

New Mexico Historical Review

Volume 34 | Number 2

Article 2

4-1-1959

Nuestra Senora de la Macana

Fray Angelico Chavez

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/nmhr>

Recommended Citation

Chavez, Fray Angelico. "Nuestra Senora de la Macana." *New Mexico Historical Review* 34, 2 (1959).
<https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/nmhr/vol34/iss2/2>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by UNM Digital Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in *New Mexico Historical Review* by an authorized editor of UNM Digital Repository. For more information, please contact amywinter@unm.edu, lsloane@salud.unm.edu, sarahrk@unm.edu.



Charfreau, Mexico

NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LA MACANA

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. XXXIV

APRIL, 1959

No. 2

NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LA MACANA*

FRAY ANGELICO CHAVEZ

A MOST colorful and intriguing tidbit of New Mexican history is the image of *Nuestra Señora de la Macana* (originally called *Nuestra Señora del Sagrario de Toledo*) with its own peculiar story. For this story is a most curious mixture of legend and history. Although both the statue and the story are intimately connected with seventeenth-century New Mexico, particularly with the great Indian Rebellion of 1680, neither was remembered by New Mexicans since those eventful times. But in Mexico City and its environs, the fame of the Macana Virgin grew from its arrival there in 1683 until the Mexican revolutionary upheavals of 1861; and even after that, until our own day, La Macana has not been entirely forgotten.

But, first, let us get acquainted with the statue itself, as it now exists in the ancient friary church of San Francisco del Convento Grande in Mexico City. It is a very old miniature copy of the famed *Nuestra Señora del Sagrario*, the age-

* Literal translation: "Our Lady of the Aztec War Club." This Aztec weapon was a very large wooden sword, or mace, armed with big flint teeth inserted on its point and along either edge. Spanish dictionaries derive *macana* from the Nahuatl *macuahuiltl*; yet, while conceding some connection here, one cannot help wondering if it might not descend from the Old French *mace*, derived from the Latin *maceola*, whence also our English "mace." The mace was a common European weapon before the wide use of firearms and the discovery of America. The sixteenth-century Spanish of New Mexico still uses *macanazo* for a swinging blow dealt with the clenched fist, or as with a mace. And still, the roots of the Aztec word seem to appear in the Delaware *tamoihacan*, the Algonquin *tomehagen*, and the Mohican *tumnahegan*, whence the English "tomahawk."—The pioneer Spaniards of New Mexico applied the term *macana* to the war club of the Pueblo Indians, but this was a small and light stone mallet, simply a roughly oval stone tied to a stick with strips of rawhide.

long patronal Madonna of Toledo in Spain. This little copy came to New Mexico with the Oñate colony in 1598; after playing a fantastic rôle in the Pueblo Rebellion of 1680, it went down to the valley of Mexico to acquire a new name and its own peculiar fame. The Chanfreau photograph here reproduced was taken in 1957. It shows a small statue dressed in real clothing in old Spanish fashion. The relatively modern bronze pedestal, and the rayed metal aureole surrounding the head and figure, make it appear larger than it actually is. Between the statue and the pedestal is a horn-like wooden frame supporting the little torso which, as we shall soon learn, is a plain flat cone of wood covered with cloth, and not a carved statue in the round. On this wooden horn is nailed a silver crescent, the symbol of the Immaculate Conception, but which Spanish people used to attach to images of the Virgin without regard to their specific titles. Next to the scepter in the tiny hands is a stylized miniature replica, in wrought copper, of an Aztec *macana*. We also have, fortunately, a recent verbal description by an expert to complement the photograph: "The image measures 65 centimetres in height (about 25 inches), a little less than a metre with aureole and pedestal (about 39 inches). It is fashioned in what used to be called '*media talla*,' that is, only the head and hands are carved completely in the round; the rest consists of a wooden frame covered over with cloth."¹

As was mentioned at the start, New Mexico forgot this historic and religious treasure of hers almost three centuries ago. Unless some New Mexican of the last century had a copy of Barreiro's *Ojeada*,² the first one to apprise modern New Mexico of La Macana was Davis, her pioneer American historian. In his account of the Indian Rebellion of 1680, we find this comment in a footnote: "Among those who escaped was a Franciscan friar, who went to Mexico and carried with him an image of our Lady of Macana, which was preserved for a long time in the convent of that city."³ Davis claims that he found this item in the archives of the secretary's office in Santa Fe; but this is so much like a footnote in Barreiro's work that we wonder whether it was a manuscript copy or a

printed copy of the *Ojeada* which Davis came across in the Palace of the Governors.

Barreiro's own and very first footnote runs as follows: "Another missionary escaped to Mexico and carried with him an image of the Virgin, called N. S. de la Macana, which is venerated in the Convento Grande of San Francisco in Mexico."⁴ This Barreiro was a Mexican barrister sent up by the infant Mexican Republic to make a report on its distant and little known Department of New Mexico. It is evident from the tenor of the whole report that the author did not get this information from the people and country he was describing; it was an item which he already knew as a citizen of Mexico City, addressed as an aside to officials there who also were familiar with it.

The able historian Bancroft, in criticizing Davis' garbled account of early New Mexican history quotes his comment on La Macana. Then Bancroft himself contributes new information: "On this image of Nra Sra de la Macana we have a MS. in *Papeles de Jesuitas*, no. 10, written in 1754, which tells us that in the great N. Mex. Revolt of '83 ('80) a chief raised a macana and cut off the head of an image of Our Lady. Blood flowed from the wound; the devil (?) hanged the impious wretch to a tree; but the image was venerated in Mex. for many years."⁵

These enticing but meager bits of information were the only ones we had until the recent acquisition of a brief but detailed history of La Macana,⁶ which was edited at the same time, and in the same place, as the Bancroft MS. Evidently a preacher of parts,⁷ Fray Felipe Montalvo put his whole heart and soul into his Novena and History. After the first two pages of titles there is a short introduction (3-7) in which the author regrets the dearth of documents on the subject, and his having to depend on the oral traditions of his brethren and of people in general. Here he also discourses on the veneration paid to Marian images in Spanish lands under various titles; he makes his bow to the religious superiors who ordered him to undertake the literary task, and ends by quoting two *octavas* of rhymed quatrains to the Virgin Mary by a

bygone Cistercian poet, Bernardo de Alvarez.⁸ Then comes the brief history of La Macana (7-13), followed by the Novena devotional prayers and meditations (14-24), which are a set of cleverly wrought pieces to be said on each of the nine days of the novena, each orison a poetic play on several Marian titles in their connection with salient events in this particular image's history.

It is this brief history that interests us here, and which is herewith translated in full. Its detailed points are a mixture of erroneous history and utterly fantastic legend, since Montalvo gathered his items from the faulty histories of his times, from popular tradition, and (as he himself tells us) from certain inscriptions upon a painting which depicted the Indian Rebellion of 1680 in New Mexico. However, with our modern trove of detailed documents on early New Mexican times, discovered in the past few decades and ably edited by various historians of note in our day, we can easily correct Montalvo and, in doing so, separate fact from legend. In this process, moreover, we begin to suspect that even the most outlandish legendary parts have a basis in factual history; in fact, we find the legend filling out historical gaps and throwing new light on the events of the Rebellion of 1680. Because of it, we might have to revise our picture of that Rebellion considerably.

To save time and space, but also to present the whole matter more concisely and in more graphic form, I have decided to place these corrections and gap-filling theories as editorial footnotes to Montalvo's own text, which is as follows:

BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE MOST HOLY IMAGE OF LA MACANA

In the very illustrious and Imperial City of Toledo, there its Cathedral Church, the Primate of the Spanish realms, has a Chapel in which Christendom venerates the Mother of God and most pure Virgin Mary with an especial devotion through a miraculous Image of hers, which they invoke under the title of *Nuestra Señora del Sagrario*.⁹ The Reverend Father Fray Agustín de Carrión, in his sermon preached in that Holy Church as an Act of thanksgiving for a happy rainfall, relates

concerning it that, when they carried it because of a drought from its Chapel to the main part of the august Temple, the Mother of God and Our Lady embraced it, for being a living portrait of hers.¹⁰

The Franciscan Friars brought from Europe to this New Spain, as a copy of that most holy Image, and with its same title of *Nuestra Señora del Sagrario*, this sacred Image which we today call LA MACANA. And as their Protectress for their better safeguard on their journey, they took it to the still active Missions of the Evangelical Custody of New Mexico.¹¹ This divine Image belongs by tradition to the Friars of that Custody and the inhabitants of that Kingdom.¹² The Reverend Father Fray Agustín de Vetancurt wrote of the wonder concerning it, which he relates in his Chronicle of this Province of the Holy Gospel: *Theatro Mexicano, 4th part, treatise 3, number 64*, where he says:¹³

“Six years before (he speaks of the Indian Rebellion), a girl of ten, the daughter of the High Sheriff, and who was suffering great pains, commended herself in her paralysis to an Image of *N. S. del Sagrario* which she had before her.¹⁴ Instantly she found herself cured. And in describing the miracle with wonder, she said that the Virgin had told her: ‘Child, arise and announce that this Custody will soon see itself destroyed because of the poor regard that it has for my Priests, and that this miracle shall be witness to this truth: let them make amends for the fault if they do not wish to undergo the punishment.’ ”

This conspiracy of the Indians came to pass in the year 1680, when the Christian ones, joined in confederation with the barbarians, rebelled against the Friars and Spaniards of that Kingdom, burning down the temples, violating the sacred vessels, and tearing up the vestments.¹⁵ For they had been incited to it by the common enemy of souls who, as they said after being returned to the Faith, had appeared to them in the form of a giant, exhorting them to shake off the yoke of the Gospel and to serve him as their former master.¹⁶ In one and the same day, and in distantly separated missions, they took the lives of twenty-one Friars and then turned on the Spaniards, who proceeded to defend themselves.¹⁷

Many of the incidents of this Rebellion can be seen on a large and beautiful painting which formerly adorned the Chapel of *N. S. de la Macana* in the Convent of Tlalnepantla, and today contributes to the decoration of the Chapel in this Convent where it now hangs.¹⁸ Across that painting may be seen the bloody fury of the Indians killing various Friars. As the most vivid and ardent feature of the battle against the Spaniards there can be seen toward its center a most beautiful reproduction of this most Holy Image, and an Indian delivering the blow with a *macana* on its head.¹⁹ It also shows this Indian hanging from a tree, and at the bottom of the canvas there is an inscription relating the uprising of the Indians, their apostasy from the Catholic Faith, their attack on the Friars. And it goes on to relate, for a better grasp and understanding of the painting, what is transcribed word for word in the following paragraph.

The Devil, who visibly helped them in the war against the Spaniards, inspired an Indian Chieftain to enter a house where this Holy Image of Holy Mary was,²⁰ and which the Christians had hidden out of fear. Removing the Crown with an unspeakable lack of reverence, and vested with hellish fury, he struck the Holy Image on the head with a sharp *macana*, a weapon which they use. However, lest this execrable misdeed go unpunished, the Devil himself became his executioner by hanging him on a tree of that miserable battlefield.²¹ After the Spaniards triumphed, and the Faith was planted once more by influence of this Divine Aurora,²² this Holy Image was brought by Fray Buenaventura of the Wagons, a laybrother of this Province²³ to this Convent of Tlalnepantla, where it is venerated under the Title of *Nuestra Señora de la MACANA*.²⁴

On each side of this inscription which gives the foregoing information, there may be seen among others, the two following

DECIMAS

*Barbara accion inhumana
De quien fee no ha recibido;
Sin dispensar lo atrevido*

*De una violencia tan vana:
 Al golpe de una macana
 Hirió tan Sagrado bulto,
 Sin reparar que su insulto
 Mayores lustres abona,
 Pues de un golpe otra Corona
 Dió a MARIA de mayor culto.
 Pagó el Barbaro fatal
 Audacia tan desmedida
 Pues un Demonio la vida
 Quitó con furia infernal:
 Al punto el Cielo en señal
 Una palma hizo nacer,
 Que quiso Virgen vencer
 MARIA, si assi se eslabona
 La Palma con la Corona,
 Por seña de su poder.*

This second *decima* alludes, in the palm it mentions, to a luminous Palm that may be seen on the painting as though in the upper atmosphere; for a tradition holds that a bright and resplendent Palm appeared in the Heavens following the tremendous punishment of the sacrilegious Attacker of this most Holy Image.

The blow of the *macana*, for having been dealt less with blind anger and impetuosity than by a deliberate villainy impelled by mad fury, should have been enough to destroy the harmonious beauty of its Face.²⁵ Without in any way damaging its beauty, it only left a mark like that of a wound, though not deep, on the upper part of the forehead. And although at some time every effort was made to erase that mark for the completeness and beauty of the Image by filling in the cut and painting it over, its obliteration has never succeeded. For the red undersizing does not come together, and it is cast off by the more ancient, so that the mark remains patently visible; and this, in order to show in every way that this Holy Image is to be set apart for an especial veneration.²⁶

Toward the end of the past century of 1600, various copies and portraits of this Holy Image having remained in the

Kingdom of New Mexico, it was brought from the Custody to this Province with the pious motive, we may presume, of not being left exposed to similar impieties, and so that it may enjoy greater veneration.²⁷ Recently it was transferred from the Convent of Tlalnepantla, where the Friars had kept it,²⁸ to this Convent of Mexico, through the liberal and gratuitous donation to the Friars of this Treasure by the Most Illustrious Lord Doctor, Don Manuel Rubio y Salinas, Archbishop of this Holy Metropolitan Church—by his Decree given on November 27, 1754, upon the humble petition of the Province, after her Friars were deprived of the administration and doctrine of Tlalnepantla. The Holy Image was received in this Convent with the especial joy, consolation, and happiness of the Friars, and the singular appreciation of the Province, which so desired it. *Omnia desiderabilia ejus*, thus was the Ark of the Testament called among the People of God, the presence of which overwhelmed with happiness the family of Abinadab, and filled with blessings that of Obededon, the whole City itself partaking also of its benefits and graces: and what I might call the total desire of this Province is this Sacred Ark, this Image of most pure Mary, in which we promise ourselves the grace of her mercies; and so to implore it, it was placed for nine days in the principal Church of this Convent, exposed to public veneration. Nine Masses were sung in its honor with all the solemnity possible to the weak resources of a poor family. A Novena was prayed to her Patronage, her Litany of Loreto was sung every day, and on the ninth, which was January 26, 1755,²⁹ it was installed, following a solemn Procession, in the Chapel of the Holy Novitiate.³⁰

One must not pass in silence an incident which took place during the above-mentioned Procession. The tongue of a bell which was being rung by complete somersaults, and which faced the courtyard where the Procession was gathered, fell among a numerous concourse of people without hurting a single Person. The incident was considered so profound that the multitudes gave tongue³¹ to the praises and glories of Our Lady, to whom all the ones due her be rendered throughout the world. Amen.

Thus far the brief history of La Macana by Fray Felipe Montalvo. To me, its quaint fantasy loses none of its charm after its elements of strange wonder have been pinned down onto historical facts. On the contrary, this dovetailing of lore and fact enhances the value of the legend as it adds to our store of historical knowledge. It also illustrates an old contention of mine, that folklore and history need not be inimical or contradictory, that genuine folklore is the poetry of history. And, as stated in the beginning, we might have to revise our picture of the great Rebellion of 1680 considerably, particularly with regard to the mind behind it all.

History itself hints that Popé, the San Juan leader, who is credited with the success of the uprising, was a rather weak character and none too popular with his people, to have united the various pueblos which were divided not only by language but by age-old enmities. Such a planner and instigator had to be a real genius, both as to his personality and his background of knowledge. Factual historical hints overlooked by Otermín and his captains in those crucial times, and now the subconscious recollections of the common people as preserved for us in a legend, point to that genius in the person of the black *teniente* of Po-he-yemu with his big yellow eyes; and he appears to be none other than the mulatto, Diego Naranjo, who himself had planned the Popé hoax to fool Otermín and his men and, consequently, all succeeding historians who depended on the *autos* of Otermín. (This solution is only a theory, of course, and offered here tentatively; students of history are free to weigh its supporting facts and their conclusions for what they are worth.)

As for the Macana statue itself, it likewise merits attention, for having survived and preserved its identity "so far away from home," and for such a long time, when similar objects have disappeared or else become anonymous in the turmoil of social and political change—and especially those violent upheavals which have marked the Republic of Mexico since its birth. The very fact that the Montalvo work was reprinted several times, and as late as 1788, attests to the statue's enduring popularity in colonial New Spain.³² We

read in the life of the Venerable Fray Antonio Margil, that indefatigable missionary whose sandals ranged from Panama all the way to Texas and Louisiana, and who died in the Convento Grande in 1726, that his body was disinterred in 1788 as part of the process looking toward his canonization; his remains lay in state prior to re-burial in the Chapel of Our Lady of La Macana, which at that time opened on the landing of the principal staircase of the Convento Grande.³³

But even after the birth of the Mexican Republic in 1821, by no means anti-religious in its early decades, the Macana shrine was still well known. In his *Ojeada* of 1832 Barreiro mentions it as still appreciated in Mexico City. It was not until 1856-1861, when the Mexican republican government had been taken over completely by a European-type freemasonry, when churches and convents were "exclaustrated" (as Mexican officialdom calls confiscation), that the Macana shrine came to an inglorious end. The great sprawling buildings and courtyards of the Convento Grande were cut up into blocks and intersecting streets, when the chapel of the novitiate disappeared. This marked the disappearance also of that interesting mural described by Montalvo, which archaeologist Obregón tells me he has not been able to trace. The famed little statue, however, appears later in the church of San Francisco, the main church of the Convento Grande. García Cubas in 1904, from childhood recollections of the ancient monuments of his beloved city, describes the high altar of San Francisco as it looked sometime before or after 1861: "In the lower part of the Tabernacle was a niche with the image of Our Lady of La Macana, dressed in silk and her head adorned with a golden crown; she had in her arms the Divine Infant, and a little macana of silver, shaped like the swords of the ancient warriors."³⁴

The ancient friary church of San Francisco, the mother church of all parish churches on both American continents, was converted to other uses by the Mexican government,³⁵ but it would take further study to ascertain when the Macana statue was removed to the church of Corpus Christi, where García Cubas said it reposed in 1904.³⁶ This church also ceased to be a house of worship in more recent times, presumably

during the violently anti-Catholic regime of Calles (1926-1927), and it is now the Museo Nacional de Artes Industriales y Populares. Don Gonzalo Obregón informs me that the image passed on to the old friary church of San Diego, but he cannot ascertain when it happened or how long the statue remained there. Then it disappeared from San Diego, to be found later on in a house of (clandestine) Franciscan sisters in Coyoacán, near the southern limits of Mexico City. From here it was restored to San Francisco del Convento Grande by order of Fr. Fidel Chauvet, the father provincial of the Holy Gospel province; it was located for the time being (1956) in the sacristy of the Valvanera chapel of the venerable church.³⁷

As these contemporary bits of information and the 1957 Chanfreau photograph attest, the little Lady of La Macana, formerly of Toledo, while heretofore but barely known by name to a few in her native land of New Mexico, still refuses to be forgotten in the Metropolis of the Aztecs and the Viceroyalty and the revolutionary Presidents. On the other hand, her reconstructed story provides New Mexico with a fresh reappraisal of one of the most crucial episodes in her long and colorful history. Incidentally, I have finished writing the Macana story at greater length in fictional form, as seen through the eyes of the High Sheriff's Daughter and the Black God of Po-he-yemu, in the hope that it will make interesting reading for a wider audience, if the book happens to find a willing publisher one of these days.

NOTES

1. Gonzalo Obregón, *Letter*, Museo Nacional de Historia, Mexico City, Nov. 10, 1956. Señor Obregón, an expert on Mexican iconography, took these measurements for me. But he believes that the image represents the Immaculate Conception because of the hands folded before the breast, and that it cannot then be an exact copy of *Nuestra Señora del Sagrario de Toledo* as García Cubas claimed; see the latter's description of 1904 *infra*. The Virgin of Toledo, Don Gonzalo goes on to say, is an ancient romanica statue showing the Virgin in a seated posture and carrying the Infant on one arm.—But here I beg to differ with Don Gonzalo on all points. I myself saw the original Toledo Madonna in the cathedral shrine of that city; this famed Virgin appeared to be standing because of the dress and mantle with which it always is clothed, and there was no Infant in her arms; and the empty hands were folded in front of the breast. José Augusto Sánchez Pérez, *El Culto Mariano en España* (Madrid, 1943), illustrates his history of the Toledo Virgin with pictures of the unclothed romanica figure, which is seated, and also as it appears

clothed in the shrine; some pictures show it holding the detachable figure of the Infant, others show it without the Christ Child; see note 9 *infra*. Therefore, a replica or copy in *media talla*, and then dressed, could legitimately represent the Toledo figure as it is seen by the public; and it could hold an Infant, or simply the bare hands folded before the breast, see note 34 *infra*.

2. Antonio Barreiro, *Ojeada Sobre el Nuevo Mexico* (Puebla, 1832), translated and edited by L. B. Bloom in *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, III, 75-96, 146-178. The translation in the Carroll and Haggard edition of *Three New Mexico Chronicles*, made from Escudero's edition of Barreiro, does not carry the Macana item, as noted *ibid.*, 159.

3. W. W. H. Davis, *The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico* (Doylestown, Pa., 1869), 336n.

4. *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, III, 76n.

5. H. H. Bancroft, *History of New Mexico and Arizona* (San Francisco 1889), 195n. This one-page manuscript, title by a different hand "*Sobre la Imagen de la Macana*," was numbered as Number 10 in a group entitled "*Papeles de Jesuitas*." It is by no means a Jesuit paper since it was written by a Franciscan residing in the Convento Grande of San Francisco in Mexico City, and at the very time Fray Felipe Montalvo was having his history of La Macana printed. At first it appears like a draft by Montalvo, but the spelling of "*Maquana*" and other radical variations point to a different author; these differences are pointed out as we go along.

6. Fray Felipe Montalvo, *NOVENA/ A LA PURISSIMA MADRE DE DIOS,/ Y VIRGEN IMMACULADA/ MARIA/ EN SU SANTISSIMA IMAGEN/ QUE CON TITULO DE NTRA. SEÑORA/ DE LA MACANA,/ SE VENERA/ En el Convento de N. S. P./ SAN FRANCISCO DE MEXICO:/ CON UNA BREVE RELACION/ de la misma Sacratissima Imagen./ DISPUESTA DE ORDEN SUPERIOR,/ Por el R.P. Fr. Phéliepe Montalvo,/ Comissario Visitador de el Tercer/ Orden Seraphico de dicha Ciudad./ CON LICENCIA EN MEXICO:/ En la Imprenta del Nuevo Rezado de los/ Herederos de Doña Maria de Rivera:/ en el Empedradillo. Año de 1755.*

—A preceding title, probably the paper cover, has a wood engraving of the image with this legend beneath: *V. R. de N. Sa. de la Macana que se Va. en el Conv. to de Francisc.s de Tlalnepantla* (this last word is erased partially and *Mex.* printed over it by hand; then *Sylverio*, unfinished or partly rubbed out). This correction, and some lack of correction throughout the text, show that the work was written at Tlalnepantla, and that parts of it had already been set in type, when the statue was transferred to Mexico City toward the end of 1754.—The first lead to Montalvo's work was found in Eleanor B. Adams, *A Bio-bibliography of Franciscan Authors in Central America* (Washington, 1953), 57, which notes that it was reprinted in 1755, 1761, 1762, 1788. Miss Adams luckily procured a photo copy from the Biblioteca Nacional, Santiago de Chile; it now reposes in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe: 1755, no. 3.

7. Adams, *op. cit.*, notes three printed sermons of his: one on St. Clare for the Franciscan Nuns of the Court, 1748; another on St. Dominic for the Dominican friars, 1760; and the third for the dedication of the Hospital of Franciscan Tertiaries, 1761. Montalvo also taught theology and was a censor for the Holy Office.

8. A Fray Bernardo de Alvarez Morales, of Rebollar de Villaviciosa, published among other works, *Lustro primero del Pálpito consagrado a las gloriosas fatigas de Maria Sma.* (Salamanca, 1692). Cejador y Frauca, *Lengua y Literatura Castellana* (Madrid, 1916), V, 300.

9. *El Sagrario* is a special chapel in cathedrals where the Eucharist is reserved. In Spanish cathedrals it also serves as the parish church of the faithful living in the vicinity, since the main cathedral is the mother church of the entire diocese. Toledo's Sagrario Virgin is said to date from the first century, having been brought there from Rome by St. Eugene, first bishop of Toledo. Since the image took part in the city's long history under Romans, Visigoths, Moors, and Spaniards, it has a national as well as a religious significance. It is a carved seated figure of wood, its contours having been covered with silver sheets following the discovery of America. The Infant is detachable. Since the figure is always dressed in a conical dress and mantle according to very old Spanish fashion, it appears to be standing; old engravings and modern photographs show it with or without the Infant. Sánchez Pérez, *Culto Mariano*, see note 1 *supra*.—

A charming but little known masterpiece of Toledo's great master, El Greco, shows this statue with St. Ildefonso, Archbishop of Toledo (659-668); legend holds that the Virgin Mary herself appeared to this saint to invest him with a chasuble, and in doing so she touched the famed statue with her person. The painting now hangs in the hospital of Illescas near Toledo.

10. Fray Agustín Carrión Ponce y Molina was a Franciscan writer who published his *Sermones varios de festividades de N. S.a y Santos*, Toledo, 1654, 1660. Cejador y Frauca, *op. cit.*, V, 214.—Perhaps Montalvo, if not Carrión himself, telescoped the miracle of the rain with that of St. Ildefonso in the foregoing note.

11. The Custody of the Conversion of St. Paul in New Mexico was a filial body of the Franciscan Province of the Holy Gospel, which had its headquarters at El Convento Grande de San Francisco in Mexico City.

12. Montalvo and the anonymous author of the Bancroft MS have hazy and erroneous ideas about the founding of the New Mexico colony and missions. Had they consulted the Viceroy's archives nearby, they could have made use of the original Oñate reports, ably edited in our times by George P. Hammond in his two-volume *Don Juan de Oñate, Colonizer of New Mexico, 1595-1628* (Albuquerque, 1953). Or a careful systematic search in their own friary's archive might have thrown considerable light on the pioneer missionaries who went with Oñate. The Bancroft MS states, and Montalvo implies it, that a group of friars from Spain went directly to New Mexico with the image, but when they went or who they were he cannot say, because documents are lacking due to the hardships of those times and the scarcity of paper.—But we now know that no friars ever went to New Mexico directly from Spain; some of those pioneers were natives of different parts of Spain while others were creoles of New Spain, and all were processed through headquarters of the Holy Gospel in Mexico City. That the statue belonged to the Franciscan missions, or to the colony as a whole, is belied by what follows.

13. Vetancurt's work was printed in Mexico City, 1697, 1698; it was reprinted in four volumes, *Biblioteca Histórica de la Iberia* (Mexico, 1870-71). Vetancurt says that he got the item of the miraculous cure and prophecy from a letter written to a friar of the Convento Grande by Fray José de Trujillo, the missionary of the Moqui pueblo of Xongopavi in that year of 1674; in his sketch of Father Trujillo, Vetancurt says that this friar had sought martyrdom in Japan, but was told by a holy nun in Manila that he would find it in New Mexico. Some forty years later, the aged Father Trujillo attained his goal in the catastrophe which was foretold, for he was martyred at Xongopavi on August 10, 1680.—The Bancroft MS does not relate this item of the crippled girl and the prophecy. As Montalvo says, he got it from Vetancurt, although his supposedly direct quotation varies somewhat because of a comma: *Seis años antes (habla de la rebelion de los Indios) una Niña de diez años, hija del Alguacil Mayor, que estaba con graves dolores, tullida se encomendó . . .* This is Vetancurt's account: *Seis años antes, una niña de diez (hija del alguacil mayor que estaba con graves dolores tullida) se encomendó a una imagen de nuestra Señora del Sagrario de Toledo que tenía presente, y subitamente se halló sana; y admirando el milagro, dijo que la Virgen le había dicho: "Niña, levántate y dí que esta Custodia presto se verá destruida por la poca reverencia que a mis sacerdotes se tiene, y que este milagro será el testimonio de esta verdad; que se enmienden de la culpa si no quieren experimentar el castigo."* And he promptly adds: *Publicoese el caso, y cantose una misa con sermón, presente la niña.—Quemaron causas y pleitos que permanecian contra los sacerdotes en el archivo. Op. cit., 276-81.* This same item is referred to in different words in *Biblioteca Nacional, Mexico, leg. 69, expediente 3, foja 2v.*

14. The term *tullida* implies a crippling from disease, not from some external accident, and in a child it suggests the results of polio or rheumatic fever. Now, this invalid girl had the statue in her presence, in her sick-room. This shows that it was a household *santo*, and not mission property. Such a tiny and relatively inexpensive copy was evidently a family heirloom; as a copy of a specific Madonna, if we keep in mind the custom of the times, it must then have come to New Mexico with a Toledo family. Now, there was only one such family in Oñate's colony, and none such came thereafter. It was the family of Pedro Robledo and Catalina López with their four soldier-sons and two daughters; this included Bartolomé Romero, a native of a village near Toledo, who was married to their elder daughter Lúisa. See Fray Angelico Chavez, *Origins of New Mexico*

Families in the Spanish Colonial Period (Santa Fe, 1954), 93-94, 95-98. The nameless crippled girl had to be a great-grandchild of one of the children of Pedro Robledo, but who was she?

Pedro Robledo died when the colony was entering New Mexico in 1598, and some years later his widow returned to New Spain with her three Robledo sons, one of the four having died in a dramatic fall off the cliff of Acoma. The two daughters remained with their husbands, the younger one having married a Tápia who eventually moved down to the Rio Abajo. But Luisa Robledo and Bartolomé Romero stayed on in Santa Fe, the capital and only Spanish town in that first century. By 1674, the year of the miracle and prophecy, their many grandchildren were numbered among the Gómez Robledos, some of the Luceros de Godoy, and the several Romeros of Santa Fe. The various adult male members of these families generally took turns at being major officials of the Kingdom of New Mexico, including the office of high sheriff. But which one was high sheriff in 1674?

The closest we can get is Bartolomé Romero III, the eldest son of an eldest son. He was high sheriff in 1669, according to Fray Juan Bernal, as also a *sargento mayor* and a Spaniard of excellent qualities (*Archivo General de la Nacion, Mexico, Inquisición, t. 666, f. 532*). Actually, there are no documents for 1674 and the years just before and after, a phenomenon noted by France V. Scholes in his conclusion to *Troublous Times in New Mexico, 1659-1670* (Santa Fe, 1942), 245-58, where he cites Vetancurt's version of the miracle. As Vetancurt wrote: "The news was published abroad, and a Mass was sung with a sermon, the girl being present. They burned complaints and lawsuits against the priests which had been filed in the archive." There is no reason to doubt that this is the cause for such an abrupt dearth in documents at this very time. Whether or not the miracle is admitted as such, or only as an instance of illusion and faith-healing, the fact itself cannot be denied. Anyway, we can assume that Romero continued in office for the next five years, and that his crippled daughter was a "María Romero." But even if Bartolomé Romero III was not the high sheriff at the exact time of the miracle, we can still take our pick among the many contemporary female first cousins in the Gómez Robledo, Lucero, and other Romero families. It does not alter the singular Toledo derivation of the heroine's family.

15. Montalvo's summary of the 1680 Rebellion is correct, and the one in the Bancroft MS which is similar, as is graphically evident throughout the annals of the Rebellion as edited in Hackett and Shelby, *Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, etc.* (Albuquerque, 1942). But there is irony in the fact that the predicted destruction of the kingdom and custody (the terms were used interchangeably by friars and colonists) came about through the people's efforts to "make amends" and co-operate with the missionaries. The chief cause of their "poor regard" for their priests, ever since the founding of the missions and the colony, was the question of Indian idolatry; see the Scholes work just cited and his *Church and State in New Mexico, 1610-1650* (Santa Fe, 1937). The Franciscans wanted the *estufas* and *cachinas* completely abolished, if the pueblos were to be truly converted to Christianity; some Spanish governors and major officials had opposed the friars on principle, or when bribed by the medicinemen. After the miracle, the officials proceeded to suppress the pagan customs of the pueblos, and these then arose in concerted rebellion.

16. This infernal giant is the really fantastic feature of the Macana legend. But if we read carefully through the *autos* of Otermín in Hackett's *Revolt*, we find the Indians continually referring to the instigator of the Rebellion as the *teniente*, or executive, of the great spirit Po-he-yemu; he was a black giant with yellow eyes. The Spaniards dismissed it as pure myth; it so angered Otermín that he had 47 prisoners shot for insisting on this story, instead of revealing a real human instigator. But to me this *teniente* had the marks of a real person, and I began looking for one answering the description—a burly negro, perhaps a mulatto with large yellowish eyes. Previous readings of old manuscripts had left snatches of such an individual in my mind, and I looked them up. And there emerged the person of Diego de Santiago, or Naranjo, a *mulato* from New Spain. As early as 1626 we find him as a young servant at the Tunque hacienda of Don Pedro de Chávez near San Felipe; Diego, in fact, is married to a San Felipe woman. He appears to be the same mulatto caught by Bartolomé Romero I par-

taking in a *cachina* orgy inside the church of Alameda pueblo. Then he disappears from the documents, except for part-Quéres individuals near San Felipe whose surname is Naranjo, and who are sometimes referred to as mulattoes; see *New Mexico Families*, 80, 241-42. We can presume that in the meantime Diego Naranjo has been hiding out in Taos for decades, having impressed the medicinemen from the start with his African voodoo tricks and his knowledge of the lore and language of Po-he-yemu, while his youthful appearance persisted as a mythical description. (For the identification of Po-he-yemu with the Aztec hero-deity Moctezuma, see *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, I, 350-58.) Then the previous attempts at revolt by the pueblos, as recalled by the colonists throughout Hackett's *Revolt*, begin to have a unifying principle, for the *modus operandi* suggests the same planner as that of the 1680 Rebellion.

A year after the Rebellion, when Otermín led a futile expedition into New Mexico, his men captured an old Quéres medicineman by the name of Naranjo (his first name transcribed "Pedro" by Hackett), who claimed to be *eighty* years old, but who was still very agile; on being interrogated closely, he furnished full details of the plot, this time inventing three spirits to throw the Spaniards off the scent—the first and only time they are ever mentioned, though Hackett and others make much of them. Naranjo also revealed his close acquaintance with the Moctezuma legend and its Lake of Copala (this lake never mentioned before in these *Revolt* annals). He went to confession and had himself absolved of his apostasy, once again fooling the Spaniards, and also later historians, by shifting the blame onto others.—The Naranjo part-Quéres individuals near San Felipe suggest his paternity, as already said, but also others in Taos. To clinch all, in 1696 a José Naranjo of Taos, sometimes referred to as a Spaniard, helped Governor Vargas repress another major rebellion; later he led pueblo contingents against the Apaches, and finally became *alcalde mayor* of Zuñi. By 1767, José Naranjo's son, José Antonio Naranjo, who was also a military leader, had wangled the title of captain from the Viceroy himself, upon claiming full descent from the conquistadores of New Mexico; but the New Mexico Spaniards protested on the score that Naranjo was not Spanish at all, but the son of a *lobo de yndio, mulato* whose father, a Domingo or Diego Naranjo, had apostatized in Taos in 1680 and also had instigated the rebellion of 1696. See *New Mexico Families*, *loc. cit.*

17. This defense refers to the siege of Santa Fe in mid-August, 1680, when all the people of the villa and from the haciendas of La Cañada and Los Cerrillos were crowded into the palace compound for protection. See Hackett's *Revolt*.—The Bancroft MS mentions the memorial service for the twenty-one martyrs which was observed in the cathedral of Mexico, March 20, 1681, and the sermon preached by Bishop Sariñana. This sermon was published in México City that same year; it was published in English translation by the Historical Society of New Mexico (Santa Fe, 1906).

18. This painting no longer exists, and Obregón says he knows nothing about it. It was done most likely in 1740, when a special Lady chapel was built for La Macana in the friary of Tlalnepantla, according to the Bancroft MS; then it was transferred to the novitiate chapel at the Convento Grande, when the statue went there at the end of 1754. As Montalvo himself admits, much of his information was taken from the inscriptions on this painting.

19. Only the Bancroft MS says that the head alone was severed, and that blood flowed from the severed parts.

20. For us, the house of Bartolomé Romero in Santa Fe. Here is further evidence for the statue being a household saint, and not mission property.

21. A New Mexican Indian with his small stone mallet breaks the little image, which Maria Romero might have left there to protect her home when she went with the rest of the people to the palace fortress. But who was this Indian? And why should Diego Naranjo (or the devil) punish him for such a devilishly laudable deed? Unless this Indian, having once been a pious Christian, repented of his crime and upbraided the rebel chiefs afterward. These killed him, and Naranjo hung up his corpse from a mountain poplar of the Santa Fe stream as an example to others. All this brings to mind the person of Juan el Tano, a pious Galisteo Indian living in Santa Fe whom Otermín sent out to spy on his pueblo. But to everybody's great surprise, Juan returned as the chief of the Tanos, first dicking with Otermín to have him leave with the Spaniards

in peace, then engaging the Spaniards in combat. Juan's army suffered complete defeat because the northern tribes arrived too late that evening; and perhaps he openly blamed Naranjo for coming too late. (According to García Cubas, the Indian who broke the statue lost his mind and began running all over the battlefield until he was hanged by the evil one.) To appreciate this identification of Juan el Tano with the hanged chieftain, read Hackett's *Revolt*, I, 12-14.

Bartolomé Naranjo, a pious San Felipe Indian working in Santa Fe, was also sent to spy on his people at the same time that Juan el Tano got his orders. But he was slain by his people when he scolded them for rebelling, although his fate was not known until a year later in Otermín's 1681 expedition. It is interesting to speculate that one of Diego Naranjo's sons died for the Faith.

22. The effective Reconquest of New Mexico by Vargas, and the restoration of the missions, did not take place until the end of 1693.—Montalvo most likely confused the public image of *Nuestra Señora del Rosario, La Conquistadora*, which figured prominently in the Reconquest, with the Macana statue; see the Chavez article on La Conquistadora in NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, XXIII, 94-128, 177-216. A similar error was made by historian Fray Agustín Morfi three decades later, *ibid.*, 183.

23. This *Fray Buenaventura de los Carros* was none other than Fray Buenaventura de Contreras, who succeeded Fray Francisco de Ayeta as procurator of the missions and master of the supply wagons. A good idea of his forward and stubborn character may be drawn from a few lean sources: *Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, leg. 140; Biblioteca Nacional, Mexico, leg. 2, doc. 6; leg. 4, no. 28; leg. 5, nos. 2, 3; leg. 9, no. 8; leg. 28, caja 70*. He was the type of man to give a fantastic twist to the story of La Macana, and perhaps leave the impression in Tlalnepantla that he himself had been in New Mexico during the Rebellion, although he never served there as a missionary. Anyway, the mural painting and Montalvo imply that he was the one and only missionary to escape the 1680 massacre. The Bancroft MS, and García Cubas also, say that two missionaries escaped; here the basic legend as told in some quarters evidently included Father Ayeta with Brother Contreras, since both were associated with the returning supply train of 1683 which brought the statue to New Spain.

24. Prior to its apotheosis in Tlalnepantla, the badly damaged statue had to be repaired quite drastically, and this throws light on a conclusion reached by Don Gonzalo Obregón: "The study which I made of the image leads me to conclude that we have here a Mexican work of the second half of the seventeenth century, and therefore it cannot be the original image taken by the first explorers." In other words, the original pyramidal torso of sticks and cloth, what with the brittleness of age, was so badly smashed by the Indian's mallet, that a new one with its horn-like base was made for it around 1684 in the *talleres* of Mexico City. Hence, we must conclude that only the head and hands, or at least the head only, is all that is left of the household saint of the Robledo family.—Presumably at this same period the little replica of an Aztec *macana* of wrought copper was made for it, and this popularized a new name and title which came to supplant that of the Sagrario of Toledo. García Cubas recalled that it was made of silver, perhaps a mistaken recollection after some fifty years, or it might have been thinly silverplated at that time.

25. A direct blow by even a light stone mallet would have smashed the tiny head beyond repair. Evidently, as the blow swept the battered fragile torso to the floor, the head came off and got nicked when it struck the floor or a wall. Still, since the whole frame was so light, the head so loosely attached to it, the total lack of resistance would allow the head to receive the blow, or part of it, with only a nick to show for it.

26. This quaint legend within the bigger legend undoubtedly arose from actual instances when the new bits of plaster and glue fell out from natural causes. The Chanfreau photograph brings out a big lump on the tiny brow, indicating that the last repairer of the face put in an extra supply of plaster for good measure. But when this happened, or when it will fall out again, nobody knows.

27. As historians conversant with conditions in seventeenth-century New Mexico will testify, the reproductions mentioned by Montalvo were an impossibility, and most especially in the dire straights in which the exiled colony found itself at Guadalupe del Paso

in 1683. Moreover, if this had been the case, the memory of the statue and its story would have persisted among New Mexicans instead of being forgotten.

28. The mission of Tlalnepantla, near the pyramid of Tenayuca about 15 miles northwest of Mexico City, was about a century old when the statue arrived in 1683; for dates on it, see George Kubler, *Mexican Architecture of the Sixteenth Century* (New Haven, 1948). According to the Bancroft MS, La Macana stayed in the mission church for 57 years [1683-1740], until a special chapel was built for it within the precincts of the friary itself in 1740; here it stayed for 14 years, until 1754, when it was transferred to the Convento Grande in Mexico City.

29. The feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, which was the patronal title of the Franciscan Custody of New Mexico.

30. For a general plan of the Convento Grande, see Montgomery, Brew, and Smith, *Franciscan Awatovi* (Cambridge, 1949), 260; see also García Cubas, *op. cit.*, and Fr. Fidel Chauvet, O.F.M., "The Church of San Francisco in Mexico City," in *The Americas*, VII, 13-30.

31. *El concurso se hacía lenguas*, a pun on the preceding bell's tongue, *la lengua de una esquila*.

32. Fray Pedro Navarrete, an outstanding churchman of his day, was signally devoted to Our Lady of La Macana when the shrine was at Tlalnepantla. Fray Francisco Antonio de la Rosa Figueroa, *Bezerro General, etc.*, Ayer MSS (Chicago), 40-41. This author also mentions La Macana when repeating Vetancurt's accounts of the Rebellion and of Father Trujillo.

33. Eduardo Enriquez Ríos, *Fray Antonio Margil de Jesús* (Mexico, 1941), 193-95.

34. Antonio García Cubas, *El Libro de mis Recuerdos* (Mexico, 1904), 64. The presence of an Infant seems to be a mistaken recollection of García Cubas, although the old devotees might have made one for the famous Lady, to be carried by her on occasion as in the case of the original Virgin of Toledo; see note 24.—His account of early New Mexico is taken from faulty histories of the times. His version of the Macana legend seems to be a mixture of Montalvo and the Bancroft MS as relayed in other sources that he might have read. Accompanying his text are much too small and poorly reproduced pictures of the statue and of the high altar of San Francisco.—Rubén Vargas, *Historia del Culto de María en Iberoamérica* (Buenos Aires, 1947), 220, states that the image was at Corpus Christi, his information being taken from García Cubas.

35. Fr. Fidel Chauvet, *op. cit.* This is a good summary of the fortunes and misfortunes of the Convento Grande from its founding to our times.

36. Corpus Christi was the nunnery church of the royal Franciscan Poor Clares (*Descalzas Reales de Madrid, Capuchinas*); incidentally, these were the nuns who published Montalvo's sermon on St. Clare in 1748, see note 6. The nunnery was founded in 1724 for Indian women of noble blood, and approved by Benedict XIII in 1727.

37. Obregón, *loc. cit.* The ancient church of San Francisco and the pitiable remnants of its great convent or friary were restored to the use of the Holy Gospel Franciscans in 1949; see Chauvet, *op. cit.*