stop at the scalloped cream-colored clouds that fill the rest of the mantle space until it hits the golden frame. The Virgin stands atop an upturned blackened crescent moon. When the Virgin is represented as standing on a moon, she is representing the Virgin of the Apocalypse as she is described in the Book of Revelations.¹³ The moon sits atop the head of a blue, yellow, and red winged angel. He holds, in his left hand, her green mantle, and in his right hand, her peach-colored dress. His head off balances the image and is pointed down to the right-hand side of the viewer. The Virgin wears a peach-colored dress that is fur trimmed at the wrist and is covered in orange outlined flowers that are accentuated at the outline of her left knee protruding out to the right side of her body. Peeking underneath this dress are sleeves of a similar peach color that are on the arms of two connected hands that are joined in prayer, just at her chest, facing the left of the viewer. Below her hands is a black tie that rides just above her slightly accentuated belly. Her whole

¹² Chávez, *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, 18-19.

¹³ *Book of Revelations*, 12:1.

body faces the left, and her slightly bowed head shows middle parted dark brown hair and a face with features that are akin to an indigenous Aztec and Spanish women. This element departs from European iconography, which often depicts the Virgin with pale skin and light hair. Her skin is tanned and her rounded face and lowered eyes all face towards the ground, intending to identify the figure as a mestizo (of mixed ethnicity of indigenous and European origins) woman. Covering her head and body is a green mantle that is decorated with golden stars and golden trimming.

The *tilma* image bears a striking resemblance to the 16th-century banner of Hernan Cortez. (Figure 3) This banner, which shows the Virgin Mary, would have been seen when Cortez and his armies marched through the conquered territories in 1519, as this was the official banner of Spain.¹⁴ It would continue to be displayed across New Spain during colonization and therefore would have been a well-recognized image, especially by the archbishop who had it housed in his villa after Cortez returned to Spain. This was the same Archbishop whom Juan Diego would visit in hopes of creating a basilica in the Virgin of Guadalupe's honor. Thus, this guise of the Virgin was already a familiar one and was a model for whomever painted the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe.

The banner shows only a half-length image of the Virgin Mary, yet still holds many aspects that will become synonymous with the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe. To begin with, Cortez's Mary has a similar peach colored dress and a large heavy green mantle. Although both are lacking the added gold decorations, they still bear striking resemblance to the *tilma* Virgin. She also held her hands in prayer, closed and at her chest, and had her whole body facing the left side of the viewer. However, her skin is much paler and is more rouged at the face, yet she still

¹⁴ Peterson, "Creating the Virgin," 577.

has a similar oval-shaped face that is topped by middle-parted brown hair, much like that of the Virgin of Guadalupe. Her eyes face up, unlike the Virgin of Guadalupe, but the heavy delineation of the upper eyelid and of her thin eyebrows are reminiscent, nonetheless. Cortez's Mary has triangular rays coming from behind her head, while in the *tilma* image they surround her the entire body. Cortez's Mary is crowned, both on her head and on the outside framing, and in the revised version that becomes the *tilma* image, there seems to be no crown, but this could have been removed. It is speculated that the *tilma* image of Mary used to have a golden crown, much like the one on the banner, but that it was removed for unknown reasons. Upon closer inspection, there is a slight discoloration across the head of the Virgin of Guadalupe that would indicate the past existence of a crown, which would further connect the imagery used by Cortez's Mary to that of the Virgin of Guadalupe. A prominent difference is the framing in which the Virgin of Guadalupe is housed within, that along with the medium with which she was conjured within, that being embroidery on silk, and the red background that has floral motifs within it. These floral motifs are similar, but not to an exact degree, to that that is on the Virgin of Guadalupe's dress, as it also uses the same method of painting the outlines of the flowers in a similar, if not same, color as its background.

The Spanish already had a miraculous image of the Virgin in mind when creating the miraculous apparition story of the Virgin of Guadalupe. Perhaps this image was based upon the Virgin of Guadalupe statue (Figure 4) that was discovered by a Spaniard by the name of Gil Cordero in Extremadura Spain in the 13th-century, but there are many differences that make the *tilma* image quite different than that of the statuette.¹⁵ For example, the statuette's skin tone was made much darker and could have been painted to be of a fairer shade, yet she is kept quite dark,

¹⁵ Peterson, "Creating the Virgin," 571.

and her red embroidered clothing does not bear much resemblance to the *tilma* image. They do both show stars and gold outlining on their mantles, yet the stars are shaped differently and the outlining of embroidery on the statuettes clothing is much more vegetal and unlike the simple gold band that runs across the *tilma* Virgin of Guadalupe image. This therefore points to the fact that the *tilma* image Virgin of Guadalupe would have her visual foundations found elsewhere, even though the statue was a well-recognized Spanish representation of the Virgin of Guadalupe and could have been used as a basis for the *tilma* image. The *tilma* image more closely resembles the representation of the Virgin Mary that would have been seen on Hernan Cortez's Banner.

Another important connection Juan Diego has to Tonantzin, and therefore to the Virgin of Guadalupe is how Tonantzin is sometimes referred to as Tonantzin Coatlxopeuh, which means "Our Lady who emerges from the region of light like the Eagle from fire" or "Our Mother," and this has two important connections. One is that she is being referred to as 'Our Lady' in the same way that the Virgin of Guadalupe is referred to and therefore this would be a transfer of language used to worship a deity Tonantzin to that of worshiping the Virgin. This makes the connection clear that the way the indigenous population venerated their female deities was known to the Spanish as they were clever in using the same type of language and forms to pray to the Virgin of Guadalupe when introducing her properly in the *Nicān Mopōhua* as "my lady" or "my noble lady." The second interesting connection is that Juan Diego's name before he was baptized was Cuauhtlatotzin, which meant "the talking eagle", and this mention of the eagle was of great importance in the history and mythology of the Aztec people as the eagle was part of the integral sign of the foundation of Tenochtitlan, the capital of the Aztec Empire, and what would later become Mexico City, which is where Tepeyac hill is located.

It was a conscious strategy of the Spanish in the 16th-century that new buildings and monuments, like the Basilica of Our Lady of Gaudalupe, were built upon preexisting religious and ritualistic sites.¹⁶ They were thus recognized by the indigenous Aztec population as locations of religious celebrations. The Spanish missionaries understood the significance of these locations and therefore chose them to make it easier to assert their religious power over the indigenous population to accept the new God they would be forced to pray to.

Michael Schreffler explained that in 1535, King Charles V instituted a representative government on the behalf of the royal government to oversee the Americas.¹⁷ This decision was made during a well calculated time because it was only a few years after the miraculous Virgin de Guadalupe story was made known. This would make the people more accepting of the Spanish coming in to deploy an even more overt attempt at converting the indigenous population to entirely assimilate to the Spanish ideologies and practices. Schreffler argues that Spanish Royal buildings were meant to show a true conquering of the space and land in New Spain, and therefore, quite literally, were turned into representations of Mexico's identity. This idea is further exemplified by understanding that, in Mexico City's Main Plaza, where the houses of Mexico's Palace of National Government is currently placed, there was once a 17th-century Royal Palace in its place.¹⁸ This shows again, like with my painting, that a foreign image that was brought from Spain and planted in New Spain has now become an integral part of Mexico's national identity.

Schreffler asserts that the indigenous population, although it is admitted that this claim may be due to Spanish biased accounts, responded positively to their evangelization, due to the

¹⁶ Wake, *Framing the Sacred*, 60-61.

¹⁷ Schreffler, *The Art of Allegiance*, 10.

¹⁸ Schreffler, *The Art of Allegiance*, 12.

miraculous story of the Virgin de Guadalupe being on New Spanish land and therefore their pride for the Virgin ties into their pride for their New Spanish artistic style.¹⁹ This created a style that was their own and was the style in which the Virgin of Guadalupe is shown within. Because of this positive response to the evangelization, there was an inclusion of an indigenous “accent” in Christian religious art and architecture that touches on the new forms introduced by the Spanish and their European style.²⁰ The knowledge of the presence of the new European culture and God was very much present in the minds of the indigenous population, as seen in the type of art and architecture they included themselves to work within.

The indigenous population was encouraged to manipulate the art of Europe to heighten the effects of the evangelization of Spain and Europe.²¹ With an indigenous ‘touch’ in the style of the art there would be a more recognizable image and therefore comfort (or more willing acceptance) in accepting these evangelical images that are being presented to them (the indigenous population). It is because of this *tilma* image that became so popular it created a strong base for other images to be created from a miraculous image. The intention was to have this image copied and therefore the style would be replicated and become the norm in how the Virgin of Guadalupe is represented. As a mixture between the indigenous and the European styles of art. However, it is still known that many indigenous populations did not actually assimilate or want to assimilate to the European and Christian doctrine but were forced too regardless.

The way in which the Christian art and architecture was created in the early half of the 16th-century and onwards in New Spain was shaped by how the indigenous population

¹⁹ Wake, *Framing the Sacred*, 3.

²⁰ Wake, *Framing the Sacred*, 4.

²¹ Wake, *Framing the Sacred*, 4.

interpreted Christianity and the art form they were being required to learn and replicate from Europe.²² Their interpretations included their own versions and stylization that was present in their Aztec art, like in the Aztec wood-painting of *The Mass of St. Gregory* (figure 5), yet it had to be translated into a Euro-centralized language rooted in Renaissance and Baroque stylizations. An example being the grotesque that show the visual language of the ancient Roman and Renaissance iconography and decorations in the Italian churches of Europe, yet they have the thick lines and floral motifs that were more commonly seen in the art of the Aztec people. Figures 6 and 7 are examples of the mixture of European and indigenous style and iconography. There is a slipknot that can be seen in figure 7 that commonly depicts that of a loin cloth slipknot, a detail that is also seen above the crest in figure 6, and would eventually become a common motif in New Spain.²³ The ancient and renaissance grotesque forms are being included in the frescos of the churches in Mexico with their own indigenous flair. Since they were the artists and artisans in charge of creating these artworks and architecture, and since this was integral moment in which these images and structural forms were being created and eventually would become the basis of Mexico's national artistic style.

Wake asserts that the way art and architecture in New Spain does now look identical to their counterparts in Spain is because, "it has nothing to do with their innovative or modified features; it is not because, as some have concluded, they are poor or curious copies of mainstream European architecture, designed from memory or word of mouth rather than from mastered expertise"²⁴ By claiming that Mexico had a deterioration in 'style' is an incorrect outlook of why Mexican architecture looks the way it does because its 'style' was not trying to

²² Wake, *Framing the Sacred*, 6.

²³ Wake, *Framing the Sacred*, 178.

²⁴ Wake, *Framing the Sacred*, 6.

replicate Europe, it was trying to become a style of its own.²⁵ The indigenous population took what they found advantageous in European art and made it their own²⁶. Exactly how it works with the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe on the *tilma* and how it becomes their own ‘Mexican’ style.²⁷

The Indo-Christian churches that are ichnographically and stylistically rooted in the 16th-century cultural syncretism between Spanish Christian iconography and culture and the Aztec stylization and culture are further examples of how a mixture of European and indigenous art becomes an entity of its own that eventually represents a new set of people, who are themselves a mixture of these two populations. An idea that still holds true in the modern-day Mexican art and architecture, that of which is the basis of Mexican Nationalism and identity.²⁸

²⁵ Wake, *Framing the Sacred*, 6.

²⁶ Wake, *Framing the Sacred*, 4.

²⁷ Wake, *Framing the Sacred*, 6.

²⁸ Wake, *Framing the Sacred*, 6.

3. Chapter 3

Visual Analysis of Nicolas Enriquez's *Virgin of Guadalupe*

There was a fusion between 16th and 17th-century Spanish Baroque and the remnants of an Aztec identity that pushed through the chosen Christian visual standards that were present in Europe at the time. Nicolas Enriquez's rendition of the Virgin of Guadalupe, an image that was created 200 years after the original *tilma* image of the Virgin of Guadalupe, still holds onto much of the iconographic stylization. The painting would have been seen as archaic in style, as Spanish painters of the Baroque and Rococo depicted the Virgin Mary in motion and as more incorporated with their surroundings. This is unlike what Enriquez is replicating from the *tilma* image because he knew that keeping close to this 'original' imagery would resonate with a population that was included in creating her image. Therefore, the imagery of the Virgin was not changed to a significant degree. The iconic image descending from the *tilma* consciously dissociated with the images created in Spain at around the same time. This dissociation separated them from Europe and solidified their feeling of independence and growth from the imagery that had been imposed upon them.

Nicolás Enríquez (1704–1790) painted the *Virgen de Guadalupe Con Los Cuatro Apariciones* in 1773 in oil on copper. He continued this visual legacy with additions of the apparition story and with a few stylistic elements that reflect the time and academic style Enriquez was surrounded by. Enriquez's painting is currently held at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, but the original miraculous image of *La Virgen De Guadalupe* was first

introduced on Tepeyac Hill in Mexico City where it is still held today in the Basilica of our Lady of Guadalupe. This image emerges from the miraculous 1531 *tilma* image and the native Aztec stylistic influences that was becoming ever present in the recently received Christian iconography and decoration.²⁹ Although I argue that there are the syncretic forms in which the Virgin of Guadalupe and Tonantzin are treated, their visual iconography is not as apparent. Tonantzin and the Virgin of Guadalupe only, visually, share their female status and be shown wearing long dresses that cover their front facing bodies (Figure 8), as can be seen in this Aztec statuette that is of Tonantzin.

In Nicolás Enriquez's painting of the Virgin, she holds many of the same visual elements as the *tilma* Virgin of Guadalupe, with a few exceptions. Due to Enriquez's favorite medium, oil on copper, there is an added luminosity that is present in his painting that could not be present in the original *tilma* image as it was painted on a rough agave fiber mantle. The Virgin is still seen in a peach colored, floor length, dress and a green gold mantle decorated with golden stars and trimming. However, the outlining of the floral motifs has now been painted in gold, rather than an orange color like the peach dress. Enriquez's Virgin also has an added set of golden bracelets or trimming at the edge of her sleeves that echo the spikiness of the sun rays behind her. The golden elements are much more prominent in Enriquez's painting, which again, may be due to the luminosity of the oil on copper. Another detail that is different from the *tilma* image, is that her sash only has three pieces of material hanging from it, and it is painted flatter and has been turned gray. Her skin as well has turned a gray color. This gray can also be seen in the skin of the two angels present in the painting, one holding the Virgin Mary up, and the other in the top right image.

²⁹ Wake, *Framing the Sacred*, 4.

Her facial features are kept rounded and like that of a Mestizo woman, yet there is more shadow around her eyes and her hair is seen to be made black. In Enriquez's painting, she also has a white aura emanating from behind her that gets cut off by the crown atop her head. A simple golden crown is not present in the *tilma* image. Out past the golden sun rays, there are the same scalloped clouds that surround the Virgin, and beyond those are four separate stories of the miracle of the apparition of the Virgin of Guadalupe to Juan Diego. Each important aspect of the story is housed in a corner of the painting. They are encapsulated in Rococo-styled wooden frames that are decorated by pink Castilian roses. Interestingly the story reads from left to right, unlike how stories, both in written form and visually, are usually read from right to left in the Western world.

The story begins with the top left scene, with the angelic holy spirit bringing Juan Diego to Tepeyac Hill where he will have his first encounter with the Virgin of Guadalupe. It is also interesting to note that here the Virgin is seen to be facing the right-hand side of the viewer, unlike all her other appearances in the painting. Next, in the reading of the story, is the top right-hand scene, and this shows the moment when Juan Diego is on his way to get medicine for his dying uncle, Juan Bernardino, but is stopped by the Virgin of Guadalupe and is told that his uncle is healed. The bottom left scene that shows the miracle of Castilian flowers being present on the previously barren Tepeyac Hill. Finally, in the bottom right-hand corner, Juan Diego is showing his *tilma*, which has just had the image of the Virgin appear on it and with the Castilian flowers falling out of it, to Bishop Juan de Zumárraga.

At the bottom of the painting, the patron Don Juan Bautista Echeverría, is identified. The third line of the inscription states who the painting was made by and the year in which it was made, those being Nicolás Enriquez and 1773. There is a later addition of writing that reads,

“Tocada a su Maravilloso Original, el dia dos de Julio de 1789”, which translates to “Touched by its Marvelous Original, on the second day of July 1789”. Artists traveled to view this *tilma* so that their renditions of the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe be as close, physically, and stylistically, as possible to that of the original image. Proof of being ‘touched’ or at least within range of the original image is usually placed on the lower center section of paintings and would have these words written “Tocada a la Original” which translates to “Touched by the Original”, and therefore they become a more legitimate image of the Virgin as the image almost takes on that of a third class relic as it does not directly touch the *tilma* image but it is still within the sacred ground of this miraculous occurrence. Therefore, it is essential that these paintings have this crucial line of evidence written on them to prove their sacrality. It was a regular practice to have the votive paintings of the Virgin of Guadalupe be painted many years in advance, prior to them being put in the presence of the original *tilma* image. Nicolás Enríquez came into direct contact with this miraculous image, as stated in the inscription at the bottom of the painting. This was mandatory inclusion, as patrons of these replicated images required that the image they were receiving was as close to the original image as possible, albeit with certain additions and decorations that did not impede upon the main formal iconographic elements of the *tilma* image. This can be seen in Enríquez’s painting as the date of the completion of the painting is 1773, yet it was not until 1789 that the painting got ‘touched’ the original, “Tocada a su Maravilloso Original, el dia dos de Julio de 1789”, and this painting, therefore, becomes a sacred image of the Virgin for the patron Don Juan Bautista Echeverría.

It is important to note that Enriquez's painting is done on copper with oil which gives the painting a smooth finish and an ethereal luminosity, which makes the gold stand out especially well against the teal color of the Virgin's cloak. The original *tilma* image was painted upon a

rough cloth made from an agave plant.³⁰ This would have the original image be more muted in its colors and make it so that most reproductions be done on materials not like the one from the original image as it is a difficult material to work with and it has a relatively short lifespan. The fact that the original *tilma* image remained incorrupt stood as an added piece of evidence of its miraculous nature.

Beginning at the head of the Virgen de Guadalupe it can be seen that she is crowned as the queen of the heavens, a crown that would have possibly been on the original *tilma* image because upon closer inspection it can be seen that, although a crown is not present, there are the remnants of a white strip above the Virgins head where a crown could have been painted. Enriquez could have seen this originally painted crown and that is why he placed it upon his rendition, yet it is unknown if he did. It is, however, more likely that the original crown was removed from the original *tilma* image quite early on and it could have been decorated with a three-dimensional golden crown that was commonly used to decorate acheiropoietic images and Enriquez put a less costly, yet still replicating the original image, crown atop the Virgin of Guadalupe's head.

Her teal mantle is strongly reminiscent of the Virgin Mary's iconographic mantles that are present in all her renditions in Europe up to this point, showing that he worked with images and icons that circulated amongst the European public. The stars on her mantle are hypothesized to be the constellation of the stars in the night sky during the night of the first apparition, yet the idea of stars in connection to the heavens and holy figures has been an iconographic element that has long been replicated in European paintings, sculpture, architecture, etc. for thousands of

³⁰ Chávez, *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, 19.

years, and since she is the Queen of the heavens, it would make sense that she be enveloped in the rich colors of the sky.

The stars seen on the *tilma* image also connect to an earlier image of the Virgin that was on the banner of Hernan Cortez that would have been waved around all of Tenochtitlan during his 93-day conquest that ended in 1521, only ten years prior to the creation of the original *tilma* image. The banner would have been a well-known image for both the indigenous and Spanish communities in New Spain at the time and this painting clearly shares elements that appear in the original *tilma* image that would then be replicated all throughout New Spain.

In Cortez's banner the Virgin is holding both her hands together in prayer, which is seen in the original *tilma* image and therefore in Nicolas Enriquez's image, and although only half of Cortez's Virgin is shown from the waist up there are quite a few similarities that she shares to that of the Virgin of Guadalupe original *tilma* image. The banner shows a green mantle over a peach-colored dress, just like in both the original *tilma* image and Enriquez's painting, and this is perhaps where this greenish color comes out because usually in previous renditions or replications of the Virgin Mary. She is wearing a deep blue, yet this change would make sense if it were seen and replicated from the image of the Virgin on Cortez's Banner. Although her peach dress does not have the same floral decorative motifs as the original *tilma* image and Enriquez's painting do, there are similar floral motifs in the background of the Banner and could therefore be a point of reference to be used when the original image was being created. She also, quite notably, has a thin triangle of golden sun rays emanating from her head, these are remarkably like the rays coming out of the entire body of the Virgin of Guadalupe in both the *tilma* image and Enriquez's painting. A motif that would also be recognizable to the indigenous population as

they worshiped the sun as their god as well, and having the Virgin be enveloped and spotlighted by the sun grounds her in her divine status.

The Virgin on Cortez's Banner also has middle parted hair, although it is brown and not black like the other two and her hair is covered in the Virgin of Guadalupe paintings. This would still show where the origins of a young oval-faced Virgin image would come to create that of the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe. Her face is also not like the *tilma* image Virgin as she is more tanned, yet she is lightened in Enriquez's painting, but to the point of being gray. This may be due to Enriquez wanting to separate her as a holy being, as the color of Juan Diego's skin is seen to be tanned so it is not that Enriquez is making a choice to make all skin look gray. Enriquez purposely chose to make only her, and the angels skin this shade as it is meant to show their otherworldliness. The Virgin in Cortez's Banner is also looking up, a sign that she is looking above to the Heavens and to the Holy Father, but in the Guadalupe versions she is looking down, and I believe this was a strategic change in her image as she is being depicted like how she would have looked down at Juan Diego as she was conversing with him (as seen in painted the apparitions scenes). The original *tilma* image is placed high up and therefore the viewer or worshiper takes the place of Juan Diego, and she is looking down and communicates to the worshiper in a matter imitating the apparition of Juan Diego.

Her golden crown, pendant, bracelets, and the overall use of gold throughout the paintings, and frame, show the Virgin's regal status as the Queen of the heavens. Everything that surrounds the Virgin that is not present in the original *tilma* image were additions that became popular in 18th-century art, namely the Rococo styling of the fictive wooden frames that surround the four moments in Juan Diego's story where the Virgin's image is witnessed. However, this is not to say Enriquez's *Virgin of Guadalupe* replicates the images being created to venerate the

Virgin in mid-17th-century Spain. In comparison to Bartolome Esteban Murillo's *Immaculate Conception of Los Venerables* (Figure 9), a much-imitated painting, the handling of the paint differs, and the presentation of the Virgin does as well. Rococo ornamentation became popularized as Northern artists started to create prints of the Virgen de Guadalupe in the 15th to 17th-century and those images would be disseminated and replicated within New Spain and these images would have this northern-styled architecture incorporated into their images.³¹ They would also incorporate both the Northern style of a hip-jutting Virgin holding the Christ child but would also add a mandorla with sun rays coming from behind her and atop an upward facing crescent moon (Figure 10). These sun rays are also present in manuscript illuminations from Extremadura Spain (Figure 11), where the original Virgin of Guadalupe statue was found by Gil Cordero, a Spaniard from 13th-century Spain, and it clearly shows the same type of visual similarity between the *tilma* image and representations of the Virgin in visual contexts prior to the *tilma*'s emergence in New Spain.³²

The flowers that adorn the rococo frames around the apparition scenes are not simply decorative devices coming from Spanish examples but are also a direct reference to the *Nicān Mopōhua* poem: they are Rosa de Castilla or Castilian flowers (native to Spain and not central Mexico) atop Tepeyac Hill, and to have fallen out of Juan Diego's *tilma* when he went to present them to the Bishop Zumárraga.

The most important of the four different scenes are the top right and the bottom right scenes as they are crucial for the arguments made in this thesis. In the top right scene, Juan Diego is seen at the top of Tepeyac Hill. This is where the indigenous used to pray to the Aztec Goddess Tonantzin as there was once a temple dedicated to her and all the female Aztec

³¹ Peterson, "Creating the Virgin," 592.

³² Peterson, "Creating the Virgin," 571.

deities.³³ He is seen being led by an angel described in the *Nicān Mopōhua*. Who appears before him, is not an Aztec Goddess, but rather the mother of Jesus, and she requests that a basilica be built there in dedication to her. This is a pivotal moment in introducing the ideologies that the Spanish colonists wanted to impose upon the indigenous population, as it directly links the Hispanicized Virgin with the Aztec Tonantzin and creates the transition of what was there in the past, the temple to Tonantzin, and to what will be there now and in the future, the Basilica of the Virgin of Guadalupe.³⁴ This also accounts for how the Aztec people would convert themselves to Christianity when they willingly destroyed Aztec temples and religious sites to make room for churches, such as the Basilica of Our Lady of Guadalupe.³⁵ The story has a similar religious female goddess figure that appears and would be more accepted by the indigenous population because it is so like the connoted symbolism that Tonantzin also had. That is, being a female deity in a motherly form. This would create a more digestible message in the image as the imagery is not completely new.

The other important scene is on the bottom right side in which Juan Diego shows Bishop Zumarraga proof that the Virgin of Guadalupe approached him. As he opens his mantle or his *tilma*, flowers native only to Spain spill out, and what appears upon his mantle is the miraculous image of the Virgin of Guadalupe. However, the images shown in the different scenes of the Virgen are not a direct replica of the original image, they are of the image Enriquez created, or of the version that he created. Therefore, he is implying that this image is the image that is now recognized as the canon for how the Virgin of Guadalupe should be rendered and remembered.

³³ Wake, *Framing the Sacred*, 200.

³⁴ Peterson, "Creating the Virgin," 577.

³⁵ Wake, *Framing the Sacred*, 3

4. Conclusion

To conclude, my research shows the successful culmination of the fusion of between an indigenous Aztec goddess and a Spanish Virgin to make the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe, and how this image therefore becomes synonymous with Mexican National identity. The Banner of Cortez formed itself into the basis of the imagery used in the Virgin of Guadalupe *tilma* image. And this, being mixed with the cultural practices of worship to the Mother Earth Goddess Tonantzin, would in turn have such a stronghold in the New Spanish representation of the Virgin of Guadalupe. That of which would withstand 200 years of prevalence in which artists like Nicolas Enriquez would still be replicating her imagery almost identical to the original image of the Virgin of Guadalupe. And that this image of a Virgin Mary would in turn be created into a national symbol of independence and a source of pride as it was an image based entirely of the indigenous population's knowledge of the European iconographic styles that were brought over and of their own Aztec renditions of art. An image that was meant, and successfully so, to conquer the minds and habits of indigenous population of, what is now, Mexico, would eventually be transformed and become the central imagery of Mexico's identity of not only its people, but of its Nation. It is an ironic twist in the Virgin's initial use, as the conquered now revere its conquerors.

5. Figures



Figure 1. *Juan Diego's Original Tilma that Shows the Miraculous Image of the Virgin of Guadalupe. 1531, Unknown Paint on Agave Mantle, Basilica of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Mexico City, Mexico.*



Figure 2. *Virgen de Guadalupe con Los Cuatro Apariciones*. Painting by Nicolás Enríquez. 1773, Oil on Copper, 56.5 cm x 41.9 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Figure 3. *Banner of Hernan Cortez*. 1521, Embroidery on Silk, Chapultepec Museum, Mexico City.



Figure 4. *Our Lady of Guadalupe*. 13th-century, Polychrome on wood and embroidered cloth, 60.96 cm x 30.48 cm. Royal Monastery of Santa María de Guadalupe, Spain.

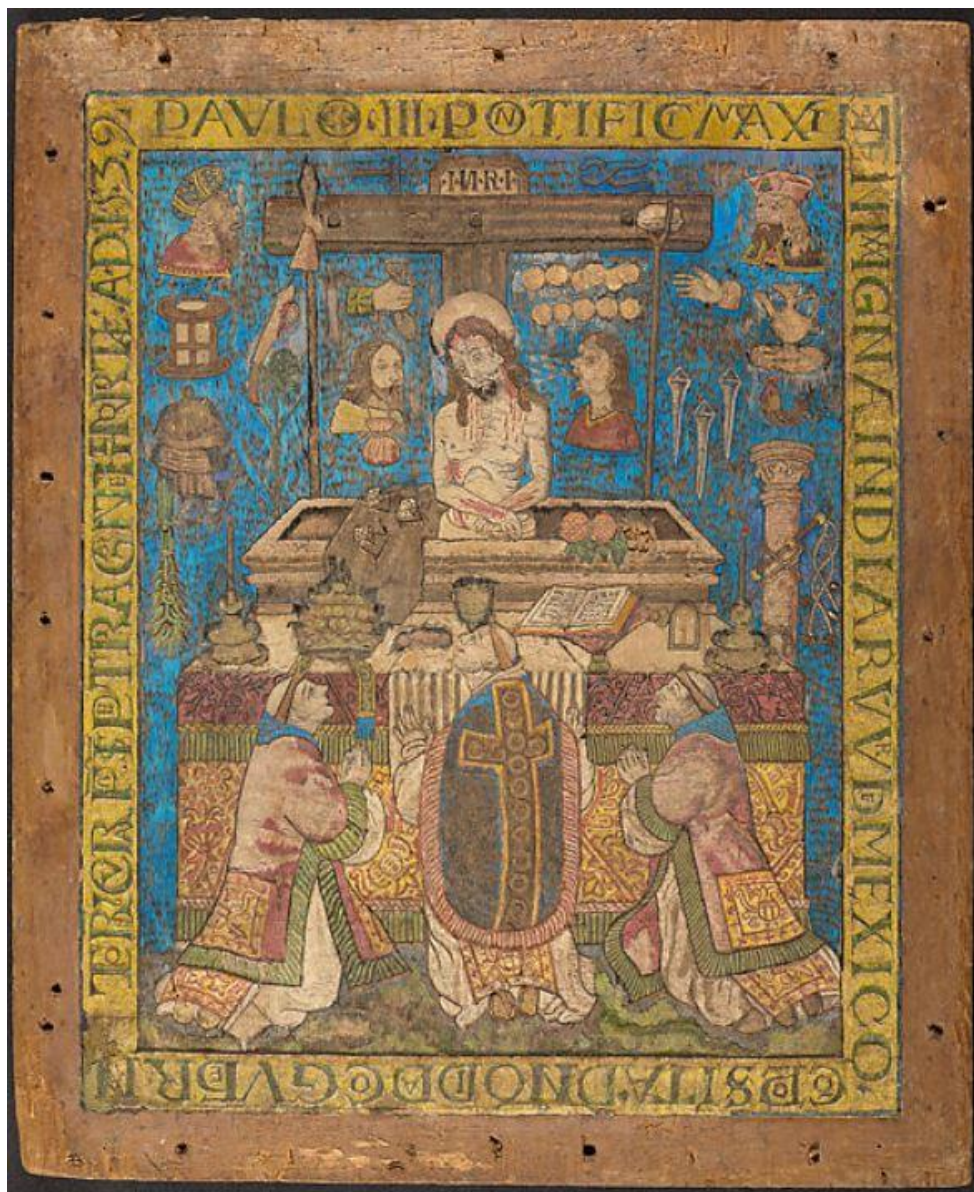


Figure 5. *Mass of Saint Gregory*. 1539, Feathers, gold, wood, pigment, 68 cm x 56 cm x 2.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

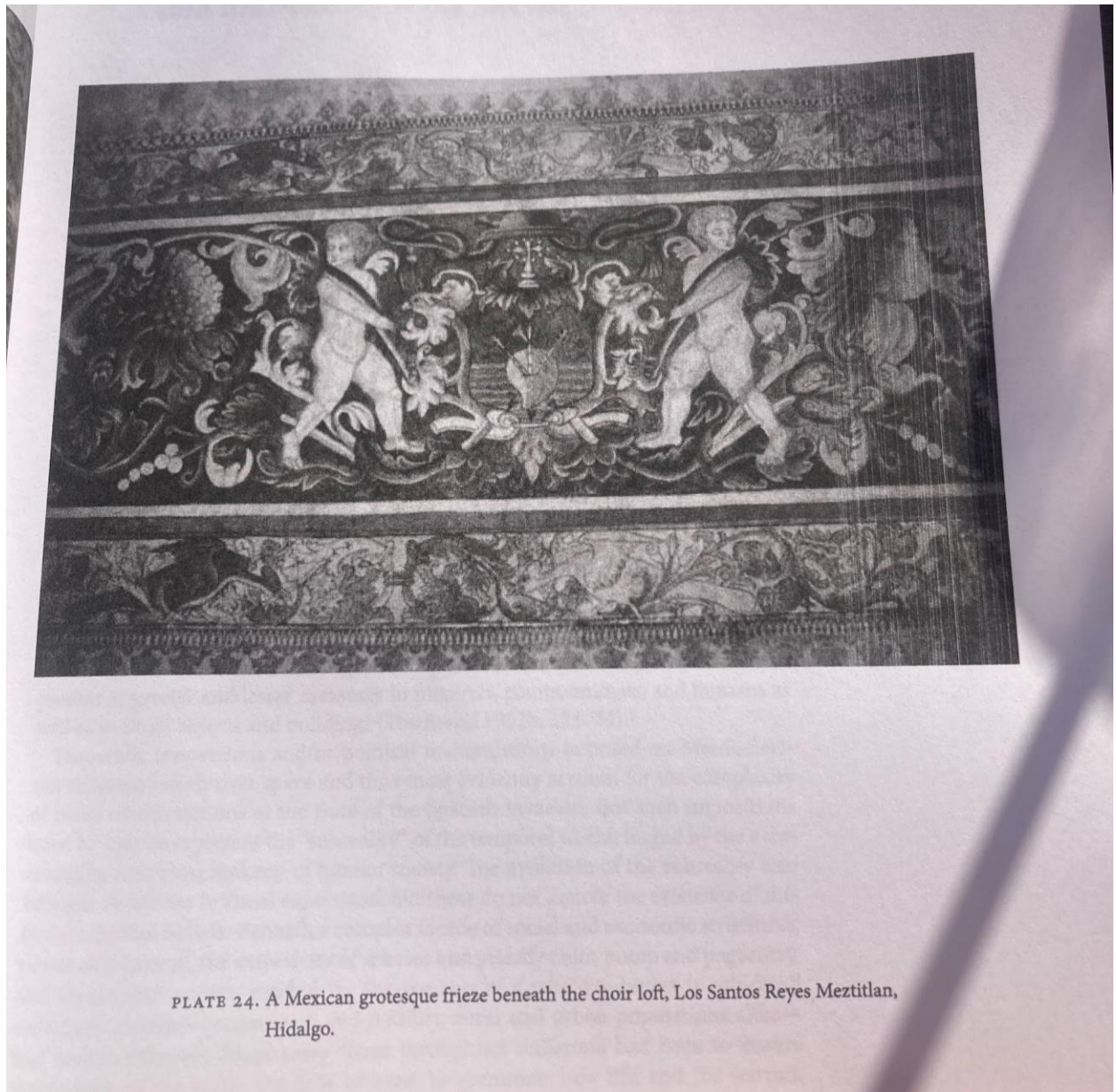


Figure 6.

Retrieved from:

Wake, Eleanor. *Framing the Sacred: The Indian Churches of Early Colonial Mexico*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010, 33.



Figure 6.3. Detail from a grotesque frieze where a native slipknot has been inserted, nave, San Juan Bautista Cuauhtinchan, Puebla.

Figure 7.

Retrieved from:

Wake, Eleanor. *Framing the Sacred: The Indian Churches of Early Colonial Mexico*. Norman:

University of Oklahoma Press, 2010, 178.



Figure 8. Figurine believed to be of Tonantzin, clay, National Museum of Anthropology, Mexico City



Figure 9. Murillo, Bartolome Esteban. *The Immaculate Conception of Los Venerables*, 1660 - 1665. Oil on canvas. Height: 274 cm; Width: 190 cm Prado Museum Madrid.



Figure 3
 Madonna and Child in Glory
 Anon.
 Woodcut, Flemish (with Spanish inscriptions)
 Mid 15th century

Figure 10.
 Retrieved from:

Peterson, Jeanette Favrot. "Creating the Virgin of Guadalupe: The Cloth, the Artist, and Sources in Sixteenth-Century New Spain." *The Americas* 61, no. 4, 2005, pp 571–610.

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/4490973>.



Figure 4
Madonna and Child in Glory
Anon.

Manuscript illumination in Choir Book 33
Monastery of Guadalupe, Extremadura, Spain
Early 16th century

From Sebastián García, *Los Miniados de Guadalupe*, Ediciones Guadalupe,
1998, p. 99.

Figure 11.

Retrieved from:

Peterson, Jeanette Favrot. "Creating the Virgin of Guadalupe: The Cloth, the Artist, and Sources
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