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Suzanne M. Forsch
Western Michigan University, stforsch@sbcglobal.net

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A PILGRIMAGE EXPERIENCE

SUZANNE M. FORSCH

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Honors Thesis

December 5, 1988
A special acknowledgment of appreciation regarding Professor Rafael Cake.

Professor Rafael Cake, resident of Atlixco, Mexico is an ethnographer and visual anthropologist. He is the principal investigator of the village of Santa Cruz Tejalpa in the state of Puebla, Mexico.

Professor Cake instructed me in the field in on-site observational skills and through extensive personal communication. Through Professor Cake I gained access to the site, was introduced to key informants in the village, and was permitted and encouraged to draw upon his valuable research data. The data from his first paper about Tejalpa, "Santa Cruz Tejalpa, Contemporary Ceremonial Center," written during the summer of 1988, was especially critical to my project. When I prepared for my multi-media presentation, Professor Cake not only took certain photographs I requested but also sent me several pertinent photographs from his own surveys. In addition, he undertook special efforts to edit a videotape taken in the field and rushed it to me in time for my multi-media presentation of this project.

Professor Rafael Cake's constant encouragement and generosity not only has enabled me to develop new and valuable skills, but he has also provided me with a model of excellence in collegial and professional excellence. I appreciate his sincere interest in my project and look forward to continued work with him in the future.
In this paper, I will discuss the pilgrimage, the pilgrim, and the focus of the pilgrimage.

The Pilgrimage:

Pilgrimage is an unique religious phenomenon. "In microcosm, it is the acting out of a religious person's life" (Abingdon Dictionary of Living Religions, 1981, 568). Among the recognized scholars with understanding of pilgrimage are: Victor and Edith Turner; Joseph M. Kitagawa; and Arnold van Gennep. George Kubler has studied the pilgrimages of Mesoamerica. The following overview has been drawn basically from their works.

Pilgrimage, a journey undertaken from religious motives to some place reputed as sacred. These journeys play an important role in most pre-Christian and extra-Christian religions: in the Catholic Church their acceptance dates from 3rd and 4th centuries (Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 17, 1964, 925).

"The pilgrimages of Christianity presuppose the existence of those of paganism: but, it would be an error to maintain that the former were a direct development of the latter...Primitive Christianity was devoid of any point by which these journeys of devotion might naturally have been suggested. It was a religion without temples, without sanctuaries, and without the ceremonial. The Christian pilgrimage arose from devotion to the memory of Jesus, the faithful repaired to those places which were invested with memories of their Lord's earthly life." (Encyclopaedia Britannica).

Victor and Edith Turner defined pilgrimages as "liminal" phenomena - exhibiting in their social relations a quality of communitas, which over extended-time pilgrimages becomes articulated in some measure with the "environing" social structure through their social organization. (Turner, 1973, 191). They classified all pilgrimages in an historical succession of the following four types, noting that the first two occur in ALL historical religions.

1. The Prototypical, founded by an historical person and remaining consistent in its "root paradigms".
2. The archaic, produced by syncretism with other religions.
3. The medieval penitential pilgrimage that occurred between AD 500-1000.
4. The modern pilgrimage, since the Counter-Reformation in the 16th century.

The Turners researched pilgrimage with a social anthropological approach to "work in progress": a comparative study of the pilgrimage process, noting changes through time. They referred to the pilgrimage systems found in:

A. Major historical religions: Christianity, Islam, Judaism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism and Shintoism.
B. Those archaic societies: Ancient Egypt, Babylonia, civilizations of Meso-America, and pre-Christian Europe.
C. The pilgrimage-like behavior in non-literate societies usually studied by anthropologists.

George Kubler described pre-Columbian pilgrimages (restricted to Mesoamerica) as those related as "collective endeavors for guaranteeing the continuity of the creation of the universe against catastrophic dissolution in an unstable world." (Kubler, 1984, 11). His view contrasts greatly, in fact, indicates another pilgrimage function, with the Old world family of pilgrimage institutions that are relayed as individual journeys in search of some personal favor, whether divine or human. Kubler wrote that he finds it "Noteworthy that the Turner classification does not cover all of the Mesoamerican pilgrimage types enumerated here. The calendrical type... is unaccounted for and there is no known occurrence of penitential or apparitional pilgrimages...in pre-Columbian America." (Kubler, 1984, 15).

Several other definitions of pilgrimages: The Jewish Encyclopedia: a pilgrimage: a journey which is made to a shrine or sacred place in performance of a vow or for the sake of obtaining some form of divine blessing. Males were obliged to do so. The Encyclopedia of Islam: The Hajj pilgrimage: a journey obligatory on every Muslim, man or woman, who has reached the age of puberty and is sound of mind. Turner wrote that pilgrimage is also conceptualized in North China, as a coming together on pilgrimage to make a vow or to obtain blessings. There are two types of Chinese devotional acts at a pilgrimage shrine, "making a wish" or "worship and sacrifice in gratitude" (Turner, 1973, 197).

"Every year during the season of Muslim pilgrimage or Hajj, about two million people converge on the holy places of Mecca, Mina, Muzfalifa, and 'Arafat, to participate in rites whose origins have been lost in the
mists of antiquity. About three quarters of them come from abroad, from more than sixty countries where there are Muslim communities...Pilgrimage is one of the five ruks, or 'pillars' of Islam, a religious obligation which every Muslim must observe at least once in a lifetime if he or she is able" (Ruthven, 1984, 23). Victor Turner noted that world-wide; a larger number of people are visiting pilgrim centers than ever before. (Turner, 1973, 195). Pilgrimage is an important process, even in today's world.

There are three major Japanese pilgrimage types according to Joseph Kitagawa. In all types, the pilgrims leave home, are transformed, and return home.

1. The pilgrimage to the sacred mountains. These pilgrims undergo physical discipline and pay honor to both Shinto and Buddhist deities together. (Physical discipline transforms the pilgrims.)

2. Pilgrimage to the shrines and temples of the favorite divinities seeking the immediate experience of some degree of salvation here on earth. (These pilgrims are transformed by salvation from certain deities.)

3. Pilgrimage based upon faith in charismatic persons, HOLY MEN OR WOMEN. These pilgrims seek the saving power of the sacred places where the HOLY ONES had been present in early times. (Traveling the Path of the Holy is, in itself, the goal of these pilgrims.) Believers in 'the message' of a founder, seek to imitate or unite with the Holy person by replicating his/her actions, either literally or in spirit. (Paraphrased Kitagawa, 1987, 127-136).

The rules and norms that develop in pilgrimage are essential to the sense of flow that pilgrims feel when they act with total involvement. They need the frame to focus action. So pilgrimage, in its specificity, can foster exclusiveness between the religions. (Turner, 1973, 207.)

Pilgrimage, often a phenomenon of popular religion, has been a concern of the orthodox hierarchies of many religions because it draws the faithful away from the center of organization (their social structure). "A devotion may arise spontaneously, not in a consecrated place, and the pilgrims may not keep the strictest rules of the structured religion. Once started, the devotion is democratic, rich in symbolism of its own and in communitas" (Encyclopedia of Religion, Vol. II, 1987, 329.)
The Pilgrim:

Movement is the pilgrim's element, into which he or she is drawn by spiritual magnetism of a pilgrimage center. The Oxford English Dictionary: "A pilgrim: one who journeys to a "sacred" (consecrated or held dear to a deity) place as an act of religious devotion".

Pilgrims typically experience the sentiment of communitas, a special sense of bonding and of human kindness, which is channeled by the beliefs, values, and norms of a specific historical religion. "Pilgrims are usually social conservatives, while their critics are often liberals". (Encyclopedia of Religion, Vol. VII, 1987, 328.)

Turner identified the three types of communitas related to pilgrimage:

The first "EXISTENTIAL or SPONTANEOUS" communitas is the direct, immediate and total confrontation of humanity.

The second, "NORMATIVE" communitas is organized by need into a perduring social system.

The third, "IDEOLOGICAL" communitas is a utopian model, which is believed by the society's authors to supply the optimal conditions for existential communitas.

The normative communitas constitutes the characteristic social bond among pilgrims, and between pilgrims and those who offer them help and hospitality on the holy journey (paraphrased: Turner, 1973, 194). The experience of pilgrimage shares something of the character of all rites of passage as identified by Arnold van Gennep. "The pilgrim undergoes the classic three stages that form a rite of passage:

Stage one: Separation (the start of their journey).
Stage two: The liminal stage (the journey itself, the sojourn at the shrine, and the encounter with the sacred).
Stage three: Reaggregation (the homecoming)" (van Gennep, 1960, 79).

Pilgrimage differs from initiation because the journey is to a center "out there" not a crossing of a symbolic threshold that marks a transition in the pilgrim's social status (except in the case of the Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca).

"Returning Muslim pilgrims have long borne the title Hajji, and are accorded the reverence normally given to religious dignitaries—a factor which may partly account for the pilgrimages continued and growing popularity." (Ruthven, 1984, 24.)
The liminal stage (the middle stage of pilgrimage) is identified as the one related to communitas because it's marked by awareness of a temporary release from social ties involving a strong sense of community and fellowship. In the liminal stage, the pilgrim is often marked by a preference for simplicity of dress and behavior, a sense of ordeal, and with time for reflections upon the basic meaning of his/her religion.

Goals and focus of pilgrimage:

"The religious believer in any culture may sometimes look beyond the local temple, church, or shrine, and feel the pull of some holy place renowned for miracles and the revivification of faith, and resolve to journey there." (Encyclopedia of Religion, Vol.VII, 1987, 328)

Christian pilgrimage has a history of many centuries and remains the manifestation of collective devotion in which the two great concerns and needs of the faithful are blended:

1. Salvation of the soul.
2. Desire for miracles.

The goal of the journey is the sacred site, and the source, out there, that heals both body and soul. The sacred place may be any one of a hundred thousand:

Jerusalem, Israel (Jewish, Christian, Muslim); Ise, Japan (Shinto); Saikoku, Japan (Buddhist); Mecca, Saudi Arabia (Muslim); Banaras, India (Hindu); or Santa Cruz Tejalpa, Mexico (Christian, Pre-Columbian).

The spiritual magnetism may come from a sacred image of great age or divine origin. Miracles of healing also provide pilgrimage centers with powerful magnetism, as do sites of apparitions - the places where supernatural beings have appeared to humans. The birthplace, location of life events, or the tomb of a holy person draws. Even nature, at the margins of the mundane may represent a threshold into the spiritual - a spiritual center.

Whatever the focus of the pilgrimage, a pilgrim enters a contractual agreement with the Holy person honored at the shrine to be visited. For example, "If you (the holy person) help me (the pilgrim) with my needs, then I will make a journey to your shrine and perform devotions there."
(The type of contract or promise made by a typical pilgrim according to the *Encyclopedia of Religion*, Vol. II, 1987, 328.) The pilgrimage journey can be arduous and inconvenient, but the power beckons. The pilgrim's faith is strengthened on the journey. Once the sacred domain is entered, the pilgrim becomes conscious that he/she is present where the Holy one is or has been before - at the sacred center. Pilgrims endeavor to touch objects as close as possible to the site of the apparition. Through the concreteness of touch, they experience connection with the original event. It should be noted that Mexico differs from Europe in that images rather than relics of saints are the major sacred objects of pilgrimage devotions. There may well have been a pre-Columbian influence at work here, in view of the tendency of the Maya, Aztecs, and Tarascans to make vivid and putatively efficacious effigies and paintings of their deities. (paraphrased Turner, 1973, 210)

Usually, pilgrims are motivated by religious objectives such as: adoration of deities or saints who are enshrined at various sacred places; merit gain for salvation; penance paid for annulment of sin; or prayers for the repose of the spirits of the deceased. These religious motives are often mixed with the desire to acquire healing, good fortune, easy childbirth, prosperity and other this-worldly benefits. Even the ascetic practices which are imposed on the pilgrims, notably sexual abstinence and fasting or dietary restrictions, are interpreted as necessary investments for the expected rewards. A pilgrimage provides welcome relief from the routine of the dull every day life of the people. The pilgrimage, as seen from a broader perspective, also cements the solidarity of religious groups, stimulates commerce and trade, dissemination of ideas, and intercultural exchanges. "Each one tends to show a unique ethos of its own, which can be understood only within its religious and cultural contexts." (Kitagawa, 1987, 128.) Cross culturally, the pilgrimage is also an opportunity for human contacts of all sorts and for economic, artistic, and religious interchanges.

Victor Turner observed pilgrims who came from all parts of Mexico on important feast days to centers such as Chalma, 70 miles from Mexico City. Tens of thousands of people arrived at the principal fiesta of
the "centers". They traveled on foot; on horse and donkey back; by car, train, and airplane; as well as by bus and coach. They came alone in family groups, and in organized parties of industrial workers, bank employees, office workers, schools, parishes, and business organizations. They followed a network of pilgrimage routes and trails, many of which converge from different directions on a single pilgrimage center while others crisscross as pilgrims travel to different holy places. At the Mexican pilgrimage centers, there was dancing by traditional performers, rodeos, bullfights, and fairs with ferris wheels and round-abouts. Always numerous stalls and marquees were present where almost anything could be had, from religious pictures and objects, to food, confectionary, clothing, and domestic utensils. Communion, marketing, the fair, all went together in a place set apart. (Paraphrased, Turner, 1973, 208.)

Turner noted, "In Mexico, like in Catholic Europe, one finds that towns and municipalities contain several brotherhoods (hermandades), each of which includes in its annual activities a pilgrimage to the place where its patron saint is most highly venerated. It is interesting here that wherever a municipio contains or is near a major pilgrimage center, its inhabitants, though they may participate in festive and marketing activities associated with the pilgrimage saints' feast days, tend themselves to go in their capacity as pilgrims to distant shrines rather than to near ones."

"Generally speaking, pilgrimage shrines in Central Mexico (though not in Yucatan) tend to be located not in centers of towns or cities but on their peripheries or perimeters or even at some distance beyond them." (Turner, 1973, 211.)

This peripherality of the holiest shrines is by no means confined to Christian pilgrimage systems. Two of the holiest places of pilgrimage for Hindus - Mount Kailas and Lake Manas are located on the further side of the Himalayas in Western Tibet. Even Mecca is located peripheral to each and all of the many social and political systems into which Muslims have become secularly organized.

The peripherality of the pilgrimage shrines and temporal structure of the pilgrimage process, can be related to van Gennep's concept of rites of passage, with its stages of separation, margin or limen,
and reaggregation. As in the liminality of initiation rites, the pilgrim is confronted by sequences of sacred objects and participates in symbolic activities, hoping to change his inner and, sometimes, his outer condition from sin to grace, or sickness to health. He hopes for miracles and transformations.

"No longer is the pilgrim's sense of the sacred private; it is a matter of objectified collective representations which become virtually his whole environment and give him powerful motives for credence. Not only that - the pilgrim's journey becomes a paradigm for other kinds of behavior - ethical, political, etc." (Turner, 1973, 215.)

MY MEXICAN FIELD EXPERIENCES:

I undertook a tutorial field trip to Mexico with my Western Michigan University faculty mentor, Dr. Irene Vasquez, Religion Department. The specific goal of the trip was to witness an important Lenten pilgrimage and to gain personal field experience with which to measure my current pilgrimage studies. Our trip encompassed twelve days: March 9-20, 1988, ten days in south central Mexico plus two full days of travel. (see Appendix, Maps 1 & 2, Mexican schedule.)

Our center of operations in Mexico was Atlixco, a city of 100,000 inhabitants, located in the state of Puebla. Mexican resident Professor Rafael Cake (see Appendix) guided W.M.U. student Dennis Sprague and myself through a demanding series of observation exercises, field seminars, and visits to nearby pilgrimage sites. After each excursion into the field, we spent time debriefing and reporting our observations. Every day brought new information about an area of Mexico, where few Americans visit. We learned of history, geography, economy, as well as, some important religious events. (See Appendix, copies.)

The first field exercise familiarized us with Atlixco, where Professor Cake lives. On Friday, March 11, we traveled to a small pilgrimage center, Santiago Tetla, to view their local religious festival and procession. I was taught to observe the events, the objects, and the
scenes of pilgrimage. In order to record observations, I developed my personal survey form. There was one form for the church scenes, and another for the chapel. I chose to focus my attention upon the religious scenes. The forms were used in the village to record data. (See Appendix for copy 1 & 2)

Beginning on Monday, March 14, we made our first of four visits to Santa Cruz Tejalpa. The village is an important pilgrimage center. We were in the village on March 14, 16, 17, 18, 1988. We returned to Kalamazoo, Michigan on March 20, 1988.

Santa Cruz Tejalpa's fifth Friday Lenten pilgrimage was the focus of my field study. Tejalpa's is a part of the great cycle of Friday festivals of Lent in the center of Mexico. The cycle's first Friday is in Chalma; third Friday is in Tepalcingo; and fifth Friday is in Santa Cruz Tejalpa.

During the four field days spent in Tejalpa, I observed the village preparations as they set-up for the large crowds expected; I toured the village, the church properties; and met the men in charge of the event - both the religious committee and civil officials. I observed the activities of the religious sector, and the busy market and fair adjacent to the church. I recorded observations, using my camera and my notebooks and pencil. I purchased pilgrimage materials to bring home for display in a multi-media presentation at the university.

The research project of Santa Cruz Tejalpa is in its initial phase. It is critical to understand that there has been no published research to date on the pilgrimage center of Santa Cruz Tejalpa. Professor Rafael Cake, ethnographer and anthropologist, is the principal investigator of the village and its many religious events. Much of the factual data upon which this paper derives is from the seminars conducted by Professor Cake and from our four subsequent field visits to Santa Cruz Tejalpa, in March, 1988.
The first, and thus far only paper discussing this important pilgrimage center was written by Professor Cake and was presented in Mexico during the summer of 1988. The study of the religious events, including the Lenten pilgrimage in Santa Cruz Tejalpa, is an ongoing project. I continue to communicate with Professor Cake and anticipate continued co-operation with his investigations of the ceremonial center of Tejalpa.

Santa Cruz Teljalpa: ceremonial center

The village of Santa Cruz Tejalpa (c. 750 people) is located in the county (municipio) of Tehuitzingo, 105 km. south of the city of Puebla. (See Appendix Map 3.) Normally a large share of the local population resides outside the village on small ranches located far apart from one another. Tejalpa's residents come together in the village center for religious festivals during their ceremonial year (comprised of 18-20 celebrations). The focus of religious life in the town is upon the miraculous image of El Senor (The Lord) of Tejalpa, revered by thousands of pilgrims during the fifth week of Lent annually. The Lenten festival is their most important religious celebration and is part of a great cycle of festivals of Lent in the following towns of central Mexico: Chalma, Tepalcingo, Tejalpa. It articulates with other cycles of pilgrimages in the south of the state of Puebla and to the west of the state of Oaxaca. Victor Turner studied the Chalma pilgrimage and wrote about it (Turner, 1973, 208).

The pilgrims arrive in Tejalpa from a large area: the valleys of Puebla, Tlaxcala, and Tehuacac (see Appendix Map 4). All of the images venerated in this Lenten Friday cycle are black crucified Christs. Tejalpa is the ceremonial location most removed from Mexico City and urban centers, and is therefore thought to be the most pure ceremony and event.

The reception of thousands of pilgrims in such a small town requires a high degree of organization and preparation. There are two important groups of Tejalpa officials, the civic and the religious, that function in order to accommodate such a grand event. My first visit to Tejalpa (March 14) included a tour of the still quiet village, a close look
at the empty church, and an introduction to the two groups of officials. Professor Cake demonstrated proper protocol for such an event. We visited the treasury and made our gifts to them as visitors from Michigan. Professor Cake indicated that the two groups compete for the large income generated locally during the pilgrimage week. (Approximately $8,000 during the 1988 pilgrimage per R. Cake).

Description of the contemporary village:

Santa Cruz Tejalpa is located in the Basin of Puebla, the south central plateau area of Mexico. It is located in the bed of a river created by the Atoyac River, the RIO (Spanish -river) ATOYAC (Nahuatl -river), which is a long winding river in southern Mexico. The village is situated at 900-1200 meters above sea level.

The climate there is hot and dry. The mean annual temperature of Tejalpa is 77 degrees F. Erratic rainfall can occur during three months of the year, starting in July, when corn is planted. Although the land is considered to be arid to semi-arid, the rural area surrounding the village is considered to be a cattle-raising and agricultural area. I was told that crop failures had occurred in Tejalpa in three out of five years recently. There are rain forests in the nearby mountains, and villagers go there in January to cut wood to sell to festival visitors.

Santa Cruz Tejalpa normally presents an austere and desolated appearance to a visitor. A number of houses in town have recently been rebuilt because of damage in the 1980 earthquake. A few others stand demolished and empty. At first view, one can't see a sign that this small town is a ceremonial center that receives tens of thousands of pilgrims annually during the 5th week of Lent. The central park (or town square) of Tejalpa is five or six times larger than similar spaces in other towns of comparable size. Tejalpa's square is much more the size of known pilgrimage centers like Cholula, Mexico. Once inside Tejalpa's small church, a visitor can view the beautiful image placed high above the main altar: El Senor, the miraculous Lord of Tejalpa.

The church walls display various stages of rebuilding and beautifying,
which has been an on-going project since 1972. The renovation started at the high altar and is moving back towards the main doors at the rear of the church (as funds allow). The principal altar is often decorated with big, beautiful arrangements of fresh flowers for El Senor.

To the west of the modern town, the "Cerro Grande" of Tuzantzin can be found. Professor Cake writes:

"Going up the hill one can see the vast amount of pre-Columbian artifacts, evidence, in our opinion, of the pilgrimages that arrived at this place to venerate an ancient image located in the temple that existed long ago at the top of the hill."

Informants have indicated that in earlier times Tejalpa was called "Tuzanthan", and was the regional administrative center. Clearly, Tejalpa had administrative importance as well as religious status in the past. Today it is only a secondary office of the county with a civil officer as prescribed by law.

However, Tejalpa's sacred appeal continues to be intact. The image of the Lord of Tejalpa remains there and draws people to the center.

Pilgrimage is a journey undertaken from religious motives, to some place reputed as sacred. It is known that the fifth Friday of the Lenten cycle brings pilgrims by the thousands to Santa Cruz Tejalpa. It is also clearly demonstrated what is the sacred focus in this village: El Senor (an image) the Lord of Tejalpa. (See Appendix, Photograph Image, R. Cake)

The crucifix that is venerated at Tejalpa in the cult of the 5th Friday of Lent is of great artistic value. It is half natural size and mounted over a cross of fine wood of recent manufacture. The Lord is dark skinned, with a face that shows a high degree of suffering. It has elegant robes of brocade that are changed with the seasons of the ceremonial year and is decorated with pure gold ornaments. This image derives respect and devotion from its power to reach the religious beliefs of the pilgrims I observed.

All of the written information about the local appearance (arrival) of the image has disappeared from the town and the literal date is lost. Accordingly, the history of the apparition varies with the origin of the
informant speaking. Professor Cake relates the general form of such stories:

"Several years ago, a couple was living in a house at the edge of the river, close to the present water pump. They wanted to get an image made of the Lord for the benefit of the small nearby town. One night, a humble voyager arrived at their house, asking for lodging. When the lady told him about their desire to build an image of Christ, the visitor said that he could make it. Early the next day, the voyager had disappeared, but in his place in the humble house an extremely beautiful image of the Lord appeared, and until this day, it receives thousands of visitors every year."

El Senor is not an inaccessible, distant image. He expresses his feelings to the town. We were told stories about his actions by several informants. My favorite story tells about his displeasure upon being moved from the church during some reconstruction during the 1930's. El Senor didn't like his temporary location (outside of the church) and made his hair fall down and cover his face. The church authorities rearranged his hair, but would discover it across his face once again the next morning. They carried El Senor back into his sanctuary, to a restored place inside the church. From then on the hair of the image stayed in its proper place.

There are many other stories. Many of those I heard concerned priests of other towns who tried to take El Senor away. The lesson was that the image would not be moved from his sacred place, accidents happened to those who tried to move him. Such stories show a revengeful aspect of this image who punishes those who don't obey him.

One of the most interesting characteristics of the feria (the festival) of Tejalpa is the minimal intervention of the official Roman Catholic Church. This is a contrast with the Lenten cycles in other major pilgrimages: Chalma and Tepalcingo. Tejalpa has no local priest, therefore, one from Tehuitzingo comes to the village to officiate during the many masses conducted for the pilgrimage week. The village religious committee arranged for 5000 masses to be said in the 1988 pilgrimage.

The visiting priest and two or three helpers arrive daily, Tuesday-Saturday, 4:00 am -6:00 pm, excepting Friday, when the religious

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committee takes control of the church at 4:00 pm. At that time, the committee prepares the image for the procession and all-night vigil, which begins around sunset. The priest leaves Tejalpa and will return at dawn for the Mass of Reception and the final scheduled masses. The procession and the vigil belong to the people.

Religious leaders seem to regard pilgrimage with ambivalent feelings. There are meritorious and pious aspects of pilgrimage, but it is also suspect. Pilgrimage is touched by primitive and peasant superstitions, which are signs of ancient paganism. (Turner, 1973, 209.)

Considered a center of regional pilgrimage importance, Tejalpa attracts thousands of pilgrims to the sanctuary of El Senor during their Lenten event. There were 30,000 visitors during the week we were there, March 14-19, 1988. In years past, there were upwards of 50,000 visitors counted. Rafael Cake suggests that the recent hard economic times in Mexico have resulted in the smaller number of pilgrims visiting Tejalpa.

Movement is the element of a pilgrim. El Senor draws believers from far away. By the Wednesday of the pilgrimage, many of the 120 to 150 brotherhoods of pilgrims begin to arrive. Many pilgrims also arrive in small groups, families, or alone. They come to Tejalpa to venerate El Senor (the Lord) and to worship in his church.

The pilgrims travel long distances by foot, burro, bicycle, auto, bus, and truck, arriving at all hours of the day or night. Their means of travel and patterns match those recorded by Victor and Edith Turner when they studied Mexican pilgrimages. (Turner, 1973, 208.) The pilgrims come to worship in the Church of El Senor, possibly fulfilling a vow or contract with their image. They are not in Tejalpa solely to worship though, because there are many religious and secular events happening in the village:

- Masses: Tuesday - Saturday, 4:00 am - 6:00 pm
- Brotherhood events: Arrivals, receptions, partings, anytime
  Wednesday - Saturday.
- Dance: Thursday evening.
- Procession and vigil: Friday, at sunset until dawn.
- Mass of Reception: The sermon, early Saturday morning culmination with the image returned to sanctuary.
Fair: All week with entertainment, carnival rides, games, and fun.
Market: All week, merchants selling their wares, food, and drink.
Brothels: Operating during the week, and had permits.

There are also religious preparations for the various sacred events:
1. The litter (andas) for El Senor arrives and is decorated.
2. A floral carpet (tapeté) is assembled on the chapel floor by a group of villagers as a tribute to the image.
3. The church images are prepared for their Friday night processional journey through the village streets. (Clothing is changed.)
4. The Eternal Father image is prepared and put in the place of honor within the church once El Senor is moved.

Shopping for the religious and sacred objects desired by the pilgrims for the vigil and for their family and friends at home was going on all week. The thousands of pilgrims move easily from one event to the next. In addition to pilgrims there are local residents, merchants, carnival workers, guards, and prostitutes adding to the overall chaotic scene of activity.

There are numerous items for sale in the market. Some of the merchants rented fixed stalls, others peddled their wares from place to place. Many people were working hard, while others played or prayed. The market and the carnival were adjacent to the church properties. People were free to move from religious activities to their work stations or to the entertainment of choice with naturalness and ease. The crowds were so large that there was always movement, people moving from one scene to another.

Victor Turner said that 'mapping' the pilgrim's visit to the center is important. After my four visits to Tejalpa in March, 1988, I have developed my beginning 'map' of their religious stops.

1. Arrival, bringing the pilgrim to the church. It is often a corporate worship and the Priest is officiating. Gifts to El Senor are presented and ritual is observed.

2. Return visit to the sanctuary. This time the pilgrim seeks close contact with the image. He enters the side door, ignores the formal worship still occurring, waits his turn to climb the steps and go behind the altar for a private moment with El Senor. (I followed a group of pilgrims on this type of visit in Santiago Tetla, and observed that the pilgrims touch the image with flowers, and kissed the flowers.)

3. Remembrance in the Vigil Chapel. A time for a more leisurely stop, meditative, and is personal. The pilgrim brings flowers and/or lights a candle, leaving an offering. He may participate in an oil ritual, or just stop to kneel and pray. Most of the pilgrims I observed took a few moments to review the ex-votos (religious art objects depicting miracles of El Senor) hanging on the chapel walls.
4. The procession and vigil. A time of group participation, for all pilgrims, and a very solemn, religious activity. This is an important ritual for the pilgrim and the village.

Generally, the pilgrims arriving in their brotherhood groups (males and females together) would rank-up at the gate of the atrio (church courtyard) and proceed in one body to the church doors and enter. Most of the pilgrims carried an object of significance and worship: flowers, palms, candles, or a religious symbol. Usually the men carried the most important symbols (those unique to the pilgrimage or the image)—brotherhood banners; banks; litters; incense carriers; wooden or metal crosses; even a small pine box, a coffin; and an image. Some men were wearing crowns of metal crosses or those made of flowers or vines. A few younger men had painted their faces like they were disfigured, indicating suffering.

A group would enter the sanctuary and press through the crowds to the front altar rail and present their offerings to the image: El Senor. Their entry was often organized and directed by a member of the group. Such organization seemed an example of normative communitas. The church was extremely crowded as the procession time drew near. It became very difficult to continue to identify a brotherhood group once they entered the crush of worshipers. It was organized chaos because there were Catholic priests officiating and the religious committee of Tejalpa were busy receiving the money offerings, trading flowers for candles, candles for money, and directing placement of banners and banks from their position in the front of the church. Pilgrims knelt, chanted, made the sign of the cross, prayed, shared the peace with others, cried and sang songs. They were of all ages, male and female.

Not all pilgrims arrived at the sanctuary in large, organized groups. On Wednesday afternoon, March 16th, I observed a small group's entry into the church. The group was composed of one older male, one younger male carrying a young child in his arms, and three women of undetermined age. They were crawling on their knees. They were dusty and travel-worn and carried no objects. Their humble entry contrasted greatly to that of a large brotherhood just ahead of them. The brotherhood had 50 men, and 40 women and their grand entry was directed by two men carrying staffs. They displayed ritual.
Their procession was led by two other men wearing crowns and carrying the brotherhood's banks. One bank was very large and the second, was small. They were all singing as they entered and were carrying candles, and red or white gladiolas. Their two beautiful banners were carried by two men, while two school-age boys carried wooden crosses. I smelled the incense carried within the group. There were several men wearing flower crowns and others with painted disfigured faces. They presented a formal body of worshipers.

Pilgrims entering the sacred space always acknowledged that it was sacred. Men always removed hats at the gates to the atrio (the tile walkway into the courtyard of the church). I observed from their body posture that the sacred center was close. They were not relaxed or casual.

Merchants were even busy within the church grounds. Stalls had been erected in order to sell religious-type products near the sacred center. They were selling candles; milagros (small medals); religious statues, pictures, books, jewelry, sacred objects (those blessed); and ceremonial foods: symbolic breads, alegrías (seed candy), and peanut brittle. Those booths that were closest to the church were the first set-up that week. They had already been taken on Monday, March 14, when I first visited the village. Those locations were prized - those close to the important customers, the pilgrims.

The treasury of the religious committee of Tejalpa is also an important place during the pilgrimage week. It is located in the church complex of buildings. It is a new, one-room building north of the church. It functions as the office and the control center of the village's religious activities. It was a room full of busy people during pilgrimage week, 1988.

Representatives of all arriving pilgrim groups (large or small) carry a money gift to the Lord of Tejalpa (El Senor). Individuals, who may not belong to a larger group, also carry their gifts to the treasury. All money gifts find their way to the treasury, where the officials of the local religious committee record the gift. The money is kept in huge trunks and is well guarded. The treasury also functions as a bank for the vendors and merchants of the fair. The officials are, in effect, money-changers. The religious committee also sells their official souvenirs.
of the pilgrimage in the treasury. The souvenirs have been blessed.
I purchased several pictures of El Senor from them. The Kalamazoo group
also signed the registry as official visitors to the 1988 Lenten pilgrimage.

The fair itself, is adjacent to the church and its buildings. There
was a temporary marketplace and a carnival with rides, games, and booths.
Everywhere I looked and walked in the village square, there were awnings
to shade the goods for sale and the people at work, play, or rest. The
displays of wares were neat and colorful. Products for sale included:
foods, herbs, drinks, clothing, pottery, dishes, tools, and necessities.
There were many colorful plastic toys and fun items. George Foster
described the following market scene in a Popoluca village:

The only approach to the plaza market occurs twice a
year during the major principal fiestas, when traders
from as far as Corvoba pitch tent stalls between the
church and the municipal house, spending a week or so
selling clothing, jewelry, hardware, and liquor. Few
articles not to be found at other times are offered,
but the festive atmosphere and the opportunity to break
the monotony of buying from the same well known stocks
results in a good business on the part of these seasonal
vendors (Foster, 1942, 50).

In the fair there were also good stands, outdoor cafes with portable
tables, chairs and waitresses to serve. And of course, there were beer
tents- popular locations during the week.

The sounds of Tejalpa's pilgrimage were varied and included: church
bells; cannons; drums; band music; mariachi music; fireworks; religious
music, chants, and prayers; crying and laughter. Loudspeakers in the
market were "barking" to sell their products and services. Loud
raucous music reverberated from the beer tents and was heard during
more serious religious events.

A short, dusty walk from the village and the fair, one found
another important scene of Tejalpa during the pilgrimage week: the
Rio Atoyac. Hundreds of pilgrims steadily made their way to the river.
The weather in Tejalpa was already very hot and dry. I observed this
river scene on Friday, March 18th. I arrived there at 3:45 pm. (This
is a few hours prior to the procession).
There were hundreds of people of all ages and descriptions at the river. They were dressed in all types of clothing and almost all were wet or in some stage of drying. There were proportionately fewer middle-aged males represented in these crowds than I had observed in all other scenes of this pilgrimage. The people in the river were bathing, washing, swimming, seeming to enjoy the water. There were also many animals in the river - pigs, dogs, and burros. The water was muddy and cloudy from all of the movement in and out of it, but no one seemed to care.

"The pilgrims at Chalma visit the sacred pool of a river after they have visited the church. The waters or the pool refresh and cure. When the natives bathe, it means a thorough scrubbing of bodies and heads. Afterwards, each adult washes her or his own clothes, the men even dragging their serapes into the water for a cleansing, so that everyone begins religious devotion perfectly clean (Toor, 1947, 181.)

I included this description from Frances Toor because it intrigues me and because it indicates a possible relationship to the scene I observed.

According to the pilgrimage scholars, pilgrims are drawn to the sacred center to receive something back from the experience (from the deity or supernatural associated with the place), or perhaps, the social aspects of the journey, or insights gained about their religious faith. Pilgrims carry gifts to El Senor of Tejalpa. They undertake acts of devotion. Informants in Tejalpa told me that pilgrims seek healing miracles from El Senor. I observed many pilgrims earnestly praying to the image and its copies in the chapel; seeking to communicate a need or a grateful thank you.

Friday afternoon, I was personally escorted into the church sanctuary by the president of the religious committee. I was invited to witness the preparation of El Senor for his journey into the village: the procession. I observed those preparations from 4:15-6:00 pm that afternoon. At all times the image was treated with gentleness and care and reverence. It took all fifteen committee members (men) to lift El Senor down from his place to his special litter. The litter was decorated. This work was organized and they had traditions to follow.

At intervals I heard songs, chants, prayers, and special bells were rung. The music wasn't playful, but serious. Candles, flowers, and people
were blessed and touched to the image. Blessed objects were often returned to a pilgrim after touching the image. Money and milagros (medals) were attached to the image or the litter, and I also saw an airmail envelope fastened to a garment. Pilgrims only approached the image with the permission of the officials, touched it and kissed it.

I observed a healing ritual for several sick people who were brought close to the image. There were also other rituals occurring that used lit candles, which were waved around some people. This event in the church was an emotional, serious time for the people present. I observed tears, serious expressions, quiet behavior, no loud voices, no laughter, or joking. This was a sacred time.

The portable generator was wheeled into the church, hooked up and tested. After a few false starts, it was operating. There would be spotlights on El Senor in the procession through the darkened village streets. There was a practical side to all of the preparations, too.

Men organized and ranked-up with their brotherhood banners to be carried in procession. The pilgrims leading the procession took the places of honor at the head of the line. I left the sanctuary to climb to the church roof for a better view, just as the procession was ready to exit the church. The doors opened as the sun was dropping behind the hills. All of the pilgrims backed out of the church, facing their image, in very slow steps. El Senor would be one of the last in his procession. It was an emotionally charged scene for all present.

I visited the Mexican pilgrimage to gain personal observations with which to measure my pilgrimage studies. The difficulties of connecting the archival studies with my experiences ranged from trying to actually determine the pilgrim's goals, to whether the river scene was religious, to being able to use my observational skills properly.

MY REFLECTIONS:

I intellectually prepared for my entry into Mexican society. I knew that I would become "the other", one set apart by my language and appearance. One lesson of the field experience was that one cannot prepare for cultural
shock. One experiences it!

Victor Turner identified three types of communitas that occur on pilgrimage: (1) spontaneous; (2) normative; (3) ideological. I looked for all, and I found the first two. Basically the pilgrims I observed fit the normative definition, "... where under the influence of time, the need to mobilize and organize resources to keep the members of a group alive and thriving, and the necessity for social control among those members in pursuance of these and other collective goals, the original existential communitas is organized into a perduring social system (Turner, 1973, 194). It was demonstrated by the brotherhood's visible group support in their arrival ceremonies and the accompaniment of their standard and representatives in the procession and all-night vigil. Brotherhood members were with their own people, a social structure seemed in place.

I believe that my own feelings of spiritualism may have temporarily placed me in the spontaneous category, which is defined as, "The direct, immediate, and total confrontation of human identities which, when it happens, tends to make those experiencing it think of mankind as a homogeneous, unstructured, and free community..." (Turner, 1973, 193). There was a short time in Tejalpa when I felt elation because I realized that I, too, was a pilgrim in a sacred place. I could worship El Senor, who was none other than Jesus Christ, my personal savior. I experienced a rush of total identification with all pilgrims. Mine wasn't a decision, but a reaction. Was it what the scholars described? I never observed others acting the way I felt. How can I know?

The crowds at the river reminded my of the holy rivers of India. I have read of the Ganges River, which has been ascribed holy significance because a deity performed a miracle there. Do the crowds of pilgrims I viewed in the Rio Atoyac during the pilgrimage indicate that the river is sacred? An informant told us that sometimes beautiful stones found at the river are carried to the image, and then are used to heal. George Kubler wrote that some Mesoamerican pilgrimages were dedicated to water
deities (Kubler, 1984, 14). Is the local Rio Atoyac (River River) dedicated to a water deity? Is the river the link to earlier pilgrimages to this center? The river and its relationship to the Tejalpa pilgrimage and ceremonial events should become an important area of future research and in-depth questioning.

I believe that the means to identify some of the specific goals of the Tejalpa pilgrims exist and are waiting to be investigated. One source of clues are the milagros (religious medals) purchased at the center and fastened to the garments of the images. These medals represent prayer requests of the faithful.

In the simplest pious acts, for rather minor crises, the petitioner lights a candle and prays or hangs a silver milagro at the altar of the patron invoked (Foster, 1979, 235). The small medals I observed were made to represent the need of the petitioner, ie: parts of the body needing healing, a home, an animal lost.

Another source of information exists in the collection of ex-votos (pictures or objects representing the completed miracles attributed to the image) that pilgrims have left in the Chapel de Velacion. The ex-votos found in Tejalpa are objects of folk art telling of the miracles of El Senor. They are more than one hundred years of image-related history. There are paintings in styles from many time periods; strands of imitation pearls; locks of hair, even braids; a leather pouch; and recent photographs taken by ethnographer Rafael Cake.

Just as surely as religious chants and church bells pealed loudly in the village, so did the sounds of laughter and good times travel back to the church. It was natural to visit both the church with its sacred space and the fair, which was lively, profane and worldly. A person, even one on a sacred journey, needs to eat and sleep. The market supplied needs, too. The life of the village encompasses both the spiritual and the mundane. It seemed natural for it to do so. I observed the prostitutes lighting candles in the chapel, just as any worshiper did.

In every religious tradition, the pilgrimage combines, more than other traditions do, diverse and contradictory features, which are both spiritual and mundane (Kitagawa, 1987, 127).

I wondered, during the procession of the image, as he was carried slowly by the believers, if the harmony of life here wasn't being
demonstrated by his very presence in their profane environment. Did the pilgrims carry the Lord of Tejalpa to bless them where they lived, or was the image being welcomed into the village to show how good their lives are? Were they trying to maintain the status quo with his blessed presence, or were they sharing their good lives with him?

Pilgrims, according to Turner and Kitagawa, seek healing and prosperity, solace, even personal regards. One can't be sure what another seeks because the pilgrim's contract/vow is personal. One thing is certain, though, the pilgrim's presence at this distant center in such large numbers indicates that whatever they seek in Tejalpa, the Lord of Tejalpa does supply.

In Atlixco, I developed several field survey forms to guide my data collection in Tejalpa. (See Appendix for copies). My beginning status in field and observation experience became readily apparent when I started to use them in the village. They caused me great frustration because I was trying to identify too many specifics in a very complex scene. I couldn't observe and count and record and photograph the chaotic scenes. I did manage to record as much good data as possible on the forms. I also realized the limits I must work within on further field projects.

My photographs taken in Mexico will be treasured forever. I had a new automatic camera and managed well with it. However, I discovered that the camera got in my way when I really wanted to observe in detail. I had to concern myself with using the machine properly. On the final visit to Tejalpa, Friday, the day of the procession and vigil, I left the camera behind. It was a good decision. I wish that I had some pictures, but I also was free to absorb all that I was confronted with fewer outside distractions.

I left Kalamazoo with plans to use all of my senses to observe in Tejalpa. I planned in that way to compensate for the lack of verbal communication skills. I personally have an acute sense of touch, which is a source of pleasure, as well as, investigation. In retrospect, not obvious while in the field, I failed 'to touch' much at all. This can
be attributed to several causes.

1. I was unconsciously treating the field (Tejalpa) like I was in a museum of priceless treasures and artifacts. "Look but don't touch"!

2. I may have been reacting to being "the other". Perhaps, I rejected all things foreign to retaliate for feelings of being "outside" the mainstream. Was this rejection caused by my frustration at them because I didn't belong? Because some of them had rejected me?

3. If I "touched", could I become contaminated by their "otherness"? Was I keeping apart for self-preservation? Out of fear? This was part of cultural shock.

There had been several instances during the pilgrimage week when my "otherness" became the source of my rejection by pilgrims.

The first incident occurred on Wednesday in the sanctuary. A man approached me and began to question me. He had been drinking. Dr. Vasquez was with me and she translated his questions for me. "He told us that he was from Chilpilo, Puebla, and he said that this place was the most religious area of Mexico". The man then indicated to Dr. Vasquez that he feared that I wanted to bring changes. Dr. Vasquez tried to reason with him and explain that I was a student of religion but he became more aggressive towards me. A Mass was occurring and a scene was developing. He wanted me to leave. The only solution was for us to leave. Soon I became very indignant about his behavior. It upset me that he had perceived my presence as a threat to the religious event that I was respectfully (according to my values and ethics) recording.

The second incident of EX-clusion involved a mature woman, actually quite aged, on the church grounds. I asked permission to sit on the ground beside her to rest. She refused me. Dr. Vasquez explained that I felt unwell, but she continued to say no. I moved on, feeling excluded and very hot and thirsty.

The third incident involved a bellringer on the church roof. I was up there to observe the procession of Friday. He shouted at me to leave.
He was intoxicated and wanted me gone. I was afraid and left the roof.

Such incidents represent a contradiction that I found difficult to deal with: if I was a pilgrim, why was I unwanted? I was viewed by some pilgrims as an object, a representative of the outside world, needing to be kept away from their place. Turner offers this insight:

Pilgrimage offers liberation from profane social structures that are symbiotic with a specific religious system, but they do this only in order to intensify the pilgrim's attachment to his own religion, often in fanatical opposition to other religions (Turner, 1978,9).

I was not of their religion. Intellectually I could understand their position, but as one sharing a religious experience with them, I felt angry and saddened by their exclusion. (I applied my values.)

There were also special times when I was treated with expressions of welcome. For example, the elder in charge of the tapeté assembly encouraged my interest and welcomed my photographing and recording. The process took two and a half hours to complete and the elder, a woman, answered my questions and shared information with Dr. Vasquez. The inclusiveness of the tapeté-makers matches Turner's identification of earth and fertility cults,

"...which emphasized INclusiveness, disinterestedness, and shared values: the accent is laid on common ideals and values. Where there has been misfortune, the guilt and responsibility of ALL rather than the culpability of individuals or factions (Turner, 1973, 207).

I believe that I was observing syncretism of the Christian and a Pre-Columbian religion in their actions. They honored a Christian image by assembling a floral carpet of natural materials and seemed bound by a traditional hierarchy very unlike the male focus of the formal religious committee of Tejalp a. These worshipers were directed by a woman with grey braids. The workers were two men and five women of varying ages. They all were assigned specific jobs. It seemed to be a ritual from time past. The final product of their devotional labors was a beautiful floral carpet on the chapel floor. I am sure that El Senor was honored by their gift.

The greatest difficulty I encountered in the field was a struggle between my objectivity and subjectivity in observation. The pilgrimage
experience included a broad range of religious symbols, some with which I identified.

Perhaps the most important characteristic of religious symbols is that they have both intellectual and emotional significance to the people who hold them - they are both understood and believed in (Lessa, Vogt, 1972, 106).

How could I fail to be subjective when I observed religious symbols that had religious significance to me? El Senor was Jesus Christ. My emotional reactions caused a strong sense of failure for me because as an observer I was unable to turn my emotions off, to separate myself from those emotions. Here I was, interpreting and reacting, when I desired, needed objectivity and the ability to dispassionately record facts. I sensed that my personal values, ethics, and background were all influencing my observations. I believed subjectivity to be a destructive force in my research work.

Today, 6 months later, I realize that such personal insights as mine have value in research when they are identified as coming from a specific mind-frame and cultural background. For example, I am Protestant by faith. When I arrived in Tejalpa, I photographed symbols of pilgrimage. What did I photograph? The church, its steeple, the pilgrims, the places. What did I fail to photograph? The images inside the sanctuary. I can see that I had been applying my implicit religious judgement of idol on the image. I dealt with familiar and acceptable objects: people, candles, flowers, music, and avoided the unfamiliar objects at first. My ethnocentric self influenced me, but I learned during that week in Mexico to circumvent myself and to record as much as possible of what I observed.

One of the unexpected and unsought highlights of my visit to Tejalpa was the moment when I ceased being "the other", and knew in my heart and mind that I could share their worship.

What is secret in the Christian pilgrimage, then, is the inward movement of the heart (Turner, 1978, 8). El Senor was none other than my savior, Jesus Christ. He wasn't an idol to me; He was the Son of God. I was in "the liminal state". This was not the research I anticipated. But I believe that it has value in the educational community because I am able to express the feelings of a transitional state. I can put words to such feelings
and do so from a purely subjective point of view within the theories that I have been taught. Religious anthropological study needs some personal accounts. I believe that I can use subjective and objective roles to give credence to my field observations. The research data that I will bring home from future field trips will be fuller and more alive. The challenge will be to identify the narrative as being either subjective or objective when I experience, observe, and write culture.

Before I return to Mexico, I need to add Spanish to my educational skills. It will allow me to interview pilgrims and local residents. I would then be able to check my observations with their stated realities. The language barrier wasn't as crippling to research on this short initial visit as it would be on subsequent visits to Mexico. I also will plan to remain in the field for a longer period of time. The short initial visit was successful as an introduction to the area, but time must be spent in order to do any in-depth field study.

Victor Turner identified the Mexican pilgrimage centers of Guadalupe, Chalma, Izamal, and Octlan as pilgrimage centers that were grafted onto even older centers, like scions on mentors (Turner, 1973, 230). Because Chalma is part of the same important Lenten cycle as Tejalpa, a link to the pre-Columbian pilgrimages should be proven for it as well. Rafael Cake is investigating and compiling data that indicates Tejalpa may be such a center. I would also like to be part of the investigation.

My life was changed by my pilgrimage experience. The sacred power touched me and I am linked with that center, whatever the future may bring.
In conclusion:

The most valuable educational experience of this Honors Project was the intellectual relationship that evolved between my WMU mentor, Dr. Irene Vasquez and myself.

Our relationship began with her role as leader and my role as follower. She soon helped instill the self-confidence that freed me to take the initiative and to follow my instincts, coupled with a logical progression of thought and development of good research skills. Dr. Vasquez was there to guide and to criticize but she was also a role model as she demonstrated that even scholars are people and that doing one's best is enough. However, one's best includes a constant quest to "do it more creatively but remaining factual."

I commend the teacher's patience and the scholar's soaring intelligence of Dr. Vasquez. I am grateful for her continuing zest for life and joy at new experiences. She represents the educator that manages to be both critical and supportive of her student. We students need both.

She is a busy professional and she willingly shared her valuable time with me during this project. I thank her whole-heartedly for the many productive hours spent with me and for the promise of more to come.
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APPENDIX:

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National Total: 1,967,183

Source: Compiled by the Bureau of Business Research from various sources.
PILGRIMS TRAVEL FROM THIS AREA.
MONUMENTOS COLONIALES DE LA CIUDAD DE ATLIXCO

1.- CONVENTO DE SAN FRANCISCO
2.- " " STA. CLARA
3.- " " DEL CARMEN
4.- PARROQUIA DE LA NATIVIDAD
5.- LA TERCERA ORDEN
6.- HOSP. DE SAN JUAN DE DIOS
7.- LA MERCEDEL
8.- " EL DULCE NOMBRE
9.- SAN AGUSTIN
10.- SAN FELIX
11.- LA SOLEDAD
12.- CAPILLA DE SAN MIGUEL
CURRICULUM VITAE

Ralph Harlan Cake, Jr.

APDO Postal 21

74200 Atlixco, Puebla, Mexico

Tel. 0-11-52 244 5-0919

ESTUDIOS ACADEMICOS:

- Candidato al Doctorado en Antropología (Ph.D.) Tulane University New Orleans, Louisiana
- Juris Doctor (J.D.) Harvard University Cambridge, Massachusetts 1953
- Licenciatura (B.A.) en Literatura Inglés e Historia Stanford University Palo Alto, California 1950

OTROS PROGRAMAS ACADEMICOS:

1968-1969 Estudiante en el programa para la Maestría en Antropología Universidad de las Américas México, D.F.

ACTIVIDAD DOCENTE:

1977-1984 Profesor (Asistente I) de Antropología Universidad de las Américas Santa Catarina Mártil, Puebla

1986

1973 Instructor Universidad de las Américas

1970 Instructor Tulane University

1969 Instructor Universidad de las Américas

EXPERIENCIA ADMINISTRATIVA ACADEMICA:

1979-1980 Co-Jefe, Departamento de Antropología Universidad de las Américas

1986 Jefe Internino, Departamento de Antropología, Universidad de las Américas
OTROS EMPLEOS:

1965-1968  
Valley Migrant League  
Woodburn, Oregon  
Una organización humanitaria, bajo el patrocinio del gobierno federal de los Estados Unidos (Office of Economic Opportunity), ofreciendo una variedad amplia de servicios a los campesinos en la educación, la salud, y el desarrollo de la comunidad. Como Director de Operaciones de Campo (Field Operations Director) estuve responsable de los siete centros regionales (Opportunity Centers).

1963-1964  
Department of Migrant Ministry  
Oregon Council of Churches  
Portland, Oregon  
Organizador y Director de un programa de desarrollo de la comunidad entre campesinos en el condado Malheur, Oregon.

1956-1962  
Cake, Jaureguy, Hardy, Buttlcr & McEwen  
1408 Standard Plaza  
Portland, Oregon  
Asociado en un bufete jurídico.

1953-1956  
United States Coast Guard  
Washington, D.C.  
Servicio militar: teniente serviendo como oficial (general duty officer) en Ketchikan y Juneau, Alaska.

Atlixco, Puebla  
El 5 de enero de 1986
SCHEDULE

Mar. 10 Thurs. 1000-1200 Gran Hotel: observation exercise
1200-1230 Gran Hotel: student reports
1600-1800 Casa Nexatl: debriefing on observation exercise: orientation on Atlixco, the pilgrimage cycle, and Santiago Tetla.

11 Fri 0930 Lv Gran Hotel for Santiago Tetla, returning about 1700

12 Sat 1030-1300 Casa Nexatl: student reports on Santiago Tetla; debriefing; introduction to Santa Cruz Tejalpa

Mar. 14 Mon 0830 Lv Gran Hotel for Tejalpa returning about 1800

15 Tues 1030-1230 Casa Nexatl: discussion and lecture

16 Wed 0900 Lv Gran Hotel for Izucar de Matamoros and Tejalpa, returning to Matamoros about 1800

17 Thurs 0900 Lv Matamoros for Tejalpa, returning about 1800

18 Fri 1000 Lv Matamoros for Tejalpa, returning about 2300

19 Sat 1000 Lv Matamoros for Atlixco
1700-1900 Casa Nexatl: student reports and debriefing

Note: Casa Nexatl is the home of Professor R. Cake in Atlixco.

R. Cake

A 8
OBSERVATION EXERCISE: ATLIXCO

Atlizco will be our home base for seven days. This exercise is designed as an introduction to the city, as well as to the methods to be used in this seminar. Students will be divided into two teams: a) Saints, and b) Sinners. Each team will have 45 minutes to make their observations, and 45 minutes to combine forces and formulate a joint report for the whole group. A debriefing session will follow, in which a representative of the students will present their conclusions and the evidence upon which they are based (20 minutes), followed by comments by Prof. Cake and discussion (40 minutes). The exercise will be guided by the following structure:

Observation zones:

- **All:** zocalo
- **Saints:** AV. Independencia, entre el zocalo y 3 Ote/Pte
- **Sinners:** 3 Sur, entre 5 Poniente y Manuel Avila Camacho

Observe:

1. Material culture
   - a. Streets
   - b. Architecture
   - c. Signs
   - d. Spatial relationships
   - e. Land use
   - f. Utilities and services
   - g. Evidence of modernization and ties to a wider world

2. People
   - a. Clothing
   - b. Behavior (posture, kinesics, facial expression)
   - c. Social interaction
   - d. Activities

Inferences

1. Chronology (stages in development)
2. Political structure
3. Social structure
4. Economic base
5. Values
6. Problems

R. Cake 23-11-88
This exercise is designed, 1) as an orientation to a small Mexican village, and 2) as an introduction to the Tejalpa pilgrimage. Seminar students should organize themselves in a way to cover most efficiently the required observations. The final report will be a joint effort, presented in any way deemed appropriate by the students. The exercise will be guided by the following structure:

Observation zone: the whole town

Observe:

1. Layout of the town-- make a rough map showing the most important features

2. Material culture of the town
   a. Streets
   b. Architecture
   c. Spatial relationships
   d. Land use
   e. Utilities and services
   f. Evidence of modernization and ties to a wider world

3. Structure of the feria
   a. Scenes (places)
   b. Events
   c. Objects, especially sacred objects
   d. Participants
      1) Clothing
      2) Behavior (posture, kinesics, facial expression)
      3) Social interaction
      4) Activities

Report: include--

1. Layout of the town (map)
2. Material culture of the town
3. Structure of the feria
4. Typology of roles and statuses of the participants
5. A "typical" pilgrim: the structure of his visit to Santiago Tetla

R. Cake
23- 11- 88

A 10
"El Señor de Tejalpita" in the ciprés over the main altar. The neon sign was donated recently by a small town near the city of Puebla. October 1988.
SANTA CRUZ TEJALPA: Observations and Questions

1. Distinguish the most important elements of the feria. Which are sacred? profane? hybrid elements?

2. Observe the following places or "scenes":
   a. Terminal de autobuses
   b. Iglesia
      1) Interior (at least 2 scenes)
      2) Capilla abierta: alcancía del Señor de Tejalpa y de la Santísima (lado norte de la iglesia)
      3) Tesorería
      4) Portales
      5) Atrio
   c. Tianguis
   d. Juegos mecánicos y atracciones
   e. Área de restaurantes y carpas de cerveza
   f. Río Atoyac (2 scenes)
   g. Posadas improvisadas
   h. Presidencia Auxiliar
   j. Otros???

3. Observe the different events of the feria (masses, arrivals and departures, bathing, processions, etc.)

4. Observe the following objects:
   a. Imágenes (what are the important ones?)
   b. Las andas
   c. Estándares
   d. Alcancías
   e. Arcos (interior y exterior de la iglesia)
   f. Ex-votos (capilla abierta)
   g. Milagros
   h. Tapete de aserrín
   j. Reliquias (should we make a collection?)
   k. Flores (y como se usan)
   l. Alimentos y bebidas festivos (alegría/amaranth, palanqueta, dulces de maguey y de calabaza, y otros)
   m. Artesanías (tipos?)

5. Observe the different kinds of people present (age, social class, locals vs visitors, etc.) Where do they come from?

6. Note the sounds and smells!

7. Describe the visit to Tejalpa of a "typical" pilgrim (defining what type you are talking about).

8. How is the difference between religion and religiosidad illustrated by what you see in the feria?

(This form was used earlier by other visitors to Tejalpa.)

R. Cake
A 12
31-III-87
Form I

SANTA CRUZ TEJALPA: OBSERVATIONS

EVENT: HERMANDADES
MAIN CHURCH -

GROUP:
NUMBER:
RATIO: M : F or ___%

Is MASS BEING SAID? __

BEHAVIOR:
CARrying: WHAT OBJECTS?
Estandartes
Alcancías
Candles
Incense
Flowers
CROSSES
other Images

Making WHAT SOUNDS?
Silent
Chanting
Singing
other

Other ACTIONS -
FACING FORWARD __ BACKWAARDS __
ON KNEES __

DATE: _____________
LOCATION: ___________ TIME: _________

Code:
People: Male (M) Female (F)
Age: Pre-school - 5
SchoolAge - 4
Young Adult - 3
Middle Age - 2
Old - 1

Comments: ________________________________

Suzanne M. Forsch
3-12-88
EVENT: CAPILLA de Velacion

VISITOR = V

ACTION

I. Oil ritual
   To whom? ___
   Drink it? ___
   Pour on self? ___
   Take home? ___

II. Curing/healing ritual.
   OBJECTS:

III. Offerings made
   To whom? ___
   OBJECTS: Ex-votos ___
             Milagros ___
             Money bills ___
             Coins ___
             Locks of hair ___
             Flowers ___

Note:
P = pinned to image
H = hung on wall

RELIGIOUS AUTHORITIES

I. Oil ritual

II. Curing/healing ritual.

III. Offerings received
    Container

How many in chapel? ___
(m) - (f)

Jobs -

Suzanne M. Forsch
3-12-88

Misas.............................................Messes
Hermandades....................................Brotherhoods
Quema de fuegos pirotecnicos..............Fireworks
Baile.............................................Dance
Las Andas........................................El Senor's Litter
Tapete de Aserrin..............................Saw dust(Floral) carpet
Imagenes de la procesion......................Procession of Images
Misa de Recepcion..............................Mass of Reception
Peregrinos.......................................Pilgrims
Comerciantes....................................Merchants
Ambulantes......................................Peddlers
Prostitutas......................................Prostitutes
Musicos...........................................Musicians
Atrio.............................................Atrium/courtyard of the Church
El Senor de Tejalpa.............................The Lord of Tejalpa
Copias del Senor...............................Copies of the Lord
Capilla de Velacion............................Vigil Chapel
La Demandita/La Mandita......................Small ancient image
Estandartes de las hermandades.............Brotherhood banners
Ex-votos........................................Art objects representing miracles
Milagros.........................................Small religious medals
Reliquias........................................Religious souvenirs (antiques?)
Velas y veladoras..............................Candles
Alcancias del Senor............................Banks of the Lord
Agua bendita....................................Holy water
Flores...........................................Flowers
Palmas...........................................Palms
Alegria...........................................Candy made from alegria grain
Palangueta.......................................Peanut brittle candy
Campanas.......................................Bells
Rio Atoyac.....................................The River River
Tianguis.........................................Typical products
La Cruz original...............................The original cross
Tesoreria.........................................Treasury
La iglesia.......................................The church

Suzanne Forsch
November, 1988