

# The Virgin of Guadalupe: a nexus of affect

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Through an analysis of current celebrations of the Virgin of Guadalupe in Rome, I discuss how the Virgin echoes worries about *patria y fe* (nation and faith) as well as a Catholic faith mobilized in reaction to secularism. The Virgin's performative celebrations awaken a phantomatic unity of the nation and the family through affect and subtle racial tensions within, first, the body of religious transnational migration related to diocesan and missionary politics, and, second, the distribution of cultural and indigenous narratives of a Mexican identity abroad. By paying attention to traces of the Mexican Cristero War (1926-9), as they are affectively re-narrativized in twenty-first-century Rome, I argue that the celebration of the Virgin of Guadalupe does not show a religiosity connected to a return of the dispossessed and to a symbol of their liberation (as seems to be the case at the Mexican/US border); rather, the celebration of the Virgin in this context becomes a nexus of affect signalling the strengthening of an Orthodox (as ultramontane), transnational Catholic Church.

The persistence of the gender metaphor in the construction of the nation as an ontological reality is more problematic than one might imagine.

Aretxaga 2005: 94

The analytical interplay between a fantasy of the nation and its political re-enactment gives us important insights into how racialized transnational religious histories are intimately connected to national, political affect. More broadly speaking, it allows us to think about how transnational religiosity becomes a symptom (in a Freudian sense) of what has been the repressed within the birth of a 'modern' nation.<sup>1</sup> I agree with Cannell (2006: 4) that anthropology has suffered from an 'incredible' amnesia insofar as Christianity has functioned as the 'repressed' of anthropology. Within this repression I would argue that the ethnographic study of Catholicism in Europe, in particular, has been the study of a popular and devotional South, where popular religiosity, a 'passionate fatalism', and their ambiguous relation to the reproduction of a Church hierarchy have been central (Christian 1992; Mitchell 1990: 5). For anthropologists it has been difficult to focus on ethnography at the 'heart' of the Roman Catholic Church, possibly because an anthropological language has been borrowed by Catholic academia for pedagogic and missionary endeavours (see, e.g., Moriconi 2001; Valentini 2003).

This article is a contribution to the study of this 'heart' as it engages with current celebrations of the Virgin of Guadalupe in Rome. It pays ethnographic attention to the forms that this transnational religious celebration has taken within a three-year period and foregrounds some of the gendered complexities and anxieties that these celebrations unleash as a strengthening of an 'antimodern' (Latour 1993: 123), Roman Orthodox Catholic Church. I argue that a study at the 'heart' of the transnational Roman Catholic Church needs to engage different 'ghosts' in the political imagination of transnational dis-placement and re-emplacements, as well as multiple registers of histories of repression and returns which may emerge in symptomatic forms. Specifically this article argues that the celebration of the Virgin of Guadalupe as a nexus of affect points to the drives of an ultramontane Roman Catholic Church, which is transnationally reproduced in Mexico and in Rome, to redefine Mexican notions of *patria*, faith, and family and to rewrite and appropriate the cultural memory of a very contested and violent period of twentieth-century Mexican history, namely the Cristero War.

Overall and briefly, my research, of which this article is part, explores Mexican transnationalism through the prism of transnational religious orders and the evangelization of Latinoamerican migrants in Rome. A continuum, but also a clash, exists in the Catholic Church between those who conceive the migratory experience as part of a 'spirituality of liberation'<sup>2</sup> – championed to a different extent by the Jesuit and Scalabrinian orders<sup>3</sup> – and those who see migration through a prism of illegality and criminalization. This latter view is held by more conservative but highly influential Catholic groups within the Holy See. The Mexican Church plays an important role in the current rearticulation of conservative forces in Rome through, for instance, the growing Mexican order of the Legionaries of Christ. Overall, Mexican transnational migration to Italy, although numerically limited, is particularly relevant for its religious component. It must be understood in the context of the reproduction of the Italian nation-state, its complex relation to the Holy See, and the transnational politics of Catholic religious movements.<sup>4</sup>

The ethnographic focus of my research began and then branched out from the Comunidad Católica Mexicana (henceforth CCM). This charitable, lay organization was at one time part of the Latin American Mission in Rome, a system of seventeen churches, born in 2003 by command of John Paul II, and centrally co-ordinated by the Church of Santa Maria della Luce in Trastevere, headed by a Scalabrinian priest. It is now still related but more independent from the Scalabrinian head of the Mission (Napolitano 2007a: 75-6). The CCM celebrates national events such as *El Día de Los Muertos*, *El Día de la Independencia*, and of course the day of the *Virgen de Guadalupe*. Such events have been very well attended in the last few years, not only by the Mexican population but also by Italians. In contrast to feasts organized by parallel Catholic communities (such as the Ecuadorian one, for instance), Italian participation here is visible. This may be because Mexicans have a high number of visas granted for marriages with Italians, but also because of something attractive about the symbolic capital that Mexico, as a nation, symbolizes in the Italian social imaginary.<sup>5</sup>

### ***La Guadalupana***

There is a long and documented history of the Virgin of Guadalupe as a multifaceted Mexican symbol of inculturation and subversion of colonial presence, as embodying the struggle for the independence of the new nation, and anxieties around the latter's

secular and religious roots. Hence *La Guadalupeana* (as the Virgin is known) has a complex historicity that fascinated early anthropologists (Wolf 1958). The transformative use of the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe, who allegedly appeared to the indigenous (now Saint) Juan Diego in 1531, is indicative of changes in the collective imaginaries of colonial and post-colonial Mexico. The barometer of this imaginary and the mobilization of the Virgin as a contested sign have spanned across centuries.<sup>6</sup>

Thus the Virgin of Guadalupe has been interpreted, on the one hand, as the sign and a reflexive prism of the historical transculturation of a Mexican imaginary (Gruzinski 2001: 220) and, on the other, as a 'survival of devotion' throughout different periods of Mexican history (Brading 2001: 11). With the publication in 1648 of the first book of Guadalupe by Manuel Sánchez, she became a theological symbol imbued with an Augustinian tradition rooted in medieval Christian practices. However, the resonance of an immanent, indigenous presence of the divine through the Virgin's appearance challenged and transformed a transcendental, Augustinian Catholic pedagogical impulse that characterized the first Franciscan missions in New Spain. An analysis of the emergence of the cult of the Guadalupe shows how a density of historical specifications helps us to understand how any interpretation of believers' 'consumption' of this image or its mobilization in national (and then transnational) localities should be read within and as a product of particular historical conjunctures.

The historical conjunctures of the second part of the nineteenth century, in fact, pointed to a new paradox around the Guadalupe. On the one hand the Guadalupe's devotion was seen as a negative expression of popular religiosity orchestrated by the clergy; on the other, her celebration was positively appreciated as an embracement of a 'true', indigenous, and Mexican religiosity and an integral part of an emerging indigenistic and nationalistic discourse promoting liberal modernity and progress for a newly born Mexican nation – as in the work by the nineteenth-century intellectual Ignacio Manuel Altamirano (Wright-Rios 2004: 57–8). It was at the time of her coronation in 1895 that she became the official patron saint of all Latin America; this coronation effectively symbolized a return of 'self-exiled' Vatican clergy to Mexico because of the previous tensions between the Catholic Church and the Mexican state in the aftermath of the liberal, and to certain degree anti-clerical, reforms introduced by the 1857 Mexican constitution.

In October 1895 when the new temple in the Tepeyac was officially dedicated to the Guadalupe, prelates pronounced a series of sermons about the wonders and the powers of *La Guadalupeana* in her capacity to be 'the protector of the nation', the 'Lady of Mexican history', and hence the bearer of both Mexican tradition and its progress (Traslosheros 2002: 113–14). This progress ideologically bore both social redemption for the popular masses and the advancement of Mexico as a religious nation, making the Guadalupe the Lady of national history, the mother of a Mexico *mestizo*, and the Queen of Mexico, while also the symbolic mother of the whole Americas. But the history that followed thirty years later, during the *Cristiada* or Cristeros War in the late 1920s (to which I refer in detail below), showed that this exalted celebration of the Virgin of Guadalupe as an idealized marriage between the public sphere of the nation-state and the institutionalized practice of the Catholic Church was deeply problematic. Equally so were the (failed) pre- and post-revolutionary Mexican, anti-clerical attempts to 'defanaticize' and de-sacralize Catholicism while sacralizing, in a Jacobin spirit, the 'perfectibility of man and society through the rational applications of science and technology' (Bantjes 2006: 140).

In more recent twentieth-century history *La Guadalupana* has been interpreted as a mediator between liberation and submission, a liberating symbol with significance for salvation. Within this view some Latino theologians have played a key role in arguing that she is a central player in the process of inculturation and *mestizaje* of Christianity in the Americas. She is thus described as a popular religious symbol for evangelical transformation and life-enhancing processes rather than disruptive racial mixing (Elizondo 2000: 516), providing a sense of origin of the 'new *mestizo*' of the Americas that signals a passage from 'brokenness to integration through a conversion process' (Elizondo 1997: 28).<sup>7</sup>

The Guadalupe has figured in recent discussions as a call for dignity and hope for social transformation, as seen in Matovina's (2005: 176-7) ethnographic work on the US Catholic South, and as having the potential to re-inscribe human and immigrant rights in Mexican transnational communities' political struggles within a post 9/11 US society (Gálvez 2004: 262-3). However, the liberatory nature of this sacred feminine icon has been criticized as in effect re-instating a patriarchal cosmology that defines femininity as a certain submissive aspect of the sacred. This critique has emerged from a Chicana feminist perspective, which has advocated a visual re-imaging of the Guadalupe that highlights her contested and warrior-like nature and her contribution to 'radical struggles for social justice', resonating with Latino women's experience in the USA (Pérez 2007: 267). In this sense the Guadalupe becomes a liberatory symbol because she allows a space for founding a renewed Chicana (and more broadly) female-speaking subject position. By deconstructing the Guadalupe's patriarchal formation and exploring her as a healing enunciatory position, she acquires a capacity to embrace ambiguity as the 'new *mestiza*' (Anzaldúa 1987).

However, the Virgin of Guadalupe is not only an enunciatory position or, like other Virgins across the Americas, a symbol of a nation in exile (Tweed 1997). She is also, I argue, a nexus of ambivalent affect embodied and mobilized, transnationally, at particular historical conjunctures. I use the word 'nexus' to indicate a *field of force* in the social imaginary,<sup>8</sup> which has current and possibly proleptic effects. In my previous work I engaged with the production of prisms of belonging in urban Mexico in order to address the interface of cognition, history, and memory as they are expressed by people's narratives of time and space and as they are themselves produced (experienced) and appropriated (represented) (Napolitano 2002: 9-10). Here I am interested in the nexus of affect as a heightened circulation with prismatic effects within a transnational social imaginary.

The *OED* defines nexus as a 'bond, link; a means of connection between things or parts', but also as a 'predicative relation'. An affect is a 'disposition'<sup>9</sup> which has a power to act upon or mobilize forces by ways of being produced and transmitted through social relations. An affect, as a disposition, belongs not only to people's imagination as an orientation, but also to their imaginary as a desire (Moore 2007: 14-15); through the awakening of sedimented histories it also shapes the social imaginary. An affect has a material, an energetic, and often a moral dimension within a system of transmission (Brennan 2004: 6). Hence an affect produces fields of forces that move beyond a binarism between subjects and contexts, and it is its circulation that generates fields of force and allows for political mobilization.

Hence a focus on a nexus of affect as predicative dispositions helps us to explore the multidimensional affective and effective circulation of histories, condensed as well as displaced in transnational localities. If the celebration of the Virgin of Guadalupe in

Rome has an affective 'materiality',<sup>10</sup> this is true especially in transnational conjunctures, where returns of histories and anxieties around the national and the 'familial' are woven together. Finally, by exploring this nexus of affect, I hope to contribute to exploring what Aretxaga meant in her discussion of the symptom of the nation and the problematization of national gendered metaphors. To illustrate this argument I present two settings of the celebration of the Virgin of Guadalupe in Rome.

***La Virgen Danzante: Sunday, 10 December 2006 and Sunday, 8 December 2004, Church of Nostra Signora di Coromoto***

The annual mass for the celebration of the Virgin of Guadalupe in 2006 is held by Salesian priest Pascual Chávez Villanueva.<sup>11</sup> In the first ten rows and at the altar, priests are dressed in ceremonial white tunics wearing different cassocks, some of which differentiate the priests' origins in Mexico. Chávez is the only one wearing a tunic with the Virgin embroidered on the front. A large reproduction of the Virgin is standing on one side of the altar on a banner that, after the mass, will be carried up in procession from the church to the Mexican Pontifical College, two kilometres up in Monteverde. Visually there is a marked contrast between the priests, dressed in white, in the front and at the altar, and the public, among whom many Mexican sisters are present, wearing sombre colours and longer plain skirts and headscarves. There are fashions to follow in the clergy too.<sup>12</sup>

Chávez's sermon opens with a dedication to the 450 years celebration of the *hechos de Guadalupe*. In his words the Virgin is the *misionera y alejada* (missionary and faraway). The events of her apparition and subsequent recognition as a Virgin are stories of missions and margins, of 'presence full of *ternura*/caring', and of that which 'gives dignity as sons of God in Latin America'. Her celebration, Chávez continues, helps all of us to 'deepen our faith and make the nation'. The story he tells is also about remembering that she is a pregnant Virgin, 'a symbol of battle for life', and, since her celebration falls in the period of Advent, she is also 'a historical presence of salvation . . . who gives us dignity in front of the eyes of God in Latin America'. Chávez continues: 'Faith is important in public life . . . faith has to have a strong social dimension as *citizens and Christians are the same person*, this is the *mestizo* Christianity (*cristianismo mestizo*)' (my emphasis).

It is uncanny that just over a week before, on 1 December, Felipe Calderón had been sworn in as the new President of Mexico in a very turbulent and contested installation: at midnight, in the middle of a near-wrestling-match atmosphere in the Mexican House of Commons, where deputies seized the speaker's platform and blocked the doors of the chamber. Calderón, a fervent Roman Catholic, originally from the state of Jalisco, was the candidate of the pro-Catholic PAN party, and the contestation raged around electoral forgery and the spectre of a 'parallel presidency' by the runner-up, Manuel López Obrador. López Obrador was the candidate of the PRD party, the left-wing contestant in the election and a former mayor of Mexico City. In the aftermath of the election and the recounting of the votes he founded a movement 'Coalition for the Good of All' that mobilized demonstrations and set up camps in the capital's main square of the Zocalo even after the Federal Electoral Tribunal declared Calderón as the winner. López Obrador himself performed a mock swearing-in ceremony a week earlier.

The Mexican press described the atmosphere of the moment as one of extreme social agitation and a situation of ungovernability (Garduño, Mendez & Perez Silva

2006). The installation ceremony was cut short and performed, unusually, at midnight, and the presidential speech was recorded in the private presidential residence after Calderón visited the Basilica of the Virgin of Guadalupe. Subsequently there was a debate over whether a vote-rigging or a forgery of the post-election judicial recount took place, though there is more of a consensus now that this may have not been the case. The lack of clarity in the aftermath of the election seems due both to the idiosyncrasies of the electoral system itself (Schedler 2007: 94) and to the mistrust and resentment built around state-operated forms of biased mediations in favour of the PAN candidate (Álvarez Béjar 2007: 14). The political violence in Mexico became a public secret in Rome, a ticklish, spectral subject (Žižek 2000: 238). This subject is a 'lack' in the project for a nation/*patria* 'for all'.

The mass continues and Chávez adds:

The problem is not poverty, it is the cultural model that legitimizes poverty; we cannot stay still, the baptized have to be evangelizing. The Virgin of Guadalupe is a mission, she is for all of us. The mission is not to do things, but it is to be the manifestation of God. It is being the collaborator of the salvation of God.

So the Virgin is a mode of being for 'all of us'. But there is a historical ambivalence about being for all 'us' Mexicans.

At the end of the mass, as we slowly move out of the church, following the standard of the Virgin, we head up to the Mexican College. It is dark and humid; a drizzle is descending on us. Priests have quickly changed dress. The procession starts to mingle. This year's procession is sombre in relation to the procession of 2004. There are no people dancing as we sing the rosary and songs dedicated to the Virgin. We pass a major street-crossing full of pre-Christmas shoppers. Passers-by stop to look at this crowd of pilgrims, some in a distracted way, others with interest. A group of youngsters on scooters, bothered by the length of the procession (by now we are around 300 people), honk their hooters, and bully some of the priests who are 'defending' our safe crossing. There is some tension in the air. I later asked Valerio, the Italian husband of the Mexican President of the CCM, whether this was a common reaction that they encountered in other contexts in Rome. He pointed out that at the celebrations of the Day of the Dead organized by the CCM (held in the last few years in different churches in the city and only in 2007 in the ethnographic museum of Pigorini) some Italians had tried to remove pieces from the altar (when in the church) to take home, so that co-ordinator members always have to watch out. He added that Italians do not understand what Mexican celebrations are about; they do not understand the spirit and they see them as 'folkloric'. So for him the local youth's response to the taking up of some street space by the procession resonates with a sense of belittling Mexican traditions. However, to what extent this is a local response that indicates a folklorization of Mexican Catholic religiosity or of Catholic religiosity in general is an ethnographic question to explore further.<sup>13</sup>

Following on with the procession, on the other side of the street while we are walking uphill, a Mexican woman friend, once married to an Italian, seems very focused on the calmness of the participants' mood: 'Look Valentina, the Virgin of Guadalupe is cultural, also here in Rome, it is for lay and religious people together, it is for the nation (*patria*). You see we are all here with the Virgin of Guadalupe. The Virgin of Guadalupe is for all of us'. Once we get to the Mexican Pontifical College, we pass in front of a statue

of a large free-standing map of Mexico supported on the back of a forward-looking Christ, which celebrates the fall of the Cristero martyrs, with the place of their martyrdom highlighted by red light-bulbs, some now worn-out. A ghostly presence of the Cristero War is welcoming us in our procession.

Inside the college, a large 1950s property standing on a beautiful hill in Monteverde, the walls are covered with tapestries hanging from the ceiling. Repeatedly inscribed in woven cubical letters is *fe y patria* (faith and nation). As in the previous year, there is the orchestra of the *Estudiantina de Guanajuato* playing (a male, costume band inspired by twelfth- to fifteenth-century university traditions from Spain). Padre Lucio, a member of the college, is dressed in mariachi clothes and goes on to sing solo for a long spell, after the Romatitlan group – a Roman-based mariachi and folkloric dance troupe (whose two leaders are a Sicilian and a *chilango* from Mexico City) – has played. The public is by now mingled: there are not only the Mexican diocesan priests of the Mexican Pontifical College, but also other Mexicans from different congregations and religious missionary orders, as well as many lay people. While we watch these songs and dances, the public is mingling in the corridors that face the cloister where the performance takes place. Some are joking that padre Lucio is so good that he should not have been a priest but should have pursued a career as a mariachi singer. The mood is by now cheerful. I am sitting not too far from a Mexican woman working in one of the two Mexican embassies in Rome.<sup>14</sup> She is passionately telling a Mexican woman I know that they ‘will not pass’ (*no pasarán*). Then I step into their conversation and ask who will not pass:

*The envoys [of the new Calderón’s government] just visited the embassy a few weeks ago, and they asked, why is there not a Virgin of Guadalupe [here]? But the Mexican state is not that, and we are not going to change ... they were cross and arrogant, we should not let them [pass], but it’s difficult.*

We should position this response within current tensions in Mexico about a ‘taking over’ of the public sphere of the state by Catholic, conservative forces. Previous president Vicente Fox had an ambiguous relationship with the Catholic Church hierarchy, both expressing his personal Catholic devotion and using religious symbolism for his own political campaigns, but also dismissing criticisms from the Catholic hierarchy around, for instance, taking up a second wife, Martha Sahagún.<sup>15</sup> Felipe Calderón has had a less problematic and stronger connection with the Catholic hierarchy. Without taking up an openly pro-clerical agenda, he has nevertheless promoted a religious politics that facilitates the Catholic Church within a rubric of religious freedom of expression. This has involved not reprimanding the Catholic hierarchy’s intervention in the public sphere while the hierarchy has been attacking the laicity of the Mexican state. Moreover, Calderón has been allegedly linked to the ultra-conservative secret Catholic society called El Yunque (Alvarado 2007; González Ruiz 2004). Hence in the Mexican woman’s narrative the anxiety is about the tension – the symptom – of a felt attack on the laicity of the state or, from another perspective, of an overt push for a religiosity of public space. The nexus of affect centred on Virgin of Guadalupe in Rome reveals different registers of history at work. Those registers claim differently lay and religious roots for the Mexican nation-state.

Racially embodied tensions also emerge in the history of this procession for *La Guadalupana* in Rome, which was relatively recently established, in the mid-1990s. In retrospect, the celebration of the same procession in 2004 in Rome foregrounded and backgrounded similar, but also different, narratives. In that procession one group of

priests who had trained for a few months had dressed up as *Matachines* dancers (a dance tradition from the north of the country). They performed as a group in two lines dancing rhythmically up the hill. They wore white waist-length tunics embroidered with indigenous colourful motifs, white trousers, and conch shells tied around their calves to keep the rhythm of the dance. Drums, maracas, and guitars followed the procession and many in the procession tried to follow the priests' steps. All of the eight diocesan priests dancing had learned the dance in the previous two months, meeting as a rehearsal group in the college. In the word of Father Geremia, a leading Mexican student in the college, who was in this group, those who did dance were all from the northeast of the republic. The priests from the south were not inclined to dance as *Matachines* in Rome, nor dance at all, as, in his words, 'traditional dances are too close to home'. Hence subtle racial and class distinctions take place in the Mexican Pontifical College. Wealthier priests from the north (especially Nuevo León) are often able to pay for *pachangas* (parties) in the college and some may want to learn to dance, while 'more indigenous' priests from the south mainly come from less endowed dioceses and families with scarcer resources to enjoy Rome. Those are the ones who do not dance. For many in the latter group, in Geremia's view, priesthood and being sent to study in Rome are a form of upward mobility and a distancing from indigenous roots. His view seems to be corroborated by the shyness of most other diocesan priests whom I met informally, who come from the south of the Republic.

Once we are inside the Mexican College building in the large cloister that is decorated with traditional Mexican paper cuttings, we are served with tostadas, beans, and chicken in tomato sauce and glasses of nice warm fruit punch. The catering has been prepared by around fifteen nuns of a Mexican order dedicated to the Sacred Heart, who live in the premises but in a gated compound. They cater for the daily needs of over 150 male diocesans together with the help of a smaller group of males from a Mexican order who care for the gardens and the switchboard. The labour relations between the female religious order and the male diocesan college is one of dedicated but also problematic 'servitude', as there is some discontent among younger nuns over not being able properly to advance their studies while in Rome because of the amount of work to be done. Martha, the Head of the CCM, emphasizes in speaking with me that you would never see diocesan priests dressing in indigenous clothes in Mexico (she is from Monterrey, in the north of the Republic), while the college priests are asked to come to this celebration *de collarin*, wearing the white, stiff collar that, with a black suit, clearly marks out a diocesan priest from lay people. Inside the college the celebration is officially opened by the spiritual head/counsellor of the institution (not the Rector), who, dressed in a *huipil* (an indigenous textile garment), opens his short acknowledging thanks with 'I am the spiritual guide of this community, *también si no se parece* (even if it does not look like it) ...' – and everybody laughs. Indigeneity again appears as an ambiguous marker.

In short the affective nexus of the Virgin in 2004 Rome was generated by a transnational mimesis and a (mis)recognition of Mexican indigeneity. The fact that two years later references to Mexican indigeneity as indigenous people's heritage disappeared completely from the public performance, both in the procession and in the subsequent fiesta at the college (though these elements partly reappeared in the 2007 celebration<sup>16</sup>), is problematic. It suggests that at a different historical conjuncture, the nexus of affect, the predicative dispositions – within an apparently very similar celebration – had shifted. When asked why there were not *danzantes* in 2006, a group of college priests

whom I queried appeared not to know, but once we continued our conversation, two mentioned that the Rector thought it was not appropriate for that year.

In comparison with previous and later celebrations, the Virgin of Guadalupe points to a nexus of affect, of an anxiety that required a performance of a nation 'purged' of its own indigeneity. The indigeneity in question – a performance of indigenous dances – is a 'problematic' one that has shifted from being portrayed as an 'innocent', mythical cultural heritage that is folklorized and made 'proudly national', to being somehow purged when it may evoke contemporary socio-political formations involving both indigenous and non-indigenous peoples while being appropriated by oppositional actors for distinct political agendas (de la Cadena & Starn 2007: 12). Let me explain this point further.

Indigeneity as a discourse of appropriation and belonging around the Virgin of Guadalupe in recent Mexican history is a complex and multilayered phenomenon that points to the fact that we cannot assume a monolithic Catholicism in Mexico, or a strict overlapping between a spiritual imaginary around the Virgin and the imaginary of institutional Catholicism. For instance, she was evoked among members of the revolutionary EZLN (the Zapatista National Liberation Army) as part of their collective imaginary.<sup>17</sup> And the PRD coalition headed by Manuel López Obrador also referred to *La Guadalupeana* while squatting in the central Zocalo of Mexico City and demanding a recount of the presidential electoral votes. Needless to say, on that occasion the Mexican Catholic Church hierarchy headed by Cardinal Norberto Rivera expressed its profound dislike for the 'manipulation' of this image.

The Virgin of Guadalupe is also named the *Virgen Morena* (Brown Virgin) and has been a key figure in the *Teología Indígena*, a movement within the Catholic Church that, developing out of the implementation of the Second Vatican Council in Latin America and the experience of Theology of Liberation, has advocated for the revelation and incarnation of the Gospel in indigenous cultures, granting to indigenous spiritual practices a renewed capacity for revelation of religious truth and an important role in interfaith dialogue (Judd 2004: 218; Norget 2004: 166-9). None the less, the *Teología Indígena* has also been a contentious theme between more and less pro-indigenous clergy and the Mexican and Vatican clerical hierarchy, not least around its potential to embrace a social (and political) effort for indigenous people's liberation and autonomy and the fostering of an 'autochthonous church' (Judd 2004: 212; Norget 2004: 167). On the other hand, some of the efforts of the *Teología Indígena*, as part of a theology of *inculturación* and a contextual theology, can also be read as reproducing neo-colonial (missionary) impulses of assimilation to the Catholic Church, rather than representing a real, dialogical process of grassroots theological and liturgical formation.<sup>18</sup>

Hence in 2006, in a political and turbulent moment of endangering 'unity' of the Mexican nation ridden by a struggle about the laicization of the state and the religiosity of public life, the nexus of affect that is mobilized in the Mexican College are about a *mestizo* Christianity, a Catholic citizenship ('she is for all of us') based on the phantom of a unified nation 'purged', at certain conjunctures, of aspects of its own complex indigeneity. The phantom of national unity is treading the corridors of the Mexican College.

### ***La Virgen Cristera and Legionaria: Tuesday, 12 December 2006, Church of the Virgin of Guadalupe in the Aurelia***

The mass for the celebration of the Virgin of Guadalupe has just ended in this relatively new church, the mother church dedicated to the order of the Legionaries of Christ in

Rome.<sup>19</sup> This order had very close ties with John Paul II, but now weaker support from Benedict XVI, who reviewed an alleged case of sexual abuse by the congregation's founder, Marcial Maciel, commemorations of whose death in February 2008 in the USA (after he had been recommended to retreat to private life) were remarkably understated. The order is strong both in Rome and in Mexico and has been an important support behind the foundation of a powerful Internet news agency called ZENIT – 'The world seen from Rome'. It is also connected to an expanding network of university education, the Anahuac Universities, to which their lay university in Rome, *Università Europea*, is affiliated.<sup>20</sup>

On this day in December 2006 the mass is celebrated by a north Italian bishop together with some senior Legionary of Christ priests, and attended by Italian parishioners and members of the *Regnum Christi*.<sup>21</sup> The mass is accompanied by a soprano dressed up for the performance. No more than 100 people are gathered for this Tuesday afternoon celebration, after which a small group of Italians listen to the explanation that a Legionaries of Christ priest, with a Spanish accent, gives of the Virgin of Guadalupe. The man is neatly dressed in his priestly clothes, with blond and well-cut hair, and wearing fashionable glasses.<sup>22</sup> He talks, in a very amicable and soft-spoken tone, to this group that seems not to know much about the Virgin, although it will emerge later that a few Italians have travelled to Mexico and experienced the power of the Virgin as – in the words of a well-dressed middle aged woman – 'a love at first sight'.

This Legionaries of Christ priest tells the story of the apparition of the Virgin to Juan Diego, and then he explains that she was a support to the fighters of the Cristero War. He narrates some of the encounters of the Legionaries of Christ founder with the Guadalupe, the response that the Mexican people had to the Cristero calls against the modern Mexican state, and the way in which the founder saw the Virgin of Guadalupe as central to that moment of church history. He also dwells at length on the 'mystery' of the Virgin, much to the interest of the attentive audience. On the walls of the church there is an exhibition about the unresolved scientific mysteries that the Virgin of Guadalupe poses to scientists. Among others, the father mentions the image of the retina in the Virgin's eyes, and the inexplicable endurance throughout the centuries of the simple cloth on which the image of the Virgin appeared and which is now guarded in the Basilica of the Guadalupe. However, the Legionaries of Christ are not the first or the last to have observed this and to be concerned with the 'scientific' inexplicability of the Virgin of Guadalupe.

Then we follow the father to the back of the church in the vestry, where there are other Legionaries of Christ priests gathering. The feminine iconic image which is vividly and predominantly presented in the public side of the church is replaced by a series of pictures on the foundation of this particular church and the laying of the first stone (brought from the hill of Tepeyac, and blessed by Pius XII in 1955).<sup>23</sup> In another room there is the picture of the first beatified man of the *Cristiada* and now Saint, Toribio Romo, from the Altos of Jalisco, who has also become a popular patron saint of (illegal) migrants.<sup>24</sup> We are then invited to sign up for a programme of the Virgin of Guadalupe *Peregrina*. This is basically a rota among a network of families that will each have a statue of the travelling Virgin in their house in Rome for part of the week and recite the rosary to her. Similar types of home visit of the *Virgen itinerante* are also found in central and northern parts of Mexico and in Texas.

A man from the group asks the reason for the rotation. In the words of the Legionary priest, 'She [the Virgin of Guadalupe] comes alive when passed from one household to

another ... She makes the household stronger' and helps the families to 'rejoice in praying together in their home'. Then the small crowd engages with the priest over the observation that society is in crisis, and that the sharing of the Virgin's presence in one's own household is good and inspirational. The Spanish priest replies that we are in difficult times, remembering once again the bravery with which the Mexican people defended the faith when it was under attack in the Cristero War.<sup>25</sup> This represents a second evocation of a powerful sedimented, transnational history in the same afternoon. So let me turn now finally to this sedimented history.

The Cristero War was a very complex and difficult part of twentieth-century Mexican history that was expressed in a confrontation between lay and religious forces in matters of Catholic religious cults in the public sphere. What is called the *Cristiada* or the Cristero War dates between 1926 and 1929, but it has ramifications well before and after these three years. The sparking of the conflict ignited between local Catholics and central state governmental forces related to the application of the Calles Laws. Those Laws, promoted by President Plutarco Elías Calles (related especially to article 130), were changes in the constitution and the control that this constitution exerted over the Catholic Church in Mexico, after the 1917 revolution. The changes in the legislation promoted by Calles exerted a stronger state control over and even impeded the formation of new Catholic congregations and added pressure to close existing ones, intensified state control of priestly participation in public life, and increased taxation on the Catholic ministry.<sup>26</sup> This legislative change was seen by many as an anti-clerical move on the part of the new post-revolutionary state. Others, though, saw it not exclusively as a forced laicization of the state, but as a challenge to the Catholic monopoly of religious faith and practice. In short these Laws spurred a series of heated reactions. A newly formed organization (in 1925), the Liga Nacional Defensora de la Libertad Religiosa (LNDR), tried to unify different Catholic forces to call for freedom of religious cults, and these responses, from a mixed class base, were at times violent in nature.

Recent readings of this historical period and of some of the Catholic processions that took place at the time capture the fears that different actors had about a 'forced' laicization of the Mexican state and illustrate some of the complex ways in which women became the key in subverting the sacrificial economy of sanctity from passive submission to active and violent activities. Describing the aftermath of the killing of Juan Tirado in Mexico (a member of the LNDR who murdered Mexican President Alvaro Obregón in 1928), Matthew Butler writes:

Indeed, women acted as celebrants (at the burial) and sacred orators (the responses) as well as political-religious agitators, and did so without class distinctions. This social leveling and feminization created an aggressive mood, furthermore, culminating in actual violence: the smashing of the *comisaría* [police station] door, the assaulting of (male) state agents. These female socio-religious interlocutors exceeded women's prescribed roles within the Church, yet probably, they saw themselves not as usurpers but as embodiments of a 'true', 'virile' Catholicism, whose defense could not be left to others. Defense justified any secondary transgressions, even if the subtext of this credo was that enemies of the faith could be killed. As true faith's custodians, women were not spiritual rebels but Lady Macbeths urging Catholics to screw their courage to the sticking-place and fight an unclean state in the streets (Butler 2004: 160).

Moreover, Butler argues that there was a price to be paid for the way in which *La Guadalupana* emerged after the Cristero War as a symbolically and pedagogically

'unifying' cult, and that price was the death of the hope for a sociologically embodied and enacted Kingdom of the *Cristo Rey*, where the (national) public could militantly sustain and perform its Catholic fervour. The emergence and consolidation of the *Guadalupana* cult meant the *Cristo Rey* and its secular-religious battlefield were 'demobbed and dethroned' and 'put off for better times' (Butler 2004: 163). In an uncanny way, the haunting forces of these 'better' times' have not gone away, but are here in contemporary Rome. They are presences in the celebration of the Virgin of Guadalupe and in the rhetoric and impulses that foster the transnational rise of the order of the Legionaries of Christ.

In the 'intimacy' of the Legionaries of Christ's church's vestry, in the Via Aurelia, the performance of the circulation of the Virgin and her devotional presence, with an accent on its 'inexplicable' scientific reality, but especially its connections to the *Virgen Peregrina*, evokes another symptomatic lack of unity. The fantasy of and the desire for a unified Catholic family household is the nexus of affect that the performance of the Virgin presents in this Legionaries of Christ scenario in Rome. But devotion to *La Guadalupana* is also composed of forces associated to the *Cristo Rey*, as Butler suggests. This is undisclosed desire for a 'call to arms' to defend a Roman Orthodox Catholic Church. It is a historical reminiscence that this was also a cry embodied by a female force that called for violence in the name of (the) Catholic truth.

Hence through the lens of the Legionaries of Christ in Rome, *La Guadalupana* becomes a powerful nexus that links, among other predispositions, an 'inexplicability' of the divine feminine together with its historically and ambiguously sedimented potential for 'right' violence, in defence of the Roman Catholic Church. This is, of course, not saying that the Legionaries of Christ and their vision, which other Catholics may also share, is demanding a straight 'call to arms' and a call for 'right' female violence. However, it is an evocation of a (female) mass violence that at a particular historical conjuncture successfully scuttled 'defanaticization' (Bantjes 2006: 151), and a historical memory that is currently being re-narrativized. In the context of the 2006 celebrations this ambiguous lens is the product of a real and potentially violent border within the Mexican nation – an internal confrontation between the secular and religious roots of the nation-state. It is this *internal border*, with its gendered, historical, and racialized registers, that is transnationally re-signified and evoked in Rome and which is re-enacted *and* silenced through the Virgin of Guadalupe. That border 'is a compromised formation in both the political and the Freudian senses, as a symptom in the body of the nation that contains an excess of signification' (Aretxaga 2005: 87). Hence the Virgin becomes a nexus of affect that evokes and mobilizes this border, which enables, yet negates, the unity of the nation.<sup>27</sup>

## Conclusions

The migration of the Virgin of Guadalupe through different political, transnational, and religious terrains in Rome shows a series of desires, losses, and anxieties about the strength of the Roman Catholic Church and different national projects. Her celebration unveils the affective and effective social force of transnational histories. In that respect, at the 'heart' of the Vatican and the Roman Catholic Church, the Virgin does not reverberate, as it does in some cases in the United States, with a desire for the empowerment of socio-economic and gendered marginals and socio-cultural hybrids – especially in relation to migration. But she reverberates with a 'residue' in the history of the relation between the Roman Catholic Church and the Mexican nation-state. This

residue, which is woven into histories of martyrdom and violence, emerges through anxieties around the laicization of society and the hope of a (Catholic) religiosity intimately married to public, national, and intimate spheres.

I have argued that to understand this nexus of affect we need to pay attention to symptoms that recur about a loss of unity insofar as they connect to the repression and re-narrativization of religious histories within a 'modern' Mexican nation. This nexus of affect points to a desire for a project of Catholic citizenship as the basis for a unity of the Mexican nation (and the Catholic family), both of which have been, and are still, under serious contention. Hence the Virgin of Guadalupe is not just a symbol, where a signified connects to a historically changing signifier. The space of fantasy, the social imaginary, and Catholic rhetoric and discursive practices become a field of forces and affect mobilized, but not exclusively, by and through the Virgin of Guadalupe. This field points to a phantomatic unity of the family and the Mexican nation.<sup>28</sup>

Finally this is a field where affect can be mobilized by and mobilize a religious quasi-object with, but also moving beyond, a Latourian sensibility (Latour 1993). I mean with *and* beyond because Latour's work, with its focus on the reassembling of the social as composed by never fully mastered processes of purification and the continual effective reproduction of hybrids, rightly breaks away from the limiting binarism of subject (as religious believers in this case) and object (as iconic, religious material representations), but cannot satisfactorily explain the role of attachments, drives, and affect as field of forces that emerge from a dialogical view of this binarism.<sup>29</sup> It is clear, then, that a specific mobilization of the Virgin of Guadalupe cannot be understood only as a set of Catholic pedagogical practices, but also must be viewed as an ambiguous excess of signification. We need to pay attention to the circulation of affect and the related social energies that are condensed and dispersed in religious transnational performances and which point to 'residues' – sometimes of the birth of a nation – as forces and histories that may not be fully articulated but that are nevertheless present in the form of anxieties, traces, desires, and symptomatic presences.

#### NOTES

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<sup>1</sup> I use the word 'symptom' to indicate the expression of an *imaginative intrusion* that undermines a given form of political and social control. A symptom is a defensive mechanism generated by anxiety that is rooted in a traumatic event and a re-enactment of being-in-danger. The traumatic event connects to an impossibility to fulfil a desire, which is therefore displaced or repressed and comes back in a symptom form, such as a prohibition, or in a 'substitutive satisfaction which appears in symbolic disguise' (Freud 1979 [1925]: 274). Symptoms have the character of interruption and the eruption of an unexpected, and uncanny, affect.

<sup>2</sup> I use the wording of the Mexican Head of the Jesuit College in Rome.

<sup>3</sup> Founded more than three centuries apart and with a very different scale of membership, those two orders have distinguished themselves within the Catholic Church for their high-profile work with refugees (the Jesuits) and for their exclusive focus on the evangelization of migrants and itinerant people worldwide (the Scalabrinians).

<sup>4</sup> The legal Mexican population in Italy is just under 6,000, the majority living in Rome, but members of the Comunidad (see below) estimate that at least 2,000 or 3,000 more live in the country since they enter with a tourist visa and then overstay.

<sup>5</sup> I can only hint here at the complexity of this imaginary, but from interviews with the cultural minister at the Mexican embassy as well as with Italians married to Mexican women (this seems to be by far the most common gender/nationality mixed-marriage combination among those who reside in Rome), two main imaginaries emerge. On the one hand, Mexico is perceived as an exotic, beautiful land, a centre of urban civilization (for a historical outlook see Benzoni 2004). On the other hand, Mexico, and Northern Mexico in particular, is imagined as a desert land. For some of the Italians who join these Mexican celebrations in Rome, Mexico is potentially defined through an imagination of past urban civilizations and desert landscapes. These imageries of centres and peripheries, of civilized and uncivilized lands, constitute the broad tapestry through which Mexican transnational identities in Rome emerge, contemporary partial expressions of a long and historical composite Atlantic construction of Mexico (Napolitano 2007b: 100).

<sup>6</sup> 'The Guadalupe Virgin, produced by as sign and a sign herself, was the "portrait of an idea", a mental, then figurative representation; the Christian supernatural in the sense of a collection of signs endowed with their own life, capable of regulation and autoregulation ... Immaterial image that existed in space and time without apparent intervention, the representation of the Tepeyac Virgin was enough to stupefy and fascinate the baroque gaze' (Gruzinski 2001: 129).

<sup>7</sup> This is by being both a symbol of God and God Herself (Elizondo 1997: 66-9).

<sup>8</sup> With 'social imaginary' I refer to the realm of fantasy and desires that emerge out of and often exceed a given symbolic order while engaging with particular socio-historical worlds (Moore 2007: 60).

<sup>9</sup> The *OED* defines affects as 'the way in which a thing is physically acted or disposed' and 'the actual state or disposition of the body'.

<sup>10</sup> I use the word 'materiality' in Navaro-Yashin's sense (2007). Discussing 'make-believe' papers in the realm of the law and order, she writes: 'Material objects of law and governance [are] capable of carrying, containing, or inciting affective energies when transacted or put to use in specific webs of social relations ... Documents, then, are phantasmatic objects with affective energies which are experienced as real' (2007: 81). The Virgin of Guadalupe is not, of course, a document, but it has a materiality that is constantly transnationally reproduced and ethnographically performed, whose affective energies are experienced as embodied and real.

<sup>11</sup> Head of the Salesian order during the 2002-8 sexennium.

<sup>12</sup> Lucy, from a female congregation dedicated to the Sacred Heart, explained that once in Rome her superiors 'recommended' her to wear the headscarf. She longs for the freedom of the *habitua* she was allowed back in Mexico, but she also recognizes that wearing the headscarf allows her to not get 'confused' with lay Latin American migrants to the city. Similar remarks about the diversity of status of 'religious migrants' versus lay migrants in Rome emerged in discussions with other members of religious congregations in Rome.

<sup>13</sup> I thank Jon Mitchell for this point.

<sup>14</sup> The embassies are those to Italy and to the Holy See.

<sup>15</sup> During their 2001 visit to Rome, Vicente Fox and his new wife were received separately by John Paul II. They both re-married without obtaining first an annulment, which created no little discontent with the Catholic hierarchy.

<sup>16</sup> I participated in the same procession in 2007, but I decided not to compare the materials here, as I am still engaged in the ethnographic process of gathering further material to contextualize the event. I only wish to point out that the December 2007 celebration had again a display of indigeneity: some priests performed the *Danza de los Abuelitos* in costumes, typical of the region of Michoacán in Mexico once they got within the college. The sermon was given by Cardinal Javier Lozano Barragán and the focus was on Catholic inculturation through the Virgin of Guadalupe. In comparison with previous years, and since Pope Benedict XVI's call for a return to mass celebration in Latin, more than half of the Mass in the Church of the Coromoto was sung in Latin chants.

<sup>17</sup> The mobile headquarters of the EZLN were named after the Guadalupe Tepeyac, and the image and the power of the Virgin of Guadalupe have been called upon by the EZLN as a symbol for the defence of indigenous rights.

<sup>18</sup> This was the case with the 2001 canonization of Juan Diego in the Basilica of Guadalupe by Pope John Paul II, where '[t]he mise-en-scène of the event reduced the Indian contribution to a spectacle of feathers and drums that was far from "inculturated evangelization" and even further from the syncretic indigenous theology espoused by certain groups outside the tent of orthodoxy' (Beatty 2006: 329).

<sup>19</sup> The Legionaries of Christ, originally named the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart of Jesus and the Virgin of Sorrows, were founded by Marcial Maciel in 1941 and encouraged by the then Pope Paul XII; since its inception the order has focused on the spreading of the Magisterial teaching of the Pope. In 1965 the Missionaries changed their name to the Legionaries of Christ and obtained the Decree of Praise, or full legitimization as a religious order.

<sup>20</sup> In March 2008, a private audience of Pope Benedict XVI with the Head of the Legionaries of Christ, Father Alvaro Corcuera, gave rise to speculation that the Legionaries of Christ would need to renew their vow of obedience to the Pope above an alleged oath of silence and obedience to the founder of the order. Hence they do not appear now to be as strongly in the favours of the current Pope as they were for the previous one, but they are very well connected to conservative Catholic Italian (and Mexican) political elites, which were in power during the government of Berlusconi (2001-6) and will possibly be reinstated following Berlusconi's re-election (April 2008). None the less, I wish to stress that my personal encounters with Legionaries of Christ members have been positive and welcoming, and I think their political ideologies and practices are very interesting and important to understand within Benedict XVI's current re-envisioning of the Second Vatican Council.

<sup>21</sup> The *Regnum Christi* is a lay ecclesial movement associated with the Legionaries of Christ and composed of both consecrated and non-consecrated members, the former being a particularly important pool for female adepts to promote the movement's motto to 'Love Christ, Serve People, Build the Church'.

<sup>22</sup> Among the members of the CCM there were remarks about the 'trendiness' of those Mexican priests who are in the order of the Legionaries of Christ. Legionaries of Christ are described as choosing their seminarists from among the brighter, the 'whiter' and often more well-off vocations in Mexico and as using very enticing forms of proselytizing for their order, such as providing grants for studying abroad (personal interview with Juan, a Mexican diocesan priest from Zacatecas, 8 November 2005).

<sup>23</sup> In 1993 Jesús Posadas Ocampo, Archbishop of Guadalajara, was made Cardinal, and from then on this church was assigned to the Cardinal of Guadalajara in Rome. After his controversial murder, at Guadalajara's airport in 1993, the church was assigned to the elected Cardinal of Guadalajara, Juan Sandoval Iniguez. It is clear that, at least symbolically, this church is very important in the connection between Guadalajara and Rome.

<sup>24</sup> Saint Toribio Romo was born in 1900 in the Altos of Jalisco, and killed in 1928 by *agrarias* in the *Cristiada* clashes. There is now a temple and a reliquary dedicated to him in his native village, Santa Ana de Guadalupe, and it has become an important pilgrimage destination.

<sup>25</sup> In the words of the Legionaries of Christ's founder, father Marcial Maciel:

There is no direct, demonstrable relation between the religious persecution in Mexico and the Legion of Christ, but my faith tells me that the Legion is in a certain sense the fruit of those martyrs' blood, because blood shed for love of Christ always bears fruit. I do believe that in his wisdom and providence God has wished that blood to bear fruit through the apostolate of the Legion of Christ and *Regnum Christi* (Maciel 2003: 4).

<sup>26</sup> During the period of the *Cristiada*, the Catholic Church lost its juridical personality, and the state had a stronger control in its internal organization, such as allowing the practice of priesthood only to Mexican citizens by birth. Moreover, priests could not exercise the right to vote, participate in political movements, or form any political confessional party. Catholic education was curtailed in state schools and secular teaching was made paramount. Religious primary and secondary schools went unrecognized by the state, as did degrees from religious seminaries, and religious multi-faith freedom was established by the constitution while religious cults and practices were officially forbidden outside churches. More importantly, these laws abolished property rights for the Church as it could not acquire, administer, and possess real estate in the Republic.

<sup>27</sup> We could also read this as a transnationalization of a national paradox – 'the effect and the condition of possibility of Mexican culture's sacral-secular design' (Feder 2001: 237) – where the *mestiza* Guadalupe, in a Lacanian interpretation, is oscillating between being the Self and M(Other); a double evocation of what is affirmed as Self and what is negated as Other.

<sup>28</sup> This interpretation does not, of course, exhaust all the facets of contemporary Guadalupe celebrations in Rome, but it highlights a focus on affect and historical traces that needs ethnographic and anthropological attention.

<sup>29</sup> I cannot engage here with the important rereading of Latour's work by Webb Keane and with the inspiring parallels as well as dissonances in his analysis of Calvinism in Indonesian and current transnational Catholicism in Rome. I only wish to mention, as a preliminary note, that the inclusion of materiality within semiotic processes of religious practices is also very important in contemporary expressions of Catholicism. In Keane's work, language does not merely connect signifiers to signified(s) but connects directly to the materiality of the everyday and to ritual exchanges, in their complex phenomenology and history. It is this *triangulation*, which Keane calls semiotic ideologies, that produces different forms of objectivization and subjectivization (Keane 2007: 2-3, 9).

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## La Vierge de Guadalupe : un point de fusion des affects

### Résumé

Par le biais d'une analyse des célébrations actuelles de la Vierge de Guadalupe à Rome, l'auteure discute de la manière dont la Vierge fait écho aux inquiétudes pour « la patrie et la foi » (*patria y fe*) ainsi que sur la mobilisation de la foi catholique en réaction aux sécularisme. Les célébrations performatives de la Vierge révèlent une unité fantasmatique de la nation et de la famille par le biais de l'affect et de tensions raciales subtiles au sein, d'une part, de la migration transnationale religieuse liée à la politique diocésaine et missionnaire, et d'autre part à la diffusion à l'étranger de narrations culturelles et indigènes d'une identité mexicaine. En s'intéressant aux traces de la guerre des Cristeros au Mexique (1926-1929), remises en récit sous un angle affectif dans la Rome du XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle, l'auteure affirme que la célébration de la Vierge de Guadalupe ne manifeste pas une religiosité liée au retour des dépossédés et à un symbole de libération (comme cela semble faire être le cas à la frontière entre le Mexique et les États-Unis) mais elle devient plutôt, dans ce contexte, un point de fusion des affects qui signale la montée en puissance d'une Église catholique transnationale empreinte d'orthodoxie ultramontaine.

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