Mexican and Spanish Guadalupes, there has never been an in-depth history of Marian devotion in the Spanish-speaking New World. Linda Hall has now filled that gap. The words “mother” and “warrior” in the book’s title highlight Mary’s twofold function throughout history, while the term “Americas” is slightly misleading since Hall does not deal with Brazil because of the different culture and background.

Hall begins by dealing with images in general and those of the Virgin in particular, concluding that “[f]ar from being the meek and mild figure depicted to me in my Protestant youth, she is often seen by [her devotees] as active, effective, legitimizing” (p. 16). The story, however, really begins with the “Spanish Reverence” for the Virgin (Chapter 2). In this, she gives a history of Marian devotion that begins with the early Church and goes through the reconquista. Only Saint James (Santiago) came to rival Mary in popularity or effectiveness. Both devotions, with their militant aspects, were carried to the New World by explorers and conquistadores. There is a detailed description of Columbus’ and Cortés’ marian devotion. In dealing with post-conquest marian devotion in Mexico, Hall makes some important observations on the Virgin’s similarity to and differences from native goddesses, especially that Mary was probably more appealing. “After all, rather than being terrifying or remote, she was near, tender, human, often portrayed holding her ‘precious son,’ the infant Christ in her arms” (p. 82). “The pre-Columbian sacred feminine in Mexico was represented by a multiplicity of goddesses, dual in nature—both nurturing and frightening—depicted either as human with accompanying splendid regalia or as frighteningly animal-like” (p. 85). Hall goes on to consider the Virgin in Mexican images and fiesta, as a national symbol in Bolivia, Mexico, and Argentina, and devotion to her in the Andes. She also compares Evita and María in Argentina.

In a brief review it is difficult to do justice to the richness of this book and its insights. It is well researched, well written, and enhanced by illustrations that truly support the text. It may be rather heavy reading for undergraduates, but certainly graduate students and anyone interested in the religious, social, and intellectual history of the Spanish-speaking world will find it to be of great value.

STAFFORD POOLE

Over the last fifteen years, several works have consistently raised the analytical acuity of a challenging area of inquiry: indigenous adaptations to the teaching and enforcement of orthodox Christian practices in colonial Spanish America. This inquiry has been bracketed, however, by the fragmentary nature of ecclesiastical or civil records relating to indigenous religious practices, and by the uneven survival of mundane documentation regarding specific individuals. Nevertheless, the unique descriptions of ritual practices preserved in trial records and
doctrinal texts—alongside a small but significant corpus of ritual and devotional writings by Maya, Zapotec, and Nahua specialists—demand both sustained attention and a multifaceted approach. Accordingly, not one, but several approaches have given shape to this field: among the most relevant for New Spain, one could cite Alfredo López Austin’s emphasis on persistent Mesoamerican cosmological beliefs, James Lockhart’s contextualization of Nahua social life within long-term language change, Serge Gruzinski’s examination of an emerging mestizo consciousness, Louise Burkhart’s elucidation of early Nahuatl doctrinal texts, and William B. Taylor’s exhaustive analysis of the rapport between local priests and their parishioners. Lara Cisneros’s book—based on a Master’s thesis honored with the 2000 Clavijero prize by Mexico’s INAH—continues an analytical conversation on man-gods and messianic interludes inaugurated by López Austin, Gruzinski, and Taylor. In fact, this work makes a twofold contribution: a contextualization of what may seem, at first glance, fascinating but unclassifiable instances of messianic native movements, and a diligent characterization of Sierra Gorda and San Luis de la Paz—a region comprising parts of contemporary Querétaro, Guanajuato, Hidalgo, and San Luis Potosí—as an economic and cultural crossroads where Otomi, Nahua, and African migrants mingled with relatively nomadic Chichimec populations.

This work’s center of gravity resides in two comparable episodes: the accusations regarding unorthodox celebrations led by Francisco Andrés (a ritual specialist known as El Cristo Viejo) between 1734 and 1769 in Sierra Gorda, and by Andrés Martínez and his associates circa 1796 in San Luis de la Paz. These accusations may be linked to local struggles for social or religious supremacy. Accordingly, Lara Cisneros emphasizes the enmity that local cabildo members direct toward Francisco Andrés and former town official Felipe González in the context of public hostility towards local priests and Spaniards, and the shock with which local enemies of the Martínez family enumerate a catalogue of perversities—whipped images, toads atop altars, and unorthodox Masses. In spite of the author’s contextualization—which includes an apt contrast between Franciscan and Jesuit evangelization efforts in the region, and an account of a local Spanish confraternity eventually turned over to native parishioners—the Cristo Viejo remains an elusive figure: a Protean cultist who eludes punishment for consuming peyote due to jurisdictional conflicts, and who is repeatedly accused of performing a simulacrum of Mass for local women that includes tortillas in lieu of the Eucharist, and his own bathwater imparted as a ritual beverage, a practice later imitated by Martínez. How may we explain local support for these two specialists? Lara Cisneros’ response recruits López Austin’s model of the colonial man-god—a local ritual specialist who exercised charismatic authority by appealing to collective notions of cosmological order based on memories of preconquest beliefs and local appraisals of Christianity. This exposition, which relies on Jacques Galinier’s analysis of contemporary Otomi cosmology, remains open-ended, as it should, since only a small portion of the cultural context that motivated these apparently idiosyncratic ritual observances is accessible through surviving evidence.
In summary, this book is directed towards students of Latin American social history and historical ethnography, and it assumes the vantage point of a regional case study. Furthermore, Lara Cisneros’ research introduces a comparative question that should be asked, on the strength of previous research by Gruzinski and Taylor: do similar circumstances frame the emergence of defiant appropriations of Christian beliefs by charismatic native specialists in eighteenth-century New Spain? Such a comparison would confront the Sierra Gorda cultists with Antonio Pérez’s unorthodox observances at Yautepec in the 1760s and Diego Agustín’s 1769 Tututepec revolt, among other movements, resulting in a substantial contribution to our knowledge of native adaptations to colonial Christianity in Spanish America.

Vassar College
Poughkeepsie, New York


As Hispanics have become the largest U.S. minority group, scholars of American religion are increasingly being asked to reflect upon the Latino contribution to religious history and experience. This volume is an important contribution to American religious studies since it is the first edited book dedicated entirely to the Mexican religious experience in the United States. The editors organized four case studies and two theological reflections.

Timothy Matovina offers a rich historical account of Mexican religious practices in San Antonio, Texas, from 1900 to 1940. He details the life of the San Fernando Cathedral, which has been the central parish for Mexican-descent Texans since its founding in 1731. In the time period studied by Matovina, he highlights the role that exiles from the Mexican revolution (1910-1920) and the later Cristero period played in the life of San Antonio, which became the primary center for exiled Mexican bishops, clergy, and religious. These exile groups reinforced a Mexican shape to religious life among the established Mexican Americans and excluded a U.S. (Protestant) religious orientation. Next, Karen Mary Davalos examines the *Vía Crucis* in Chicago’s Pilsen neighborhood and the ways a traditional Catholic and Mexican practice of Good Friday Stations of the Cross became a hybrid social justice and religious practice. Lara Medina and Gilbert Cadena, who were early founders and participant observers in the cultural and religious construction of *Día de los Muertos* in Los Angeles, discuss how this traditional Mexican celebration of All Saints and All Souls Days was not observed in a particularly Mexican way until 1972, alongside the emergence of a Chicano spirituality that was more culturally and socially oriented than one based in an institutional Catholicism. Both studies illustrate the shaping of Mexican tradition in an American setting and a kind of Americanization of the devotions through their social justice and cultural orientations. Finally, Luis León’s study of *curanderismo* (faith healing) in Los Angeles is more of a narration of one curandera’s contribution to the spiritual ecology of urban