

BEAD-PRAYERS AND THE SPIRITUAL CONQUEST
OF NAHUA MEXICO: GANTE'S "CORONAS" OF 1553

EILEEN M. MULHARE AND BARRY D. SELL
American Anthropological Association
Universidad de Los Angeles, California

A. THE AUTHOR AND HIS BOOK

Fray Pedro de Gante is well known to readers of *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl*. He is not only rightly regarded as a founding member of the Mexican church, indefatigable in his ministry to Nahuas, but he also has the distinction (at least anecdotally) of twice refusing the archbishopric of Mexico. Among his numerous other achievements are several Nahuatl publications. The most important is his *Doctrina cristiana en lengua Mexicana*.

There are at least five extant published copies of this work. The oldest is held by the Huntington Library in San Marino, California, USA. It can be dated circa 1547 and at least some of its opening and closing leaves are missing. It lacks much of the material found at the end of its four later counterparts. It is impossible to say at present whether or not the later editions were expanded or this earlier one is simply missing many pages. The content is seemingly identical in all other respects except for a truncated admonitory dialogue in Nahuatl between a father and son.

The four subsequent copies are all securely dated to 1553. Ernesto de la Torre Villar in the introductory essay to his 1981 photoreproduction of Gante's book places them as follows: in the USA at the Latin American Collection of the Nettie Lee Benson Library of the University of Texas at Austin (UTA) and at the Ayer Collection in the Newberry Library in Chicago, Illinois; and in Mexico with don Salomón Hale and at the Archivo General de la Nación (1981: 73-74). The last institution provided the copy that appears in Gante 1981 because "está completo" (1981: 74). However in at least one instance this "completeness" may only be due to some leaves in Latin that appear at the beginning of the AGN copy. The foliation of the 1553 copies held by the AGN and the UTA is identical, folio for folio. Also 20 randomly-selected pages of the two imprints

were closely compared. There was complete agreement between the two copies with regard to alphabetical characters, abbreviations, foliation/misfoliation, graphic elements, and content. Thus they give every indication of having been part of the exact same print run.

Gante's book is a sorely underutilized scholarly resource. This in spite of the fact that there is tremendous interest in such texts by scholars from many fields. The crucial difficulty is the lack of the requisite language skills, making this critical work and others like it inaccessible to all but a very small group of specialists. In the present case it was only through a series of chance electronic mail communications between Eileen M. Mulhare and Barry D. Sell that the present article was conceived, drawing on the particular skills of each. Sell transcribed and translated excerpts of Gante's text and wrote section A of this article; Mulhare analyzed the excerpts in-depth and contributed section B, below.

Before proceeding to Mulhare's remarks on Nahuatl bead-prayers¹ in mid-sixteenth century Mexico, a brief word is in order on whether such devotions were widespread. While direct references of a numerical or serial kind are not available, there is ample indication from texts written before and after Gante's 1553 *Doctrina* that prayers using beads and associated practices were already a part of the standard repertoire of Christianized Nahuas by the middle of the sixteenth century. An impressive number of authoritative manuscripts and imprints use the Spanish loanword *cuentas* (literally, "beads") when referring to Rosary beads, Rosary prayers, and other Christian beads/prayers. Examples include: the collection of largely traditional Nahuatl song/poetry known as the *Cantares Mexicanos*; the anonymously-authored Dominican *Doctrina cristiana* (1548); fray Bernardino de Sahagún's *Sermonario* (1548); Molina's cofradía regulations of 1552; Gante's own *Doctrina* (1553); and Molina's *Confessionario menor* (1565) and *Confessionario mayor* (1569).

The flavor of all the references is unambiguously of a routine nature. In Gante's own work Nahuas are instructed how to prepare themselves physically and spiritually for hearing Mass, "incuentas yn anoço imoras" (their [prayer] beads or perhaps their [books of] hours) mentioned along with other particulars but not with any special emphasis (98v).² In Molina's 1569 confessional manual³ Nahuas are given a num-

¹ Spanish *rosario*, *conna* and *convilla* are all generic terms for "bead-prayer" (e.g., see Arzobispado de México 1982; De-Zarco 1992: 50-51). The English equivalents are "rosary," "crown" and "chaplet" (Winston-Allen 1997: 15). To avoid confusion we follow Shaughnessy's (1984: ii) advice, using "Rosary" (capitalized) to mean the Holy Rosary alone, and "crown" or "chaplet" to mean all other Catholic bead-prayers.

² I leave aside here the well-founded assumption on the part of the author(s) that some Nahuas were literate, had books, and could read.

³ See under "Molina 1984."

ber of possible things to do before giving their “Confession general” (19r) including counting their *cuentas* if that was part of a penance imposed upon them by a priest (18v). A later reference in the Nahuatl text to Rosary beads eschews Spanish *cuentas* but the parallel Spanish version makes it clear that Rosary beads are meant.⁴ The references in the *Cantares Mexicanos*, where *cuentas* is naturalized as *-cuentax*, are woven as seamlessly and unremarkably into the poems/songs as any other Spanish loanword (254, 290).

Special mention must be made of Sahagún’s Nahuatl *Sermonario*, not cited here, where *cuentas* and *rosario* both appear a number of times. This text, copied in 1548 from a 1540 original, attests to an early date indeed when bead-prayers were an accustomed practice among the mass of Nahua Christians. Also not cited here and equally as telling is the fourteenth obligation in Molina’s 1552 *cofradía* regulations.⁵ This rule is entirely dedicated to the required rosary devotions to be practiced by diligent members of the sodality. Near the end it notes that whoever knows how to read will peruse his book of hours (see Gante 1553 above for a related statement) but otherwise—and this applied to the overwhelming majority—they are to use their Rosary beads.

At the time that Gante’s *Doctrina* of 1553 appeared the overwhelming majority of central Mexico’s Christians spoke the Nahuatl language. Four hundred and fifty years later the majority of this region’s inhabitants remain Christians but speakers of Nahuatl are now a small minority. What elements of Nahua Christianity have persisted from that earlier period, what has changed, and what has been lost, is still in many respects an open question. The remarks that follow may aid in some small measure to answer that question. We hope that our article will help stimulate further analysis of Gante’s work and others like it.

B. THE DEVOTIONS

This article analyzes four *coronas* or bead-prayers which appear in fray Pedro de Gante’s *Doctrina cristiana en lengua mexicana* (1553). Bead-prayers are religious devotions that involve chanting or reciting for-

⁴ The reference is under the sixth commandment, against stealing: “¶ Auh yn ticozcanamacac, yn ticozcanecuilo, yuan yn ticnamaca cartillas, horas, yztac amatl, tigeras, cuchillos, yn tiquauaztli, auh yn ye mochi castillācayotl, aço itla yc teca timocacayauh: aço titetlaxiccuili?” / “¶ Y tu que vendes cuentas, y vēdes cartillas, horas, papel, tigeras, cuchillos, peynes, y todas las otras cosas de castilla, en la vēta de todo ya dicho engaņaste, o burlaste a alguno[?]” (37v). Material in brackets ours.

⁵ A critical edition of this text (there are several copies from 1552) is in the final stages of preparation and will be published by the Academy of American Franciscan History.

mulaic prayers repeatedly, using a string of beads to keep count. Much has been written on the history of bead-prayers in medieval Europe, particularly the evolution of the Holy Rosary (see Winston-Allen 1997). McAndrew (1965: 134-135) and Ricard (1966: 182) note that Nahuas received the Rosary with enthusiasm. There appear to be no focused studies on bead-prayers in sixteenth-century Mexico, however, with the following exception. Burkhart's (forthcoming) study on Marian piety in early colonial Nahuatl literature examines two such devotions: a Nahuatl text of the Rosary dating to 1565; and Gante's "Crown of St. Mary," one of the coronas addressed in this article.

Gante's coronas are *not* texts of the Rosary. Instead they are variants of other bead-prayers practiced earlier in Europe (see below). The "Crown of Our Lord Jesus Christ" concerns key episodes in the life of Jesus of Nazareth. The "Crown of Saint Mary" focuses on the virtues of Mary, the mother of Jesus. The "Crown of the Five Wounds" concentrates on Christ's suffering during the Crucifixion and asks forgiveness for one's sins. The "Floral Crown," another prayer for pardon, asks Mary's intercession on behalf of the penitent. As far as we can determine, only the Five Wounds devotion remains in use among Mexican Catholics today. Nevertheless, Gante's coronas provide a valuable glimpse of how the earliest Catholic clergy went about their work and the kind of Christianity they hoped to establish among the Nahuas. Nahuatl transcriptions and English translations of all four coronas are presented at the end of this article.

A key question is why Gante chose to teach Nahuas these particular bead-prayers instead of the Rosary, a devotion that enjoyed widespread popularity in sixteenth-century Spain (Flynn 1989: 125). The paper discusses some possible reasons: (1) the early date of Gante's arrival in Mexico; (2) rivalry between the Franciscan and Dominican orders; and (3) his apparent goals as a mendicant friar ministering to Nahuas.

Historical Context

Catholic clergy in early colonial Mexico used a variety of strategies to promote Christianity among the Nahuas. A small portion of the population, mostly the sons of native elites, received a thorough education in Spanish and Latin as well as in Nahuatl (Gruzinski 1993: 55; Ricard 1966: 99). The majority of the Nahua population remained illiterate. As a consequence, non-written forms of communication played a crucial role in Christianizing efforts. With the assistance of Nahua scribes the evangelists developed a Christianized Nahuatl vocabulary for use

in sermons, oral instruction and teaching manuals (Burkhart 1989: 23; see also Lockhart 1992: 255-256). With the help of Nahua artists they produced edifying murals, paintings, sculptures, woodcuts, and picture-books (Gruzinski 1993: 186; Ricard 1966: 104). Most importantly, Catholic religious and their Nahua assistants created numerous opportunities for converts to express religious fervor, including hymns, chants, song-and-dance rituals, processions, pageants and plays (Anderson 1993: xvii-xxv; Burkhart 1989: 20; Gruzinski 1993: 251-252; Ricard 1966: 183-184). Bead-prayers, including the Rosary, were yet another opportunity to promote popular piety (Ricard 1966: 104).

A pioneer in all these endeavors was Peeter van der Moere, better known as fray Pedro de Gante (c. 1486-1572), i.e., Brother Peter of/from Ghent. Gante was a Franciscan lay brother of Flemish origin. He arrived in Mexico in 1523, one year ahead of the first official Franciscan mission, the famous "Twelve" (Ricard 1966: 2, 20). Two Flemish religious accompanied Gante, but they died soon thereafter. He devoted the rest of his life to proselytizing among the Nahua. To that end he founded various educational institutions for Nahua pupils, including a technical school specializing in arts and trades, a music school, and two *colegios* that combined religious instruction with language studies in Nahuatl, Latin, and Spanish (1966: 177, 208, 212-213). His name also appears on several extant publications, including the *Doctrina* of 1553.

Genres of Bead-Prayers

To understand how Gante's coronas fit within the prayer traditions of Roman Catholicism, it is necessary to review some characteristics of European bead-prayers. There are three basic genres. The earliest, established before 1000 A.D., consists of repeating a single prayer numerous times, originally either the "Our Father" or the "Hail Mary" (Winston-Allen 1997: 14-15). The second genre, known to scholars as "Jesus psalters" and "Mary psalters," emerged circa 1130 A.D. These involve reciting a list of virtues that Jesus or Mary represent, accompanied by repetitions of either the "Our Father" or the "Hail Mary" (1997: 15-16). The third and most recent type, the life-narrative genre, developed in the 14th and 15th centuries. It combines repetition of standard prayers with meditation on specific episodes in the lives of Jesus and/or Mary (1997: 16-17). The Rosary illustrates this genre, as do the "Franciscan Crown" (Donovan 1999), the Servite "Chaplet [or Crown] of the Seven Dolours" (Mach c1970: 270-282; OSM 1999), and numerous other, internationally popular Catholic bead-prayers (Shaughnessy 1984).

In all three genres the obligatory number of repetitions or the total number of beads often has religious significance. For example, five refers to the wounds of the crucified Jesus; 33 represents the years of Christ's earthly life; 40 recalls the hours between Christ's death and the Resurrection; 72 reflects the tradition that Mary lived for that many years; and so on (Shaughnessy 1984: 10, 12-13, 16, 24, 26, 28). Some bead-prayers, like the Rosary and the *Cien Requiem* (Jacobo M. 1999: 246), use multiples of ten repetitions. This allows the faithful to keep count on their fingers if beads are not available.

Bead-prayers vary significantly in their pedagogical value, a salient point for Catholic clerics. Simple repetition of a single prayer, and devotions praising the virtues of Jesus or Mary, provide little training in religious dogma. In contrast, life-narrative bead-prayers specifically aim at teaching Catholic doctrine. They accomplish this by: (1) highlighting a few key events from the Gospels or from Church tradition; (2) assigning each event a standard title that is short and memorable, e.g., "The Child Jesus Lost and Found in the Temple" (Spanish: "El Niño Jesús perdido y hallado en el Templo"); (3) listing the events in chronological order; and, as an additional memory aid, (4) arranging the events in thematic groups such as the Seven Joys of Mary or the Seven Sorrows of Mary.

The Rosary is the prime example of the life-narrative bead-prayer as a pedagogical tool. It presents the basic tenets of the faith in the form of 15 events called the "Mysteries" (Spanish: *Misterios*), each with a succinct title, arranged to follow the chronology of the Gospels, and grouped into five "Joyous," five "Sorrowful," and five "Glorious" episodes (see Jacobo M. 1999: 137-145). Each Mystery requires the recitation of one "Our Father," ten "Hail Marys," and one "Gloria." The Catholic Church in Mexico today continues to promote the Rosary as an efficient means of learning the catechism (e.g., Amatulli Valente 1984: 17-33).

Pious tradition attributes the Rosary to Saint Dominic (Domingo de Guzmán, 1170-1221), the Spaniard who founded the Order of Preachers, or O.P., better known as the Dominicans. Certainly the Dominicans were the foremost promoters of the Rosary from the fifteenth century forward (Winston-Allen 1997: 2, 4). Recent scholarship demonstrates, however, that other religious orders originated this devotion in Prussia around 1300 (1997: 17). During the next 250 years there were numerous competing variations. Some advocated as few as five Mysteries and others as many as 200 (1997: 25). The Vatican finally settled the matter in favor of the Dominicans in 1569. In an apostolic letter, Pope Pius V, himself a Dominican, established the current 15-

Mystery format as the authorized version (see Pope Paul VI 1980: 59-60). This event occurred 46 years after Gante began his work among the Nahuas, and 31 years after fray Tomás de San Juan, a Dominican, established Mexico's first Rosary confraternity in 1538 (McAndrew 1965: 134; Ricard 1966: 182).

Gante's "Crown of Our Lord Jesus Christ"

This corona follows the principal conventions of the life-narrative bead-prayer. In effect it is a proto-Rosary, comprised of more than twice as many Mysteries (although Gante does not use that term), and involving fewer repetitions of the "Hail Mary" (one per Mystery instead of ten).

At first reading it appears Gante selected 32 events in the life of Christ, each accompanied by recitation of one "Our Father" and one "Hail Mary." Closer inspection raises questions on whether the 1553 edition accurately reflects the original. Gante, the Nahuas scribe, or perhaps the printer, merged some events that Catholic custom normally lists separately. Some events are listed twice. The choice of 32 events also seems odd, given that 33 would give the list greater religious significance. In any case, asking converts to remember such a large number of events is rather ambitious, although Nahuas were known for their prodigious memories. Gante could have arranged the events into thematic groupings, but he did not.

The devotion begins by making the Sign of the Cross and reciting three prayers: "By the Sign of the [Holy] Cross",⁶ the "Creed" and the "Our Father." Presumably the text means the "Apostles Creed," which is simpler and more easily memorized than the "Nicene Creed." Then there is a short offertory prayer. It states the purpose of the corona: to "declare" the circumstances of Christ's life and death. The list of 32 events follows, with the reminder to say one "Our Father" and one "Hail Mary" per event. The events are summarized below, with possible transcription errors identified. Capitalized phrases represent standard titles the Church assigns to these Gospel episodes.

⁶ By custom, Catholics begin and end any worship activity with the "Sign of the Cross." The traditional Spanish "Sign of the Cross" is actually two separate but related prayers: (1) *persignarse*, to sign oneself by saying, "By the Sign of the Holy Cross, from our enemies, free us Lord Our God," and (2) *santiguarse*, to bless oneself by saying, "In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Amen" (see Jacobo M. 1999: 7; translation, Eileen M. Mulhare). The first prayer may be an artifact of the Spanish Reconquista since the internationally recognized "Sign of the Cross" consists of the second prayer alone. Gante's "Crown of Our Lord Jesus Christ" specifies the first prayer. His "Crown of Saint Mary" seems to require only the second prayer.

Events Summary: (1) The Incarnation and the Nativity. This is probably a transcription error. Catholic tradition, including the Rosary, normally lists these events separately. (2) The Flight into Egypt. (3) The Forty Days in the Wilderness. (4) Jesus begins his “sermons” (preaching). This is not a specific event, and possibly may refer to the Sermon on the Mount. (5) Jesus Raises Lazarus from the Dead. (6) The Triumphal Entry Into Jerusalem. (7) The “Holy Sacrament called Communion,” which is a sacrament, not an event. The event itself is normally called the Last Supper. (8) Jesus Washes the Feet of His Disciples. (9) Repetition: “Holy Communion.” This is most likely a transcription error. (10) The Agony in the Garden. (11) Jesus is Arrested. (12) The Disciples Flee (to avoid arrest). (13) Jesus is “tormented” by his enemies, probably referring to the Scourging at the Pillar. (14) Jesus Before Caiaphas, referring to the trial before the high priest of the Sanhedrin. (15) Pilate Sentences Jesus to Death. (16) Jesus Carries His Cross. (17) Jesus is Stripped of His Garments. (18) Jesus is Nailed to the Cross. (19) Jesus Pardons the Thief, and forgives his persecutors. (20) Jesus Dies on the Cross, Jesus Descends Into “Hell” (Limbo, the temporary abode of the dead), Jesus Releases the Souls in Limbo. This is probably a transcription error: By custom, Christ’s death is treated as an event separate from the descent into Limbo and the release of the souls waiting there. (21) The Blessed Mother Receives the Body of Jesus. (22) Jesus is Laid in the Tomb. (23) Repetition: Jesus Releases the Souls in Limbo. This may be where Gante intended this event to be listed, given that the same event is combined with Christ’s death in item number 20. (24) Jesus’ Body Lays in the Tomb for Three Days. (25) The Resurrection. (26) Jesus Appears to His Mother. This event is apocryphal. As Stafford Poole, C.M., points out, the Gospels make no mention of it (personal communication to Barry D. Sell). (27) Jesus Appears to Mary Magdalen, then to “the three Marys,” and later to St. Peter, to two disciples traveling to Emmaus, and to ten of the eleven remaining Apostles. The incident involving three women named Mary is apocryphal. “The Three Marys,” known in Mexican-Spanish folklore as *Las Tres Marías*, appear in an earlier episode of the New Testament.⁷ (28) Jesus Remains on Earth for Forty Days. (29) Jesus Orders the Disciples to “Teach All Nations.” (30) The Ascension. (31) Jesus Sits at the Right Hand of the Father, and two angels admonish the disciples that Jesus will return “when the world comes to an end,” referring to the Last Judgment. Gante may have intended to mention the angels in connection with the Ascension, not here. According to the Gospels, the dis-

⁷ See Note 10 in the English translation, below.

ciples saw the two angels moments after the Ascension. (32) The Descent of the Holy Spirit, also known as the Pentecost.

The corona does not list a thirty-third event, but Gante could have added “The Last Judgment” to reach the symbolic number 33. In Catholic tradition, as in the New Testament, the Last Judgment is the “final event” in the salvation narrative. Another puzzling aspect of the text is its abrupt ending. One would expect to see a final offertory prayer and/or some statement on the spiritual benefits of performing the corona. These customary features are absent. Either Gante chose to omit them or the 1553 edition forgot to include them.

Gante’s “Crown of Saint Mary”

This corona is a shorter, simpler devotion in the tradition of the twelfth-century “Mary psalter.” The prayer pertains to a sub-genre called the *Gaudes*, originally Latin praises that ask the Virgin Mary to “rejoice” because she embodies particular virtues (e.g., Winston-Allen 1997: 43).⁸ The virtues that Gante attributes to Mary, and thereby commends his readers to emulate, are: prudence, virginity (chastity), humility, love (charity), purity of belief (faith), composure when tempted to anger,⁹ obedience, being a witness to truth (fidelity to the truth of the Gospels), compassion, and forbearance in the face of life’s afflictions and sorrows.

The devotion begins by making the “Sign of the Cross” and reciting the “Creed” (again, probably the “Apostles Creed”). Then there are ten stanzas, each recounting a virtue or virtues that should cause Mary to rejoice. The structure of these stanzas varies. After each of the first seven stanzas, the text says to recite one “Our Father” and ten “Hail Marys.” After the eighth stanza, the requirement is one “Our Father” but only three “Hail Marys.” This brings the total repetitions of the “Hail Mary” to 73, one more than the 72 we might otherwise expect in a Mary-oriented prayer. There are no more repetitions of the “Our Father” or “Hail Mary” required in the corona. The ninth stanza substitutes one recitation of the “Hail, Holy Queen” (i.e., “Salve Regina”) and the tenth stanza ends with an offertory prayer. The final sentence speaks of the clemency (“indulgences”) the faithful will enjoy in the afterlife if they perform this corona and endeavor to avoid sin.

⁸ Many thanks to Louise Burkhart for pointing out this connection (personal communication to Barry D. Sell), which she uncovered via personal communication with Anne Winston-Allen in 1998. See also Note 13 in the English translation.

⁹ See Note 14 in the English translation, below.

It is interesting that Gante chose to introduce this devotion to his Nahua readers rather than the “Franciscan Crown,” the standard Marian bead-prayer practiced by his Order since the early fifteenth century (Donovan 1999). In contrast to the “Crown of Saint Mary,” it is a life-narrative corona. It uses the same basic prayers, however, and centers on a related theme, the “Seven Joys of the Blessed Virgin” (Shaughnessy 1984: 28-29). Since the *Doctrina* already included a lengthy life-narrative prayer, the “Crown of Our Lord Jesus Christ,” maybe Gante thought the “Franciscan Crown” would be redundant. Indeed, three of the “Seven Joys” are episodes in Gante’s “Crown of Our Lord Jesus Christ”.¹⁰

Gante’s “Crown of the Five Wounds”

This corona is a form of Jesus psalter that replaces contemplation of specific virtues with meditation on “The Five Wounds” (Spanish: *Las Cinco Llagas*) of the crucified Christ. Unlike the other three coronas, this devotion: (1) centers on an expressly Franciscan theme; (2) helped establish one of the hallmarks of popular piety in colonial Mexico, namely reverence for the Passion of Christ; and (3) continues to be practiced in Mexico today, albeit with minor alterations. These characteristics make Gante’s “Crown of the Five Wounds” the most historically significant corona in the *Doctrina*.

Franciscan veneration of the Five Wounds dates to the Order’s founding in the early thirteenth century. The Church teaches that Saint Francis of Assisi (1181-1226), the founder, received the marks of Christ’s wounds on his own hands, feet and side (Hughes 1964: 166-167). A stylized depiction of the Five Wounds served as the original Franciscan coat-of-arms.¹¹ In colonial Mexico, the Franciscans often displayed the Five Wounds emblem in their architecture (e.g., Perry 1992: 30, 85, 88, 94, 104). Excellent sixteenth-century examples include the *capillas posas* or open-air shrines of the monasteries at Huejotzingo and Calpan, both in the State of Puebla (Cordero y Torres 1979: 83-84; Weismann 1985: 99).

¹⁰ It is also possible that the Church had not yet approved the “Franciscan Crown” for use by the laity. The Papal indulgences attached to this devotion date to 1905 (Donovan 1999).

¹¹ Bro. Brian Belanger, OFM, describes the original Franciscan coat-of-arms as follows: “The wounds are depicted as small gashes or holes out of which pour blood. Generally one of the wounds takes center position and is larger in size; the other four surround the center wound. Frequently an additional symbol of the Passion is added such as three nails, a crown of thorns, a spear, or a cross, but this is not always the case” (personal communication to Eileen M. Mulhare).

Pious exercises like the “Crown of the Five Wounds” reflect a broader cultural legacy. The sixteenth century in Spain was a period of “intense devotion ... to the crucifix and the Passion,” thanks in part to the active influence of the Franciscans (Christian 1981: 16). Clerics like Gante worked to instill this same kind of fervor among Christianized Nahuas. Throughout the colonial period, in Mexico as in Spain, this fervor expressed itself in the form of penitential confraternities, elaborate Holy Week processions and pageants, and graphic depictions of the suffering Christ and the Sorrowful Mother (e.g., Christian 1981: 181-208; García Ayluardo 1994: 79-81; Pierce 1990: 376-378). One can only speculate how pre-Conquest Mesoamerican religion, with its emphasis on human sacrifice, prepared the Nahua to embrace these facets of Catholicism (Pierce 1990: 376).

Gante’s text for the Five Wounds devotion is brief and sketchy, so much so that he omits crucial details needed to perform the corona properly. He says to recite the “Creed” (most likely the “Apostles Creed”), then “the Our Father five times, and the Ave Maria five times,” all the while meditating on “the five places His precious body was perforated: His hands, His feet, and His side,” and asking Jesus to pardon one’s sins. Almost certainly Gante did not intend for his readers to perform one prayer five times, then another prayer five times. As he must have known, such a pattern would violate the customary structure of Catholic bead-prayers. The normal pattern involves organizing the repetitive prayers into identical sets, with one set performed for each meditation.¹² Moreover, Gante neglects to specify the precise order for meditating on the Five Wounds (e.g., which hand comes first?), and forgets to say that worship should begin with “By the Sign of the [Holy] Cross.” It seems he wrote this text rather hurriedly. Perhaps he assumed that his Nahua audience had already memorized this Franciscan devotion and needed no step-by-step directions. Gante recommends that the faithful pray this corona daily.

It is possible to reconstruct what Gante probably meant to say, and consequently how Nahuas performed the corona, based on modern Mexican prayer books. One manual written by a Jesuit in 1912 includes this same bead-prayer, but the instructions are even more cursory than Gante’s (Mach c1970: 412). Another manual, by Father Mariano De-Zarco (1992), a Franciscan, clarifies the details that Gante left out. The worshiper first meditates on the wound in Christ’s right hand while praying one “Our Father” and one “Hail Mary.” The second and sub-

¹² See the many examples in De-Zarco (1992) and Shaughnessy (1984).

sequent meditations are the left hand, the right foot, the left foot, and the side, while repeating the same prayers as before (1992:40).

Gante's corona helped pave the way for other kinds of Five Wounds piety, if only indirectly. In the nineteenth century the Passionist Order introduced the "Feast of the Five Wounds," observed on the First Friday after Ash Wednesday (Holweck 1999). This may still be a holiday in some Mexican dioceses, but the national liturgical calendar omits it (e.g., Basila Manzur y Moya García 1998: 4-15). The Passionists also promoted their own Five Wounds corona, consisting of entirely different prayers. The oldest version, formulated in Italy, dates to 1821-1822 (Shaughnessy 1984: 12-13). The version practiced currently in Mexico uses yet another set of prayers (De-Zarco 1992: 15), apparently devised by Passionists in Germany (SCTJM 2001).

The best-known Five Wounds devotion, "*En ego, o bone et dulcissime Iesu,*" is not a bead-prayer at all, but it may have Franciscan roots. Some authors attribute it to Saint Clare of Assisi (c. 1194-1253), a contemporary and follower of Saint Francis (CPLF 2000: 1f; Holweck 1999). The Spanish version, "*Mirame, oh mi amado y buen Jesus,*" appears frequently in Mexican catechism texts and prayer guides (e.g., Basila Manzur and Moya García 1998: 448; Flores Merino, García Sarabia, and Arreola Aguayo 1995: 38; Jacobo M. 1999: 114). Some Mexican publications append it to a non-Franciscan corona, the Servite "Chaplet [or Crown] of the Seven Dolours" (e.g., Donadoni n.d.: 236). Like the Franciscans, the Servites (Order of Servants of Mary) originated in Italy in the early thirteenth century (Griffin 1999).

At present Gante's corona is enjoying renewed popularity in Mexico, mainly due to the international "Mary, Queen of Peace" movement (Spanish: *Maria, Reina de la Paz*). The movement started in the 1980s in Medjugorje, Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Mexican branch is headquartered in Guadalajara (CMRP 1997). Members believe Mary herself dictated an expanded form of the corona to a group of Croatian visionaries in 1981. The new version adds: (1) one recitation of the "Gloria" after each "Hail Mary;" (2) a sixth "Our Father," "Hail Mary" and "Gloria" for the intentions of the Pope; and (3) a seventh "Our Father," "Hail Mary" and "Gloria" to ask for the blessings of the Holy Spirit (MRPA 2001). This brings the total repetitions to seven, a number traditionally associated with Marian bead-prayers (Shaughnessy 1984: 2). Note that De-Zarco's prayer manual, although a Franciscan publication, presents the Medjugorje version rather than the shorter corona Gante advocated (De-Zarco 1992: 40).¹³

¹³ De-Zarco (1992: 40) neglects to list the "By the Sign of the [Holy] Cross" and the "(Apostles) Creed" in his description of the corona, but these can be considered preliminary

Gante's "Floral Crown"

This is the simplest corona in the *Doctrina*, a kind of Mary psalter with no "virtues" or meditations involved. It is time-consuming to perform nonetheless, due to the required number of repetitions. Twice Gante refers to this devotion as a *xochicoronatzin*, a hybrid Nahuatl-Spanish term for floral crown or garland of flowers. Another appropriate gloss would be "rosary." Medieval Europeans likened reciting Marian bead-prayers to weaving a garland of spiritual roses (or flowers) as a gift to the Mary (Winston-Allen 1997: 105). There is even a Franciscan legend about Mary preferring a "garland of prayers" to a garland of flowers (Donovan 1999).

As was true for the "Crown of the Five Wounds," Gante's instructions are brief and sketchy. He says to begin the corona with "By the Sign of the [Holy] Cross" and the "(Apostles) Creed." The devotion continues with eight sets of one "Our Father" and nine "Hail Marys." This results in a total of 72 "Hail Marys," as Gante himself points out, but he says nothing on the religious significance of this number. There is also an offertory prayer that begs Mary's intercession so that Jesus will forgive one's sins. The text is vague about whether the offertory comes before or after the eight sets of repetitions. The logical position would be at the end, to conclude the devotion.

Gante presents this corona as a companion prayer to the "Crown of the Five Wounds." Both coronas share a similar tone, that is, remorse for one's sins in light of what Jesus or Mary suffered for humanity, and the hope of celestial pardon. Whereas Gante exhorts his readers to perform the "Five Wounds" corona daily, he only encourages, but does not require, daily recitation of the "Floral Crown." Its sheer length, and lack of pedagogical content, may have convinced him not to insist. This begs the question of why he included it in the *Doctrina*. Gante may have offered it as an option for the very devout. More likely, he wanted a simple but lengthy bead-prayer he could impose when Nahuas came for confession.

Conclusion

In contrast to the "Crown of Our Lord Jesus Christ," the "Crown of Saint Mary" displays a more deliberate structure and no apparent transcription errors. These characteristics, plus the specific promise of

prayers. The official Medjugorje version, like Gante's corona, does include the "Creed" but skips the "Sign of the Cross" (MRPA 2001).

Church indulgences, suggests Gante developed his second corona from a well-established Mary psalter. The first corona is rather haphazard by comparison. In all likelihood Gante modeled it after one of the many proto-Rosaries then current in Europe. Even so, the “Crown of Our Lord Jesus Christ” provided Nahuas with a vehicle for learning Christian doctrine in considerable detail. The “Crown of Saint Mary” merely reminded them of the new rules for virtuous behavior.

The remaining two coronas, the “Crown of the Five Wounds” and the “Floral Crown,” appear to have been added to the *Doctrina* as afterthoughts. Gante’s description of how to perform them is rather perfunctory. As suggested earlier, perhaps the “Crown of the Five Wounds” had already achieved sufficient popularity among the Nahua that Gante felt no need to describe the procedure in detail. This corona embodies the essence of Franciscan spirituality and takes comparative little time to complete. It could have been the first bead-prayer the friars taught their converts. In contrast, the “Floral Crown” is lengthy to perform and consists almost entirely of rote repetition. Although Gante recommends both these coronas as daily devotions, he may well have intended the “Floral Crown” as a post-confession penance.

Could Gante have dispensed with these four coronas and used the Rosary instead? With its focus on the Virgin Mary and its coverage of the Gospels in 15 Mysteries, the Rosary would have offered a more succinct prayer for accomplishing the same goals. In Europe, the Rosary as we know it was already in use by the last decade of the fifteenth century (Winston-Allen 1997: 57, 60). Then, as now, clerics assigned the Rosary as a penance.

Gante’s situation, however, made him unlikely to adopt the Rosary. First, the Vatican did not declare the Rosary as the Church’s official, pedagogical bead-prayer until 46 years *after* Gante began his efforts in Mexico. Second, the prime advocates of the Rosary in Mexico, as elsewhere, were the Dominicans. After organizing a successful Rosary confraternity in Mexico City in 1538, they established an archconfraternity in Puebla in 1555 (García and Cortés 1914: 6). Both organizations attracted Indians members (Ricard 1966: 182). Gante’s loyalty to the Franciscans may have motivated him to use a different life-narrative bead-prayer.

Finally, given the many bead-prayers current in his day, Gante may have chosen his coronas with the needs of new converts in mind. Despite its length and intricacy, his “Crown of Our Lord Jesus Christ” provides more in-depth coverage of Christian doctrine than the Rosary. The “Crown of Saint Mary,” simple in structure and joyous in tone, could easily be adapted into a Nahua song-and-dance ritual. The

“Crown of the Five Wounds,” with its focused attention to Christ’s sacrifice, may have held a special appeal for Nahuas. The “Floral Crown,” although the lengthiest of his coronas, was the easiest to remember since no “Mysteries” or meditations were involved. Even longer to perform than the Rosary, this corona could have served as a penance. In short, Gante’s coronas may have been better suited than the Rosary to meet the spiritual needs of the Nahua in the first decades after the Conquest.¹⁴

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The version of Gante’s *Doctrina* used in this study is owned by the University of Texas at Austin. The authors wish to thank that institution for providing a microfilm of their copy of Gante’s work. The authors also wish to thank Louise Burkhart and Stafford Poole, C.M., for their helpful comments on the article and the Nahuatl and English versions of the bead-prayers. The transcription of the Nahuatl and the translation into English are by Barry D. Sell who bears sole responsibility for the versions presented here and reserves all rights to the transcriptions and translations.

¹⁴ For an analysis of Rosary practices in Mexico today, see Mulhare’s (1999) case study of a formerly Nahuatl-speaking community.

¶ Yn cecen tlacatl ynic huel chichahuacanemiz momoztlaye q̄motlatlauhtiliz in tō. Jesu x̄po q̄mopohuiliz. i. Credo macuilpa p̄r n̄r macuilpa aue maria: yp̄apa yn macuilcā cocoyonticac in itlaçonacayotzin: yn imatzin in icyxitzin: yn iyomotlātzinco: inic q̄motlatlauhtiliz inic q̄mopopolhuiliz yn itlatlacol: q̄momaquiliz in iḡra ynic huel ip̄a monemitiz yn itlayecoltilocatzin. Yhuā q̄motlatlauhtiliz in tonātzin. s. Maria: aço q̄mopohuiliz yn ixochi p̄r n̄r. Coronatzin yehuatl yn chicuetel pa. Auh yepohualli yp̄a matlactli ome y aue maria ytzatzalcalactiuh Ynic quipehualtiz yca machiotl Cruz [78v] yhuan Credo, ixpantzinco q̄mohuemaniliz in tonantzin. s. Maria q̄molhuiliz.

¶ O cihuapille ichpochtle inatzin Diose ynin moxochicoronatzin mixpantzinco nicnohuēmanilia ynic tehuatzin yixpantzinco ticmohue-maniliz yn motlaçoconetzin yn tō. Jesu x̄po: ynic nechmopopolhuiliz y notlatlacol: yhuan nechmomaqliz in iḡracia inic aoq̄c nicnoyollitlacalhuiz: çan huel nicnonemiliztiz yn iteotenahuatiltzin: yniq̄pan¹ huel nictzonq̄xtiz in nonemiliz yn itlayecoltilocatzin ynic huel nechmohuiqliz yn ichantzinco. [end]

¹ yniq̄pan: read *ynic ipan*.

[123r]

¶ Nican ompehua yn iCoronatzin yn tō. Jesu xpō.

¶ Yn aquin q̄pohuaz yn icoronatzin yn tō. Jesu Xpō, achtopa momachiyotiz: quitoz. Per sign ū crucis: yhuan Credo yhuan Pater n̄r. Auh niman quitoz.

TOtē. Jesu Xpōe, ma xicmotelili yn moCoronatzin: yn ipā motenehua in mōemililtzin yhuan yn momiqtzin auh ma xinechmomaquili in mogratzin: ynic huel niqutoz. Pater n̄r. Aue maria.

¶ O notē. Jesu xpōe: ca topāpa oquichtli timochiuhtzinoco yn iyictzinco scta Maria mochipa huel nelli ychpochtli [123v] yhuan timotlacatiltzin yn Bethleem in xacaltzinco, ma mopaltzinco yc xinechmotlaocoliltzinco. Pater n̄r. Aue.

¶ O notē. Jesu xpōe, ca nopampa timohuicac yn Egypto, ōpa timochicoxiuhtilito, ma mopaltzinco yc xinechmotlaocoliltzinco. Pater noster. Aue.

¶ O notē. Jesu xpōe, ca nopampa timoçauhtzinoto in quhtla ompohualihuitl ynic cenca ticmotoliniltzinco in motlaçonacayotzin yn mocēquizcaqualnacayotzin: ma mopaltzinco yc xinechmotlaocoliltzinco. Pater noster. Aue.

¶ O notē. Jesu xpōe, ca yn iquac oticmotzonq̄xtili yn moneçahualiltzin: niman oticmopehualiltzinco in motemachtiltzin ye yquac omochiuh yn Euangelio, yn moteotlatoltzin in axcā ticpia: ma mopaltzinco yc xinechmotlaocoliltzinco. Pater noster. Aue.

¶ O notē. Jesu xp̄oe, ca tlamahuicoltica ticmotzatzilili yn sant Lazaro, yn ye nahuilhuitica micca yc oticmonezcayotili ca momiquiztica ticmozcalili yn ta[124r]niman: yn tlatlacoltica micticatca / ma mopaltzinco yc xinechmotlaocolililtzino. Pater noster. Aue.

¶ O notē. Jesu xp̄oe, ca cenca mitzmomahuiztililique yn macehualtin yn iqc ompa timocalaqtzino hierusalē ca mitzmonamiqlique mitzmpaccacelilique cenca ic mitzmoyectenehuilique: ma mopaltzinco yc xinechmotlaocolililtzino. Pater noster. Aue.

¶ O notē. Jesu xp̄oe, ca ynic cenca otinechmotlaçotili yn iquac Jueues sancto, oticmochihuililtzino yn sancto sacramento, yn itoca cōmunion, yhuan yc titechmocahuilitia ticpia yn axcā: ma mopaltzinco yc xinechmotlaocolililtzino. Pater noster. Aue.

¶ O notē. Jesu xp̄oe, ca yn iquac oticmochihuiili cochcayotl yn iquac Jueues sancto, niman tiquinmoxipaquili yn motlamachtihuan, yc oticmonextili yn cenca timotetlaçotiliani: ma mopaltzinco yc xinechmotlaocolililtzino. Pater noster. Aue maria. [124v]

¶ O notē. Jesu xp̄oe / ca yn iquac oti q̄nmoxipaqli yn motlamachtiltzintzihuā niman tiquinmomaquili in sancta cōmunion / yhuan moteotlatoltica tiquinmoyollalili tiquinmochicahuililtzino yc tiquinmonextilili ca cenca timotetlaçotiliani: ma mopaltzinco yc xinechmotlaocolililtzino. Pater noster. Aue maria.

¶ O notē. Jesu xp̄oe, Ca yn iquac oticmotzōquixtili in motemachtiltzin nimā timohuicac yn ōpa xochitepanco: yn oncā expa ticmotlatlauhtiltzino in motlaçotatzin: yhuā eztica timitonitzino / ma mopaltzinco yc xinechmotlaocolililtzino. Pater noster. Aue maria.

¶ O notē. Jesu xp̄oe / yn iquac oticmotlatlauhtili in motlaçotatzin: nimā ti q̄nmonamiqlito yn judiome. Auh expa in çan motlatoltzin yca tlapā tiq̄nmotlaxili. Auh çan moyollotzin tlamatic yniquinmac¹ timotlazzino oncan mitzmolpilique nopāpa: ma mopaltzinco yc xinechmotlaocolililtzino. Pater nr̄. Aue.

¹ yniquinmac: read *ynic immac*.

¶ O notē. Jesu xpoe yn iquac omitzmol[125r]piliq̄ yn judiome: niman mochintin mitzmotlalcahuilique yn motlamachtilhā çā moceltzin in mitzmohuiquiliq̄ inic otitechmotlamacehuilitzino motlamacehualiztica: ma mopaltzinco ic xinechmotlaocolilitzino. Pater n̄r. Aue maria.

¶ O notē. Jesu xpoe, yn omitzmohuīlique judiome ca amo çan ihuian ca cenca mitzmotonehuilitiaque mitzmotopehuilitiaque yn ipāpa in notlatlacol, ma mopaltzinco yc xinechmotlaocolilitzino. Pater n̄r. Aue maria.

¶ O notē. Jesu xpoe, ca niman mitzmohuiquiliq̄ yn ichan cayphas, oncan mitzmoqueq̄lhuique mocatzinco mocacayauhq̄ mitzmixtlatziniliq̄, yn iuh mitzmochihuilique y / ca nopāpa, ma mopaltzinco yc xinechmotlaocolilitzino. Pater noster. Aue maria.

¶ O notē. Jesu xpoe, yn iquac otlathuic viernes: niman mitzmohuiquilique yn judiome: yn ichā pylato: oncan çan tetlapiquiliztica mitzmoteyxpāhuiliq̄. Auh yn pylato çā nē in mitzmomiquiztlatzō [125v]tequilili. Auh yn tehuatzin cenca ticmopaccacelili yn miquiztli nopāpa: ma mopaltzinco yc xinechmotlaocolilitzino. Pater noster. Aue.

¶ O notē. Jesu xpoe, yn iquac omitzmotlatzontequilili yn pylato niman mitzmoquechpanoltilique yn moCruztnin cenca etic. Auh ynic ticmoquechpanilhui cenca timotlayhiyohuilitzino nopōpa: ma mopaltzinco yc xinechmotlaocolilitzino. Pater noster. Aue.

¶ O notē. Jesu xpoe, yn iquac omitzmaxitilito in tepeticpac nimā mitzmopetlahuilique. Auh ynic mitzmopetlahuiliq̄ cenca tlayhiyohui yn motlaçonacayotzin nohuian heezquiz: ma mopaltzinco yc xinechmotlaocolilitzino. Pater noster. Aue maria.

¶ O notē. Jesa² xpoe: yn iquac omitzmopetlahuilique, niman Cruztitech mitzmomamaçohualtiliq̄ q̄tetepoztoçaq̄ in momatzin yn mocxitzin, mitzmehuatiq̄chiliq̄ cēca tonehuac: chichinacac in motlaçonacayotzin nopāpa: ma mopaltzin[126r]co yc xinechmotlaocolilitzino. Pater noster. Aue maria.

¶ O notē. Jesu xpoe, yn iquac ye Cruztitech timomamaçohualtiticac/ niman ticmotlatlauhtilitzino in motlaçotatzin impāpa in mitzmotolinique. Auh yn ichtecqui ticmopopolhuili yn itlatlacol, yc neçi ca cenca timotetlaocoliliani, ma mopaltzinco yc xinechmotlaocolilitzino. Pater n̄r. Aue.

² Jesa: read *Jesu*.

¶ O notē. Jesu xpoe, yn iquac otimomiquili ytech cruz cenca miyec tlamantli mochiuh in tlamahuiçolli cemanahuac. Auh yn motlaçoanimantzin yhuan yn moteoyotzin niman motemohui yn mictlan tiquinmomaquixtilito yn imanima yn qualtin tetahuā yn õpa catca, yc neçi ca cenca timotetlaçotiliani, ma mopaltzinco yc xinechmotlaocolilitzino. Pater noster. Aue.

¶ O notē. Jesu xpoe, yn iquac oquihualmotemohuilique in motlaçonacayotzin yn itech cruz, yn yehuatzin motlaçonantzin niman mitzmonapalhuitzino cenca [126v] mochoquili cenca motlaocolti, ma ypāpa yn ichoquitzin in itlaocoyelitzin:³ xinechmotlaocolilitzino. Pr. n̄r. Aue.

¶ O notē. Jesu xpoe: yn iquac paatica oquimaltilique yn motlaçonacayotzin: yhuan yztac canahuac yc mitzmoquimillhuilique niman mitzmotequiliç tepetlalcó: ma mopaltzinco yc xinechmotlaocolilitzino. Pater n̄r. Aue.

¶ O notē. Jesu xpoe: ca cenca tiquinmopapaçltilitzino in Adan: in Eua: yhuāā yn ixquichtin Prophetame yn Patriarchame yn õpa catca yn limbo in cēca ye huecauh mitzmochiyeliticatca niman tiquinmohuiçli yn õpa Parayso terrenal yn cenca qualcan: ma mopaltzinco yc xinechmotlaocolilitzino. Pater n̄r. Aue Maria.

¶ O notē. Jesu xpoe ca yeyllhuil mohuetzitetoca in monacayotzin in tepetlalcó. Auh in moteoyotzin ca ayc oquimotlalcahuili yn motlaçonacayotzin / ma mopaltzinco yc xinechmotlaocolilitzino. Pater noster. Aue. [127r]

¶ O notē. Jesu xpoe: ca yn iquac domingo huel yohuatzinco: yn otimonomayzcalitzino timonomayollititzino. Auh yn iquac otimozcalitzino in motlaçonacayotzin ca cenca tlanexti cenca pepetlacac cenquizcachipahuac cenquizcaqualli: ma ypāpa in mocenquizcaqualnezcailititzin xinechmotlaocolilitzino. Pater noster. Aue maria.

¶ O notē. Jesu xpoe, ca in iquac otimozcalitzino huel achto ticmoxnextilititzino / yn motlaçonantzin ynic cēca oticmoyollalili / cenca ticmopapaquiltili niman opoliuh yn ichoquitzin yn itlaocoyelitzin: yn iquac omitzmottilititzino yn cenca timotlanextilitzinohua yn cenca timopapaçlitzinohua, ma mopaltzinco yc xinechmotlaocolilitzino. Pr. n̄r. Aue.

³ itlaocoyelitzin: here and on 127r, I read this as a variant on standard *itlaocoyaliztli* "sadness."

¶ O notē. Jesu xp̄oe, ca oticmonextili τ Maria magdalena in oncan xochitla. Auh otlica tiq̄nmonextili / ymeyxtin yn Mariame: yhuā oticmonextilitzino in sant Pedro no yehuāti in om̄tin motlamachtillhuā: yn ōpa mohuicaya yn alte[127v]petl ipā yn itocayocā Emaus, no yehuātin tiq̄nmonextilitzino yn matlactin Apostolome, calitic caltzauhctimanca yn izquipa timotenextilitzino huel iquac yn domingo, ma mopaltzinco yc xinechmotlaocolilitzino. P̄r n̄r. Aue.

¶ O notē. Jesu xp̄oe, yn iquac otimozcalitzino oc ōpohualilhuitl in nican timonemiti t̄pc: yhuan miyecpa tiq̄nmonextilitzino in motlamachtiltzitzinhua miyec ynic otiquinmonochili: yhuan miyec yn tlamahuic̄olli ymixpā oticmochihuilzino: ma mopaltzinco yc xinechmotlaocolilitzino. Pater n̄r. Aue.

¶ O notē. Jesu xp̄oe, ōpohualtica yn ye no oc ceppa tiq̄nmonextilitzino in motlamachtiltzitzinhuan: yntla timotlaqualtitzino: yhuan oti q̄nmonochili otiquinmonahuatilitzino: ynic nohuicemanahuac temachtizq̄: yc neci ca cēca timotetlaocolilitzinohuani: ma mopaltzinco ic xinechmotlaocolilitzino. P̄r n̄r. Aue.

¶ O notē. Jesu xp̄oe: ca yn iquac otiquinmonahuatili in Apostolome: inic nohui[128r]an temachtizque niman tiq̄nmonohuiq̄li yn tepeticpac yn itocayocan Monte oliuete: oncan otiquinmoteochihui yxquichtin yn motlamachtiltzitzinhuan ceq̄ntin oq̄hti ceq̄ntin çihua: yhuā in motlaçonantzin nimā ymixpan timotlecahuitzino yn mochantzinco yn ilhuicatl itic: ma mopaltzinco yc xinechmotlaocolilitzino. Pater n̄r. Aue.

¶ O notē. Jesu xp̄oe, yn iquac otimotlallitzinoto in imayauhcampa motlaçotatzin yxquich yhueli / niman tiq̄nhualmihualli omentin Angelome: quinmonochilico yn motlaçohuan quinmolhuilique Galilea tlacaye, tle amay tleyn anquichihua nican, y yhuatzin Jesus omotlecahui: ca oc ceppa hualmohuicaz yn iquac tlamiz cemanahuac: ma mopaltzinco yc xinechmotlaocolilitzino. Pater noster. Aue maria.

¶ O notē. Jesu xpoe: ca yn iquac otimotlecahui yn mochantzinco: oc matlactica otiq̄lmihuali in spū sancto: impā hualtemoc in Apostolome yhuan ynnoceq̄n[128v]ti⁴ motlamachtihuan in oquichtin yhuā yn çihua cenca quinmoyollalili cēca q̄nmochicahuili: quinmomachtili yn nohuyan cemanahuac tlatolli, ma mopaltzinco yc xinechmotlaocoolilitzino. Pater noster. Aue maria.

¶ Yn icoronatzin sctā maria.

Yn icquac⁵ ticmopohuiliz, achtopa cruztica timomachiyotiz niman tiquitoz yn Credo ycuepca yn neltoconi / niman totocompehualtiz⁶ tiquitoz.

¶ Ma ximopaq̄l̄titia yn ticenq̄zcatlapanahuicatlamatcatzintli yn tisancta Maria. i. Pater n̄r / matlatlactel.⁷ Aue marias.

¶ Ma ximopaq̄l̄titia yn ticenquizcatlapanahuicaichpochtintli in [129r] tisc̄tā Maria. i. P̄r noster. x. Aue.

¶ Ma ximopaquiltitia in ticenquizc[a⁸]tlapanahuicamocnomatcatzintli yn [ti⁹]sancta Maria. i. Pater n̄r. x. Aue.

¶ Ma ximopaquiltitia in ticenquizcatlapanahuicatetlaçotlacatzintli yn tisancta maria. i. Pater noster. x. Aue ma.

¶ Ma ximopaquiltitia in ticenquizcatlapanahuicachipahuacatlaneltocacatzintli yn tisancta Maria. i. Pater noster. x. Aue maria.

¶ Ma ximopaquiltitia in ticenquizcatlapanahuicayollopoçonaliztlalnamiquilzintli yn tisancta Maria. i. Pater noster. x. Aue maria.

¶ Ma ximopaquiltitia in ticenquizcatlapanahuicatetlacamatcatzintli yn tisancta Maria. i. Pater noster. x. Aue.

¶ Ma ximopaquiltitia in ticenq̄zcatlapanahuicaneltilicatzintli in tisc̄tMaria. i. Pater noster. iii. Aue.

¶ Ma ximopaquiltitia in ticenq̄zcatlapanahuicayolilizticamotolinicatzintli yn tisancta Maria. Salue regina.

⁴ ynnoceq̄nti: read *yn oc cequintin*.

⁵ Yn icquac: standard *yn iquac*.

⁶ totocompehualtiz: read *toconpehualtiz*.

⁷ matlatlactel: read *matlactell*.

⁸ Page torn here. Missing letter is in the version of Gante 1553 published in 1981 by Ernesto de la Torre Villar.

⁹ Page torn here. Missing letters are in the version of Gante 1553 published in 1981 by Ernesto de la Torre Villar.

¶ Ma ximopaquiltitia yn ticenquizca[129v]tlapanahuicateicnoittacatetlaocolicat[z¹⁰]intli yn tisancta Maria, mixpātzinco nicnohuenmanilia yn moxochicoronatzin ma mopaltzinco xinechmotlatlauhtilitzino in motlaçoconetzin Jesu xpo, ynic nechmomaquiliz in igraciatzin ynic huel nicnonemiliztiz in iteotenahuatiltzin ynic huel nechmohuiquiliz in ichantzinco yn ilhuicac. Amen.

¶ Ynin aquin quitoz yn icoronatzin yn sctā Maria ca cenca miyec q̄macehuaz q̄xnextiz indulgēcias: yehuatl τ tetlatlacolpopololiztli yntla mocemixnahuati.

¹⁰ Page torn here. Missing letter is in the version of Gante 1553 published in 1981 by Ernesto de la Torre Villar.

[78r]

¶ So that every person will have a life firm [in the faith] he will pray every day to our Lord Jesus Christ. He will recount to Him one Creed, the Our Father five times, and the Ave Maria five times. It will be because of the five places His precious body was perforated: His hands, His feet, and His side. When he prays to Him it is so He pardon him his sins and give him His grace so that he will live right in service to Him. Along with that he will pray to our mother Saint Mary. Perhaps he will relate to her her crown of flowers which is the six Our Fathers. And 73 Ave Marias will go in amongst them when he begins the By the Sign of the Cross and the Creed. He will offer them before her, he will say to her:

¶ Ah, O noblewoman, O virgin, O mother of God, before you I make an offering of this, your crown of flowers, so that you will make an offering of it before your beloved child, our Lord Jesus Christ, that He pardon me my sins and give me His grace so I will never again offend Him. Rather I will maintain His divine commands so that I will be able to bring my life to a conclusion in service to Him and so that He will be able to take me to His home. [end]

[123r]

¶ Here begins the Crown¹ of our Lord Jesus Christ.

¶ He² who will recount the crown of our Lord Jesus Christ will first make the Sign [of the Cross] on himself and say the By the Sign of the [Holy] Cross and the Creed and the Our Father. And then he will say:

O our Lord, O Jesus Christ, receive Your crown in which is declared Your life and Your death, and may You give me Your grace so that I can say the Our Father and the Hail Mary.

¶ O my Lord, O Jesus Christ, for our sake You came to make Yourself man inside Saint Mary, eternally true virgin, and You were born in Bethlehem in a hut. For the sake of who You are,³ may You have mercy on me for it. One Our Father, one Hail [Mary].⁴

¶ O my Lord, O Jesus Christ, for my sake You went there to Egypt for seven years. For the sake of who You are, may You have mercy on me for it. One Our Father, one Hail [Mary].

¶ O my Lord, O Jesus Christ, for my sake You went to fast in the wilderness for 40 days, with which You tormented Your precious body and Your sanctified flesh.⁵ For the sake of who You are, may You have mercy on me for it. One Our Father, one Hail [Mary].

¶ O my Lord, O Jesus Christ, when You finished Your fast You began Your sermons.⁶ Right then was created the Gospel, Your divine

¹ Crown: here and below, Spanish *corona* (alternatively, *coronilla*) means any Catholic devotion that uses beads to keep count of prayer repetitions, including (but not limited to) the Holy Rosary. In English the term is “crown” (used here) or “chaplet.”

² The heavy use of the male vocative makes it clear that “he” is intended where the Nahuatl is otherwise grammatically neutral.

³ *ma mopaltzinco*: see Carochi 1645, 17r: “Significa tambien esta preposicion, por amor, por respecto, como *ma mopaltzinco xinechmopalzhuili*, ayudame por tu vida, por tu amor, por quien tu eres.”

⁴ Although the number of Our Fathers and Hail Marys is not specified, we take lack of a specific number to mean “one” (as below in the Crown for Saint Mary where the only unspecified number is that for the Salve Regina, which we again take to be “one”).

⁵ *moçquizcaqualnacayotzin*: see Molina 1977, 17v and 84v.

⁶ *motemachtiltzin*: the thrust of *temachtilli* is well explained by Carochi as being a “cosa que se enseña à personas, como platica, sermon, etc.” (1645, 46r). Louise Burkhart (personal communication) feels that “teaching(s)” is the primary referrant while I feel that general ecclesiastical usage as expressed in Spanish translations of the term leaned toward “sermon(s).” In any case the difference in interpretation and approach is minor.

words which we now guard. For the sake of who You are, may You have mercy on me for it. One Our Father, one Hail [Mary].

¶ O my Lord, O Jesus Christ, by means of a miracle You cried out summoning Saint Lazarus⁷ who had been dead for four days, with which You signified that through Your death You resurrected our souls which had died through sin. For the sake of who You are, may You have mercy on me for it. One Our Father, one Hail [Mary].

¶ O my Lord, O Jesus Christ, the people⁸ greatly honored You when You entered Jerusalem for they came out to meet You, they happily received You, they greatly praised You. For the sake of who You are, may You have mercy on me for it. One Our Father, one Hail [Mary].

¶ O my Lord, O Jesus Christ, You so loved me when it was Holy Thursday that You made the Holy Sacrament called Communion, and thus You left us what we guard now. For the sake of who You are, may You have mercy on me for it. One Our Father, one Hail [Mary].

¶ O my Lord, O Jesus Christ, after You made supper on Holy Thursday You washed the feet of Your disciples, with which You manifested that You greatly love people. For the sake of who You are, may You have mercy on me for it. One Our Father, one Hail Mary.

¶ O my Lord, O Jesus Christ, after You washed the feet of Your disciples You gave them Holy Communion, and by means of Your divine words You consoled and strengthened them, with which You manifested to them that You greatly love people. For the sake of who You are, may You have mercy on me for it. One Our Father, one Hail Mary.

¶ O my Lord, O Jesus Christ, after You brought Your sermons to an end You went there to the garden where You prayed three times to Your beloved Father and You sweated blood. For the sake of who You are, may You have mercy on me for it. One Our Father, one Hail Mary.

¶ O my Lord, O Jesus Christ, after You prayed to Your beloved Father You went out to meet the Jews. You cast them to the ground three times with just Your words. And it was just voluntarily that You cast Yourself into their hands. There they took You into custody⁹ on

⁷ *ticmotzatzilili yn sant Lazaro*/You cried out summoning Saint Lazarus: this awkward formulation is based in part on Molina 1977, 151v: “Tzatzilia. nite. llamar o dar bozes a otro.” An additional consideration is the following I received from Stafford Poole, C.M.: “The passage is based on the gospel of John, chapter 11, verse 43, in which Jesus calls Lazarus forth from the tomb” (personal communication).

⁸ *yn macehualtin*/The people: *macehualli* is usually translated as “vassal, subject; commoner” but sometimes it has a more general sense. For example, in the Spanish–Nahuatl section of Molina 1977, 90v, “Ombre o muger” is first defined as the expected “tlacatl” but is then followed by “maceualli.” See also Lockhart 1992, 96–97.

⁹ Literally, and more visually evocative, it says “they tied You up” (thanks to Louise Burkhart, personal communication, who reminded me of this).

my account. For the sake of who You are, may You have mercy on me for it. One Our Father, one Hail [Mary].

¶ O my Lord, O Jesus Christ, after the Jews took You into custody all Your disciples abandoned You. You alone they took away so that it was through Your merit that You made us worthy. For the sake of who You are, may You have mercy on me for it. One Our Father, one Hail Mary.

¶ O my Lord, O Jesus Christ, when the Jews took You away it was not gently for they went along greatly tormenting and shoving You on account of my sins. For the sake of who You are, may You have mercy on me for it. One Our Father, one Hail Mary.

¶ O my Lord, O Jesus Christ, when they took You to the home of Caiaphas they ridiculed You there, they mocked You, they struck You in the face. It was on my account that they did such to You. For the sake of who You are, may You have mercy on me for it. One Our Father, one Hail Mary.

¶ O my Lord, O Jesus Christ, after Friday dawned the Jews took You to the home of Pilate where they made false accusations about You before the officers of the law. And Pilate uselessly judged and sentenced You to death. And You very happily received death on my account. For the sake of who You are, may You have mercy on me for it. One Our Father, one Hail [Mary].

¶ O my Lord, O Jesus Christ, after Pilate judged and sentenced You they placed Your very heavy cross on Your shoulders. And when You placed it on Your shoulders You suffered greatly on my account. For the sake of who You are, may You have mercy on me for it. One Our Father, one Hail [Mary].

¶ O my Lord, O Jesus Christ, after they made You reach the top of the hill they stripped You. And when they stripped You Your precious body greatly suffered, it bled everywhere. For the sake of who You are, may You have mercy on me for it. One Our Father, one Hail Mary.

¶ O my Lord, O Jesus Christ, after they stripped You they stretched Your arms out on the cross and nailed Your hands and feet, on account of me they hoisted up Your very afflicted and painfully wounded precious body. For the sake of who You are, may You have mercy on me for it. One Our Father, one Hail Mary.

¶ O my Lord, O Jesus Christ, after You stretched out Your arms on the cross You prayed to Your beloved Father for the sake of those who tormented You. And You pardoned the thief his sins, with which it is clear that You are very merciful to people. For the sake of who You are, may You have mercy on me for it. One Our Father, one Hail [Mary].

¶ O my Lord, O Jesus Christ, after You died on the cross a great many miracles happened in the world. Your precious soul and Your

divinity then descended into hell. You went to rescue the souls of the good fathers who were there, with which it is clear that You greatly love people. For the sake of who You are, may You have mercy on me for it. One Our Father, one Hail [Mary].

¶ O my Lord, O Jesus Christ, after they took down Your precious body from the cross Your beloved mother took You in her arms. She wept greatly, she was very sad. May You have mercy on me for the sake of her tears and sadness. One Our Father, one Hail [Mary].

¶ O my Lord, O Jesus Christ, after they bathed Your precious body with unguents and they wrapped You in a white cloth they laid You down in a sepulcher. For the sake of who You are, may You have mercy on me for it. One Our Father, one Hail [Mary].

¶ O my Lord, O Jesus Christ, You gave great joy to Adam and Eve and all the prophets and patriarchs who were there in limbo a very long time awaiting You. You then took them there to the terrestrial paradise which is a very good place. For the sake of who You are, may You have mercy on me for it. One Our Father, one Hail Mary.

¶ O my Lord, O Jesus Christ, for three days Your body lay in the sepulcher. And Your divinity never abandoned Your precious body. For the sake of who You are, may You have mercy on me for it. One Our Father, one Hail [Mary].

¶ O my Lord, O Jesus Christ, when it was very early Sunday morning of Your own accord You revived, of Your own accord You came to life. And after You came back to life Your precious body was very radiant, very shimmering, consummately pure and good. For the sake of Your consummately good resurrection, may You have mercy on me. One Our Father, one Hail Mary.

¶ O my Lord, O Jesus Christ, after You came back to life You manifested Yourself first of all to Your beloved mother, with which You greatly consoled her and made her very happy. Her tears and sadness then disappeared. When she saw You, You were very radiant and joyful. For the sake of who You are, may You have mercy on me for it. One Our Father, one Hail [Mary].

¶ O my Lord, O Jesus Christ, You manifested Yourself to Mary Magdalene there in the garden. And on the road You manifested Yourself to the three Marys,¹⁰ and You manifested Yourself to Saint Peter as well as to Your two disciples who were on the way to the altepetl in the place called Emaus, plus You manifested Yourself to the ten apostles who were closed up in a house. These various times You manifested Yourself to people were right on [Easter] Sunday. For the sake of who You are, may You have mercy on me for it. One Our Father, one Hail [Mary].

¶ O my Lord, O Jesus Christ, when You came back to life You lived another 40 days here on earth, and You manifested Yourself to Your disciples many times, many were the counsels You gave them and many were the miracles You performed before them. For the sake of who You are, may You have mercy on me for it. One Our Father, one Hail [Mary].

¶ O my Lord, O Jesus Christ, it was during [those] 40 days that You again manifested Yourself to Your disciples. You ate with them and You counseled them. You ordered them to preach everywhere in the world, with which it is clear that You show great mercy to people. For the sake of who You are, may You have mercy on me for it. One Our Father, one Hail [Mary].

¶ O my Lord, O Jesus Christ, after You ordered the apostles to preach everywhere You then took them to the top of the mountain called the Mount of Olives. There You blessed all Your disciples—some of whom were men, some of whom were women—and Your beloved mother. Then in their presence You ascended to Your home in heaven. For the sake of who You are, may You have mercy on me for it. One Our Father, one Hail [Mary].

¶ O my Lord, O Jesus Christ, after You went to sit at the right hand of Your beloved Father, the All-powerful, You sent two angels. They came to admonish Your beloved ones. They said to them: O people of Galilee, what are you up to? What are you doing here?¹¹ He,

¹⁰ /Auh otlica tiq̄nmonexitli / ymeyxtn yn Mariame/And on the road You manifested Yourself to the three Marys: Stafford Poole, C.M., notes that this is baffling “because it does not correspond to anything in the gospels. There are three Marys only if you include the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalen. The gospels mention only one beside[s] these two, and the appearances were not ‘on the road.’ I have no idea what Gante is talking about here. (Incidentally, the gospels do not mention any appearance to the Virgin Mary.)” (personal communication). The Gospels disagree on which women saw Christ immediately following the Resurrection, but the Gospel of John, chapter 19, verse 25, says three women named Mary witnessed the Crucifixion. This is the likely origin of Mexican-Spanish folk tales about *Las Tres Marías* (personal communication to Eileen M. Mulhare).

¹¹ tle amay tleyn anquichihua nican/what are you up to? What are you doing here?: here and below this doublet, and perhaps either half of it, may sometimes mean “What is the matter with you?” See Carochi 1983 [1645], f.116v: “*Tle ötīmāli? mach huel ochichiliuh in mx̄telolo? que tienes? parece, que tienes los ojos muy colorados*” and f.124v, “*tle ötax? aoc ticmati? ... que tienes, as perdido el juyzio?*”

Jesus, has ascended! He will return when the world comes to an end. For the sake of who You are, may You have mercy on me for it. One Our Father, one Hail Mary.

¶ O my Lord, O Jesus Christ, ten days after You had ascended to Your home You sent the Holy Spirit. It descended upon the apostles and other disciples of Yours, men along with women. It greatly consoled them, it greatly strengthened them, it taught them the languages everywhere in the world. For the sake of who You are, may You have mercy on me for it. One Our Father, one Hail Mary.

¶ The Crown of Saint Mary.

When you recount it you will first make the Sign of the Cross on yourself, then you will say the Creed which is the translation of the articles of the faith.¹² Then you will start it, saying:

¶ Rejoice,¹³ Saint Mary, you who are consummately and surpassingly prudent. One Our Father, ten Hail Marys.

¶ Rejoice, Saint Mary, you who are consummately and surpassingly virginal. One Our Father, ten Hail [Marys].

¶ Rejoice, Saint Mary, you who are consummately and surpassingly humble. One Our Father, ten Hail [Marys].

¶ Rejoice, Saint Mary, you who are consummately and surpassingly loving. One Our Father, ten Hail [Marys].

¶ Rejoice, Saint Mary, you who are a consummately and surpassingly pure believer. One Our Father, ten Hail [Marys].

¶ Rejoice, Saint Mary, you who are the remembrance of one who was consummately and surpassingly provoked to anger.¹⁴ One Our Father, ten Hail [Marys].

¶ Rejoice, Saint Mary, you who are consummately and surpassingly obedient. One Our Father, ten Hail [Marys].

¶ Rejoice, Saint Mary, you who are consummately and surpassingly a witness to the truth.¹⁵ One Our Father, three Hail [Marys].

¹² *netloconi*: although it can be translated as “that which is worthy of belief” colonial translators in this text and others often used it to mean “article(s) of the faith.” To avoid any confusion, Louise Burkhart comments that she took this to mean that this was “the translation (into Nahuatl) of the Creed — the Creed and the articles being the same” (personal communication).

¹³ *ximopaquiltitia*: here and below, Stafford Poole, C.M., notes that “For the crown of Saint Mary, ‘rejoice’ seems to be the standard translation of *ximopaquiltitie*. However, I think it also translates the Ave of Marian prayers, that is, ‘hail’” (personal communication).

¹⁴ Tentative translation. One interpretation would be that Mary, though “provoked to anger,” avoided becoming angry and remained composed.

¹⁵ Tentative translation.

¶ Rejoice, Saint Mary, you who are consummately and surpassingly afflicted in life. One Hail [Holy] Queen.

¶ Rejoice, Saint Mary, you who are consummately and surpassingly compassionate and sorrowful. I lay your crown of flowers before you as an offering. For the sake of who you are, pray for me to your beloved Son, Jesus Christ, that He give me His grace so that I can live according to His divine commandments¹⁶ and so that He will take me to His home in heaven. Amen.

¶ He who will say this crown of Saint Mary will enjoy and obtain a great many indulgences, these being the pardon of sins, if he is determined to amend his life.¹⁷

¹⁶ *nicnonemililtiz in iteotenahuatiltzin*; see Molina 1977, 67v: “Nemililtzia. ytla nicno. tener algun modo o manera de biuir particular.”

¹⁷ *mocemixnahuati*; see Molina 1977, 44v: “Determinar de enmendar la vida. nino, cemixnauatia. nino, cennauatia.” However note else, *ibid.*, 16r: “Cemixnauatia. nino. proponer determinadamēte alguno cosa.”

REFERENCES

- AMATULLI VALENTE, Flaviano, *El Santo Rosario*, México, D.F., Apóstoles de la Palabra, 1984.
- ANDERSON, Arthur J. O., "Introduction" in *Bernardino de Sahagún's Psalmódia Christiana (Christian Psalmody)*, Salt Lake City, University of Utah Press, 1993, p. XV-XXXV.
- Arzobispado de México, *Rosario del Señor de la Misericordia que se venera en la Catedral Metropolitana*, México, D.F., Impresora La Paz, 1982.
- BASILA MANZUR, Elías, and Rafael Moya García, *Misal 1999 para todos los domingos y fiestas del año*, México, D.F., Obra Nacional de la Nueva Prensa, 1998.
- BIERHORST, John, *Cantares Mexicanos: Songs of the Aztecs*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1985.
- BURKHART, Louise M., *The Slippery Earth: Nahuatl-Christian Moral Dialogue in Sixteenth-Century Mexico*, Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 1989. — *Before Guadalupe: The Virgin Mary in Early Colonial Nahuatl Literature*, Albany, NY, Institute for Mesoamerican Studies, The University at Albany, State University of New York, forthcoming.
- CAROCHI, Horacio, S.J., *Arte de la lengua mexicana con la declaración de los adverbios de ella*, facsimile of 1645 edition with an introduction by Miguel León-Portilla, México, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1983.
- CHRISTIAN, William A., Jr., *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1981.
- CORDERO Y TORRES, Enrique, *Cultura Turística del Estado de Puebla*, 2a. edición, Puebla, México, Junta de Mejoramiento Moral, Cívico y Material del Municipio de Puebla, 1979.
- CMRP-Centro María Reina de la Paz, A.C., *María Reina de la Paz*, Guadalajara, México, 1997, available from <http://www.angelfire.com/ok/mariareinapaz/>, December 1997.
- CPLF-Curia Provincial de Los Franciscanos, *Directorio franciscano, Fuentes biográficas franciscanas. Leyenda de Santa Clara, 30-62: Del ferventísimo amor al Crucificado*, Valencia, Spain, 2000, available from <http://www.franciscanos.org/fuentes/lcl02.html>, 12 July 2000.
- DE-ZARCO, Mariano, C.M.F., *Preces de alabanza y liberación*, Mexico City, Congregación de Misioneros Franciscanos, 1992.

- DONADONI, Antonio, S.J., *El devoto del purgatorio, o sea Misa y oraciones en favor de las Benditas Animas*, Mexico City, Librería Gerardo Mayela, distributor [c2000 reprint of c1970 revised edition; original possibly late 19th century.]
- DONOVAN, Stephen M., "Franciscan Crown (a/k/a Seraphic Rosary)" in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Volume IV, Original 1908, Robert Appleton Company, Online Edition 1999, Judy Levandoski, transcriber, Arvada, Colorado, New Advent/Kevin Knight, available from <http://www.knight.org/advent/cathen/04540a.htm>.
- FLORES MERINO, Francisco, César García Sarabia, y Alfredo Arreola Aguayo, *Yo creo...Yo rezo*, Guadalajara, Ediciones Populares, 1995.
- FLYNN, Maureen, *Sacred Charity: Confraternities and Social Welfare in Spain, 1400-1700*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1989.
- GANTE, Fray Pedro de, *Doctrina xpiana en lengua Mexicana*, México, Juan Pablos, 1553.
- , *Doctrina cristiana en lengua Mexicana*, photoreproduction of the 1553 edition, Ernesto de la Torre Villar, ed., México, Centro de Estudios Históricos Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, 1981.
- GARCÍA, Genaro and Antonio Cortés, *La Arquitectura en México*, México, D.F., Museo Nacional de Antropología, Historia y Etnología, 1914.
- GARCÍA AYLUARDO, Clara, "A World of Images: Cult, Ritual, and Society in Colonial Mexico City" in *Rituals of Rule, Rituals of Resistance: Public Celebrations and Popular Culture in Mexico*, William H. Beezley, Cheryl English Martin, and William E. French, eds., Wilmington, Delaware, Scholarly Resources, 1994, p. 77-93.
- GRIFFIN, Patrick J., "Order of Servites (Servants of Mary)" in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Volume XIII, Original 1912, Robert Appleton Company, Online Edition, 1999, Herman F. Holbrook, transcriber, Arvada, Colorado, New Advent/Kevin Knight, available from <http://newadvent.org/cathen/13736a.htm>.
- GRUZINSKI, Serge, *The Conquest of Mexico: The Incorporation of Indian Societies into the Western World, 16th-18th Centuries*, Eileen Corrigan, trans., Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993.
- HOLWECK, Frederick G., "The Five Sacred Wounds" in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Volume XV, Original 1912, Robert Appleton Company, Online Edition 1999, Michael T. Barrett, transcriber, Arvada, Colorado, New Advent/Kevin Knight, available from <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/15714a.htm>.
- HUGHES, Serge, trans., *The Little Flowers of St. Francis and Other Franciscan Writings*, New York, Mentor-Omega Books, New American Library, 1964.

- JACOBO M., Heriberto, *El libro de mis oraciones*, México, D.F., Ediciones Paulinas, S.A., 1999.
- Lockhart, James, *The Nahuas After the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth Through Eighteenth Centuries*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1992.
- MACH, José, S.J., *Ancora de Salvación*, New edition of 1912 original, México, D.F., Librería Guadalupana, c1970.
- MCANDREW, John, *The Open-Air Churches of Sixteenth-Century Mexico*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1965.
- MOLINA, Fray Alonso de, *Vocabulario en lengua castellana y mexicana y mexicana y castellana*, photoreproduction of original 1571 edition, México, Editorial Porrúa, S.A., 1977.
— *Confessionario mayor, en la lengua Mexicana y Castellana*, photoreproduction of the 1569 (second) edition published by Antonio de Espinosa in Mexico City, Introduction by Roberto Moreno, México, Instituto de Investigaciones Filológicas, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1984.
- MRPA-Mensajeros de la Reina de la Paz, Argentina, *Las Apariciones*, Buenos Aires, Argentina, 2001, Updated 07 February 2001, available from <http://www.mensajerosdelareinadelapaz.org/apariciones.htm>.
- MULHARE, Eileen M., "Círculo de devoción: alfabetismo y el rosario en el catolicismo popular mexicano," *Primer Coloquio Internacional de Religión y Sociedad: Las religiones en contextos multiculturales*, México, Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia, D.F., June 3, 1999.
- OSM-Order of Servants of Mary, "Rosary of the Seven Sorrows; Servite Rosary," National Sanctuary of Our Sorrowful Mother, Portland, Oregon, available from http://www.thegrotto.org/rosary_of_the_seven_sorrows.htm, accessed 29 October 1999.
- PERRY, Richard, *Mexico's Fortress Monasteries*, Santa Barbara, CA, Espadaña Press, 1992.
- PIERCE, Donna, "Decorative Arts and Furniture" in *Mexico: Splendors of Thirty Centuries*, John P. O'Neill, editor-in-chief, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1990, p. 363-456.
- POPE PAUL VI, "Marialis Cultus, For the Right Ordering and Development of Devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary," Apostolic Exhortation, February 2, 1974, in *Papal Documents on the Rosary*, Daughters of St. Paul, eds., Boston, St. Paul Editions, 1980, p. 23-74.
- RICARD, Robert, *The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico*, Lesley Byrd Simpson, trans., Berkeley, University of California Press, 1966.

- SCTJM-Siervas de Los Corazones Traspasados de Jesús y María, *Rosario de las Sagradas Llagas*, Coral Gables, Florida, 2001, available from http://www.corazones.org/oraciones/oraciones_jesus/sagradas_llagas.htm.
- SHAUGHNESSY, Patrick, O.S.B., S.T.D., *Twenty-four Rosaries and Chaplets*, Louisville, KY, Our Lady's Rosary Makers, 1984.
- WEISMANN, Elizabeth Wilder, *Art and Time in Mexico: From the Conquest to the Revolution*, New York, Harper & Row, 1985.
- WINSTON-ALLEN, Anne, *Stories of the Rose: The Making of the Rosary in the Middle Ages*, University Park, Pennsylvania State University, 1997.