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Paloma Barraza

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**PILGRIMAGE TO THE VIRGIN OF JUQUILA:  
THE NEGOTIATION OF CATHOLIC INSTITUTIONAL  
POWER IN COLONIAL OAXACA**

**BY**

**PALOMA BARRAZA**

**B.A., Art History and History, University of Colorado Boulder, 2017**

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the  
Requirements for the Degree of

**Master of Arts**

**Art History**

The University of New Mexico  
Albuquerque, New Mexico

**May, 2020**

## **DEDICATION**

In Memory of my cousin.

I dedicate my M.A. thesis to my late cousin, Salomon Manriquez Jr., who encouraged me to pursue and complete my Master's degree and who told me to dream big. This is for you, primo.

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**Pilgrimage to the Virgin of Juquila: The Negotiation of Catholic Institutional Power in Colonial Oaxaca**

by

**Paloma Barraza**

**B.A., Art History and History, University of Colorado Boulder, 2017**

**M.A., Art History, University of New Mexico, 2020**

**ABSTRACT**

Despite the contemporary popularity of the pilgrimage site of the Sanctuary of Santa Catarina of Juquila, the statuette of Oaxaca's Virgin of Juquila is often eclipsed by the more well-known *tilma* image of the Virgin of Guadalupe in Mexico City. The limited art historical scholarship has failed to address the statuette of the Virgin of Juquila as an icon that signifies both Indigenous and Catholic power dating back to the seventeenth century. Dominican missionaries used the statuette as a mediator for religious conversion practices in the local Chatino community. Furthermore, the moment the Virgin of Juquila gained significant Indigenous popularity in Oaxaca, the church seized the opportunity to reclaim the statuette as a source of social control by taking advantage of the object's developed spiritual associations. The statuette of the Virgin of Juquila functioned as a tool for upholding institutional power in Oaxaca through evangelization, a process of Indigenous restoration to church authority, and later the strategic consecration of her pilgrimage site at the Sanctuary of Santa Catarina of Juquila. Using colonizing sight, symbolic articulation, and iconography this thesis will explore the negotiation of institutional power the Catholic Church realized within the statuette of the Virgin of

Juquila's familiar iconography. Similarly, the symbolic articulation of pilgrimage that developed in honor of the statuette in the seventeenth century to further reinforce the Virgin of Juquila's localized relevance, power, and conversion among Chatino people.

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## INTRODUCTION

In the late sixteenth century and early seventeenth century, Dominican missionaries arrived to the coast of Oaxaca, the Pacific coastal region of New Spain, to convert numerous Indigenous peoples in the name of the Catholic Church and complete the failed Franciscan campaigns that occurred in the early sixteenth century (Figure 1). Many of the Dominicans carried literal and metaphorical tools of evangelization with them, such as statues of Mary to visually enhance their practice of religious instruction. Specifically, the Dominican friar Jordán de Santa Catarina, who arrived in Oaxaca in 1552, preached the Catholic dogma in various small towns, such as Amialtepec, while wielding a small statue of the Immaculate Conception, who is today identified as the Virgin of Juquila (Figure 2). The existing scholarship on the Virgin of Juquila exists only within the social sciences, and is mostly and mostly written in Spanish. In an art historical framework, there has been no scholarship produced on the statuette of the Virgin of Juquila, therefore there has been no concrete examination of the object's function as a localized icon of both Indigenous practice and Spanish colonialism. Dominican missionaries used the statuette as a mediator for religious conversion practices in the local Chatino community. Moreover, the moment the Virgin of Juquila gained significant Indigenous popularity in the small town of Amialtepec, the church seized the opportunity to reclaim the statuette as a source of social control by taking advantage of the object's developed spiritual associations among Chatinos.

The first introduction of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception icon in New Spain was due to Hernán Cortés' exploration of the Yucatán Peninsula in 1519. During Cortés' journey, he carried with him a banner of the shield of Castilla and León on one

side, representing the Spanish crown, and an image of the Virgin on the other, indicating the crown's devotion to the Catholic Church. Cortés and his campaign in the Americas were used to spread the arrival and presence of the Immaculate Conception, and demonstrated the Crown's devotion to the Church in fulfilling the spread of Catholic faith to the peoples he encountered.<sup>1</sup> Many Marian devotional objects and images (i.e. images of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception) brought to the Americas with the arrival of the Spanish have transformed into pilgrimage sites later shaped through the oftentimes violent negotiations between localized indigenous practices and the Catholic Church. Pilgrimage sites in Mexico, such as the Virgin of Guadalupe in Mexico City or Our Lady of San Juan de Los Lagos in Jalisco, receive millions of pilgrims each year to give their respects and requests. The statuette of the Virgin of Juquila is one of the top three most visited pilgrimage sites in Mexico but, despite its regionalized popularity, it is often eclipsed by the more well-known *tilma* image of the Virgin of Guadalupe who has a more nationalistic identity.<sup>2</sup>

Since the seventeenth century, the Virgin of Juquila has had a large devotional following with her annual pilgrimage being on December 8th—the feast day of the Immaculate Conception. Currently, the statuette of the Virgin of Juquila resides in the Sanctuary of Santa Catarina Juquila in the small town of Juquila, Oaxaca, Mexico (Figure 3). Regardless of the Virgin of Juquila's high volume of pilgrims to the site each year, her image and legacy have not been critically analyzed in the same way that the Virgin of

<sup>1</sup> Iván Martínez, "The Banner of the Spanish Monarchy. The Political Use of the Immaculate Conception," in *The Conception of Mary Immaculate. The Celebration of Dogma in Mexico*, (D.F. Mexico, Museo de la Basílica de la Virgen de Guadalupe, 2005): 125.

<sup>2</sup> Beatriz Quintanar Hinojosa, "Ciudad de Oaxaca," *Guía de Oaxaca*, August, 2007, <https://www.mexicodesconocido.com.mx>

Guadalupe or the Virgin of San Juan de los Lagos have in scholarship past and present. This thesis will place the image of the Virgin of Juquila in conversation with the other popular Virgins in Mexico who each follow the same narrative formula implemented by the Catholic Church and brought by the Spanish. Additionally, the similar patterns of pilgrimage and reverence bestowed upon the Marian figures and their sites will be comparatively explored in order to help guide understanding of the Virgin of Juquila's lesser status in Mexico.

Focusing on the statue of the Virgin of Juquila to demonstrate how the image of the Immaculate Conception was used as a tool for conversion, I will compare and analyze the sacred images and the pilgrimage sites of the Virgin of Juquila in Juquila, to the Virgin of San Juan de Los Lagos in Jalisco, and the Virgin of Guadalupe in Mexico City. The Virgin of San Juan de Los Lagos and Virgin of Guadalupe both have pilgrimages attached to their narrative stories and sacred sites. The three devotional images share the same image of the Immaculate Conception however, the Virgin of Guadalupe is considered an acheiropoietic painting, while the Virgin of San Juan de los Lagos and the Virgin of Juquila were built by an artisan. This distinction also elevates the divine sacredness of the Virgin of Guadalupe. Through an iconographical analysis of these three Immaculate Conception icon variations, I plan to demonstrate how they each became a part of a repetitive process, or formula, of overlaying sacred Christian images on to non-Catholic images and landscapes in New Spain for the sake of both nationalistic and religious promulgation.

In this thesis I make the following propositions: the miraculous site of the Virgin of Juquila in Amialtepec derives from a previous Chatino sacred site; the image of the

Virgin of Juquila resembles a lunar deity recognized by Chatinos and not the Dominican order; and the miracle story of the Virgin of Juquila, written in 1791 by Joseph Manuel Ruiz y Cervantes, states the statuette gained an immediate devotional pilgrimage by Chatinos but, the reverence and power of the statue of Juquila, did not necessarily originate from Catholic dogma. Rather, it was built upon from a previous Chatino belief system that had been established in Amialtepec and surrounding towns before Spanish contact.

I argue that the statue of Virgin of Juquila functioned as an effective tool for upholding imperial power via Spanish Catholic evangelization of Indigenous Chatinos, in Oaxaca. Additionally, the consecration of the icon and her site as a location of religious pilgrimage was a strategic act of imposing a Catholic agenda on to an Indigenous site, which was already culturally sacred and meaningful for Chatinos. This thesis explores the complicated negotiation of power between the Catholic Church and Indigenous Oaxacan populations, as well as the adaptations to the pilgrimage to the Sanctuary of the Virgin of Juquila in the seventeenth century up to the present day.

For my methodologies, I will use colonizing sight, symbolic articulation, and iconography to analyze the statue of the Virgin of Juquila and her influence as an intermediary of Spanish-Catholic evangelization. Additionally, I will explore the negotiation of symbolic power from indigenous Chatino populations in Oaxaca to the Catholic Church. Art historian, Jeanette Favrot Peterson, introduces the concept of “colonizing sight” in her 2014 book, *Visualizing Guadalupe: From Black Madonna to Queen of the Americas*. Peterson used the subjectivity of seeing as a method to analyze the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe from Spain and the Americas. The subjectivity of

seeing positions images of Guadalupe as cultural artifacts and not necessarily as art objects.<sup>3</sup> I have expanded Peterson's theory of colonizing sight to all five senses, a colonial sensorium, also used by the Catholic Church to effectively evangelize non-Catholic subjects. While Peterson primarily focuses on the use of visuality as a potent weapon of indoctrination, this thesis will demonstrate how the five senses were incorporated into the processions, prayers, rituals, traditions, and pilgrimages during Catholic evangelization in New Spain.<sup>4</sup>

Anthropologists Leopoldo J Bartolomé and Alicia M. Barabas use the theory of symbolic articulation to present the overlaying of Catholic symbols over Indigenous symbols in New Spain, specifically in Oaxaca. In Barabas's 2006 book *Dones, dueños y santos: Ensayo sobre religión en Oaxaca*, she articulates that the term symbolic articulation steps away from the anthropological term hybridity and, instead, shifts the focus from a fusion of cultures to the study of relations and the maintenance of two spheres with irreducible significances.<sup>5</sup> This concept places cultures as their own entities who interact with other cultures, often in close proximity. Moving away from the use of the term hybridity helps break down misconceptions that cultural interactions in the colonial period were harmonious.

In 1939, Erwin Panofsky presented the methodological approach of iconography as an effective analysis of art. The importance of cultural knowledge when studying an image helps the viewer understand the symbols represented, such as the codified symbols

<sup>3</sup> Jeanette Farvrot Peterson, *Visualizing Guadalupe: From Black Madonna to Queen of the Americas*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014): x.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>5</sup> Alicia Barabas, *Dones, Dueños y Santos: Ensayo Sobre Religiones en Oaxaca*, 1.st ed. México, (D.F.: Instituto Nacional De Antropología E Historia, 2006): 45.

used to identify Mary as the Immaculate Conception. Panofsky stressed the importance of studying the culture of origin a work of art is produced within in order to properly understand the meaning behind an image. The Catholic Church has iconographically consolidated very specific meanings and rules to religious imagery so broader audiences could understand and recognize the visual messages that are being communicated. Such modes of visual exchange and meaning making between cultural object and colonized viewer thus ensures power structures are maintained within and by the Catholic church.

The sources discussed below demonstrate the lack of art-historical research conducted on the Virgin of Juquila; however, scholars have extensively researched other Marian images of the Immaculate Conception from Mexico that date back to the colonial period. The sources that mention Juquila are written through historical, anthropological and sociological lenses and provide helpful information to understand the socio-historical and cultural impact of the image of Juquila and the annual pilgrimage. While in Oaxaca, I visited archives and libraries, and found more primary source research related specifically to the Virgin of Juquila and her pilgrimage site. The museum and library of Santo Domingo de Guzmán holds an extensive collection of pre-Columbian artifacts from the area of Juquila and as the Burgoa Library has missionary documents and correspondence from the first archbishop of Mexico, Juan de Zumárraga. Most critical is having access to the documents for the indoctrination of the Virgin of Juquila, approved by Zumárraga. In addition, the Burgoa Library also has documents related to Friar Jordán de Santa Catarina and others who encountered the area of Juquila during their mission trips. The *Archivo Histórico de Oaxaca* (the Historical Archive of Oaxaca) has a stack of Dominican documents of their confraternities which provide information about decisions to establish

the Sanctuary of Juquila as well as Dominican encounters with Indigenous communities throughout Oaxaca.

In *Visualizing Guadalupe: From Black Madonna to Queen of Americas*, Peterson studies the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe and how visual culture in Christian images become a, “potent weapon of indoctrination in the evangelization and colonization of the Americas.”<sup>6</sup> The acts of seeing holy images were intended to spark cognitive, spiritual, visionary responses through bodily performances.<sup>7</sup> Even though Peterson does not mention the Virgin of Juquila in her book, she does go in depth about how the Immaculate Conception shaped faith through sacred cloth and veiled body, miracle narratives, and the importance of processions and bodily performances by devotees. The Virgin of Juquila and the Virgin of Guadalupe are both Immaculate Conceptions in Mexico that have an extensive devotional following that includes an annual pilgrimage to their respective shrines.

In 2015, historian, Graziano Frank published *Miraculous Images and Votive Offerings in Mexico*, based on his interdisciplinary field study on miracles and votive offerings, petitionary devotion, and ex-votos in mostly the southern and west-central states of Mexico. Frank wrote about a dozen devotional images, including, the Virgin of Juquila, the Virgin of Guadalupe, the Virgin of San Juan de Los Lagos, and many Marian figures. The chapter on the Virgin of Juquila primarily centers on her contemporary cult following of the Virgin and pilgrimage route. Frank describes the mountainous landscape of the town of Juquila and provides context in the form of short interviews of the Virgin’s devotees who simply answer with the words, “it’s the tradition,” when asked about their

<sup>6</sup> Peterson, *Visualizing Guadalupe*, 9.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.



ritual pilgrimage. The chapter expands on faith, devotion, and the offerings left for Juquila along the pilgrimage route and summarizes the history of Juquila, including her miracle story, but lacks any detail about the Chatino influence or devotees. The rest of the book articulates the crucial aspect of Saints as critical mediators between the heavenly realm and the Earth-bound followers. The miraculous images mentioned throughout Frank's book demonstrate the importance of a sacred presence where the local enculturated idea of the saints' essence helps authenticate the space as sacred.

Joseph Manuel Ruiz y Cervantes wrote the text, *Memoria de la portentosa imagen de Nuestra Señora de Xuquila*. Printed in Mexico City by Felipe de Zúñiga y Ontiveros printing press in 1791, the book proposed an official miracle story about the Virgin of Juquila that could be distributed around Mexico during the eighteenth century. The book is a total of 136 pages and includes a description of the statue of the Virgin of Juquila as well as the Sanctuary of Santa Catarina of Juquila in Juquila, Oaxaca. Aside from the miracle story, Ruiz y Cervantes also describes the advocations of the communities in Oaxaca and how pilgrimage gained immense popularity in a short amount of time. The miracle story has a biased interpretation of the event as it was written under the guidance of the Church and was dedicated to José Gregorio Alonso de Ortigosa the bishop of Oaxaca from 1775–1793. The book also includes the coat of arms of Ortigosa, an engraving of the statue of the Virgin of Juquila, two maps showing the pilgrimage route to the shrine, and an illustration of the Church of Santa Catarina Juquila, all created by artist Francisco Agüera.

In 2016, historian, William B. Taylor published, *Theater of a Thousand Wonders: A History of Miraculous Images and Shrines in New Spain*. Taylor examines many

shrines throughout New Spain during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. During the colonial period, the advocacy of the Virgin Mary spread throughout New Spain and Taylor asserts the Virgin's influence grew through the focus on sacred places, landscapes, and multi-sensory experiences. Taylor divides the book into two sections: "Part I Bearings: Historical Patterns and Places of Images and Shrines" and "Part II Soundings: Divine Presence, Place, and the Power of Things." In Part I, chapter 2, "Growth, Other Changes, and Continuities in the Late Colonial Period," Taylor does mention the Virgin of Juquila as part of the statistical analysis of twenty-three shrines that gained regional following in the eighteenth century, but does not go in-depth about the history of the pilgrimage.<sup>8</sup> Later in part II, chapter 5 "Making Miracles," Taylor mentions the eighteenth century book by Joseph Manuel Ruiz y Cervantes on the miracle story of the Virgin of Juquila, and makes note of the 2,000 wax *milagritos*, or little miracles, left in 1791 at the shrine of the Virgin.<sup>9</sup> Taylor other book, *Shrines and Miraculous Images: Religious Life in Mexico Before the Reforma*, (2011) that provides more of an insight on the religious influence of missionaries in New Spain and how chroniclers during the earlier part of the colonial period formed a "spiritual conquest by mendicant friars."<sup>10</sup>

In 2008, historian, Yanna Yannakakis wrote, *The Art of Being In-Between: Native Intermediaries, Indian Identity, and Local Rule in Colonial Oaxaca*. Yannakakis questions and introduces a new way of thinking about the processes of cultural exchange and Indigenous resistance in colonial Oaxaca. The book focuses on Indigenous

<sup>8</sup> William B. Taylor, *Theater of a Thousand Wonders: A History of Miraculous Images and Shrines in New Spain*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016): 98.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 322.

<sup>10</sup> William B. Taylor, *Shrines and Miraculous Images: Religious Life in Mexico Before the Reforma*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2011): 25.

intermediary figures, such as those who work with the government, assist Catholic priests, economic middlemen, nobility, and Indigenous, or even as interpreters to aid in the process of colonization. While Yannakakis does not highlight the Church of Juquila, she does provide an analysis of the importance of Indigenous intermediaries that shaped Oaxaca's political, social, religious, and cultural traditions after the Spanish arrival. Unlike Mexico City, the area of Oaxaca lacked Spanish officials, such as clergy, teachers, and other government positions thus leading to Spanish reliance on Indigenous intermediaries to perform these duties.

Edward Wright-Ríos, wrote a chapter called, "Our Lady of Juquila: Nation, Region, and Marian Devotions" in *Marian Devotions, Political Mobilization, and Nationalism in Europe and America* 2016, edited by Roberto Di Stefano and Francisco Javier Ramón Solans, focuses on Juquila as part of the Americas section with the inclusion of three other Marian devotions. Wright-Ríos challenges secular nationalism and Catholic counter-nationalism in order to understand Marian devotions in Mexico. This chapter had the most information on the historiography of the Virgin of Juquila and how she gained popularity over the centuries. Wright-Ríos argues that Juquila gained popularity during the rise of Mexican nationalism leading up to the Mexican Revolution in 1910. The institutional impact of the Church of Juquila went beyond ecclesiastical interests, it also focused on economic activities surrounding the pilgrimage route. Wright-Ríos critiques Joseph Manuel Ruiz y Cervantes' book as a romanticized narrative that places the pilgrimage in the midst of wilderness and civilization through the multilingual social groups that visited the Virgin of Juquila.

Overall, this literature review of primary and secondary sources provides certain aspects of a sociocultural framework of the Virgin of Juquila; however, none of them fully address the impacts of her as a tool of evangelization or how her pilgrimage site is another form of indoctrination. A crucial aspect that lacks in these sources is the life of Chatinos prior to the Spanish arrival. A few anthropologists have analyzed the pre-Columbian life and influence of Chatinos but have never put them in context with the colonial period, especially with the image of Juquila. The statue of the Virgin of Juquila demonstrates the long pattern of Spanish Catholic colonialism through the overlaying of sacred Christian images on top of non-Catholic sacred images and sacred spaces. The same pattern observed in San Juan de los Lagos with the Virgin of San Juan de los Lagos, in Mexico City with the Virgin of Guadalupe, and in the Iberian-Peninsula when the Spanish exiled Moors in 1492 and placed Catholic images on top of previous Muslim sites. The statue's provincial impact in the Oaxacan coast during the colonial period fits into the development of colonization and evangelization in the Americas. The pilgrimage route the Virgin of Juquila expanded the statue's provincial reach into a nationally-recognized pilgrimage site. Outside of Mexico City, small communities throughout New Spain intermittently received visits from religious officials however, Indigenous laborers and commoners from those towns were left to teach the Christian doctrine and perform catholic ceremonies. The mendicant orders relied on Indigenous intermediaries to perform Catholic practices.<sup>11</sup> Towns such as Juquila and Amialtepec as well as other provincial areas in Oaxaca relied on native intermediaries to facilitate colonial order

<sup>11</sup> Yanna Yannakakis, *The Art of Being in-between: Native Intermediaries, Indian Identity, and Local Rules in Colonial Oaxaca*, (Duke: University Press, 2008): 16.

demanded by the Spanish Crown.<sup>12</sup> I hope that this M.A. thesis will provide an overview of Chatinos, the statue of the Virgin of Juquila, Marian devotions in New Spain, and the issues that have never been resolved since the arrival of the Spanish in Oaxaca in the sixteenth century.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 3.

## **CHAPTER 1: THE VIRGIN OF JUQUILA'S APPARITION AND THE MARIAN NARRATIVE FORMULA**

The miracle story of the statuette of the Virgin of Juquila falls under the extensive list of Catholic miracle narrative stories about the Virgin Mary, what I call the Marian Narrative Formula. The Marian Narrative Formula presents a three-part miracle story that involves an individual outside of the church interacting with the Virgin Mary, the placement of a sacred Catholic shrine devoted to the image (usually on top of a non-Catholic sites), and the use of multi-sensory responses that generate a large devotional following. Colonial art historian, Jeanette Favrot Peterson, has illustrated the use of these steps in her 2014 book, *Visualizing Guadalupe: From Black Madonna to Queen of the Americas*. Peterson analyses how visual culture in the Catholic Church has sharpened the Marian Narrative Formula as an effective method of conversion, a Catholic method that has been replicated in different cultures since the medieval period in Europe and during the invasion of the Americas in the colonial period. The miracle story written in 1786 by Joseph Manuel Ruiz y Cervantes about the statue of the Virgin of Juquila, utilizes the Marian Narrative Formula through the incorporation of an Indigenous person interacting with the statue, a transformation of an Indigenous shrine, and the large pilgrimage that formed in the Virgin's honor.

The rise of Marian images in Catholic visual culture stems from the medieval period as the demand for depictions of Mary increased. Other popular images of Mary include: Madonna and Child, the Annunciation of Mary, the Immaculate Conception, the Assumption of Mary, and the Virgin as Mother of God. The Spanish crown was directly involved with the beneficiary of the *Real Patronato (Royal Trust)*, this allowed Isabella

and Ferdinand to make decisions in Church matters.<sup>13</sup> In 1662, the Immaculate Conception became the official protector of Spain and the Americas, and in 1727, she became the Queen of the Americas.<sup>14</sup> As a symbol of imperial unification carried out during this period of mass evangelization, Marian shrines proliferated throughout the Americas. Each shrine dedicated to the Immaculate Conception across New Spain encapsulated the local culture, often embodying local indigenous characteristics and traditions.

In 1725, the town of Santa Catarina Juquila was named the head municipality and district of the coastal region of Oaxaca. As the head town, Juquila would require an extravagant church that displayed the Catholic presence, especially now that the town had acquired the statue of Juquila. In 1783, Antequera Bishop, José Gregorio Alonso de Ortigosa, approved the construction of the new Sanctuary of Santa Catarina of Juquila, and assigned José Sánchez Parejas as the commissioner to collect the materials needed to build the new sanctuary. Both Sánchez Parejas and Ortigosa solicited donation from locals, as the town and the church lacked funding in the late eighteenth century.<sup>15</sup> Once Sánchez Pareja gathered enough materials, he contracted Bernardo Novas as the lead architect.<sup>16</sup> Novas described the plan for the new Sanctuary as 191.1 feet long and 85 feet wide at the crossing, with eight columns attached to it. Fourteen vaults hold the church ceiling, while the crossing suspended the large dome that included twenty-seven clerestory windows. Six arc-paths frame the side chapels as well as strengthen the walls

<sup>13</sup> Iván Martínez, *the Banner of the Spanish Monarchy. The Political Use of the Immaculate Conception*, in *Un Privilegio Sagrado: La Concepción de María Inmaculada: Celebración del Dogma en México*, (Mexico City: Museo de la Basílica de Guadalupe, 2005): 125.

<sup>14</sup> Taylor, *Theater of a Thousand Wonders*, 247.

<sup>15</sup> Moisés Soriano Mendoza and Mario Lugos López, *Peregrinaje Chatino, Los Caminos de Juquila*, (Oaxaca: 1450 Ediciones, 2014): 66-67.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 68.

of the church. The altar had a big niche to place the statue of the Virgin of Juquila. Ideally, the architect and the bishop wanted the statue to rise above the altar and connect with the pilgrims who venerated her. On February 22, 1874 the Sanctuary was finally completed.<sup>17</sup> Unfortunately, in 1931, a large earthquake struck the town of Juquila and damaged the Sanctuary substantially. Minor reconstructions occurred until 1986, when the priest, Bourguet Mendoza, decided to officially reconstruct the temple in its entirety.<sup>18</sup> The Sanctuary that is seen today reflects a late-baroque style of architecture (Figure 3).

Today, upon entering the Sanctuary, a long, single open nave directs the viewer to the center of the altar. As a pilgrimage site and a place of sacrifice the Sanctuary has no pews. Unreachable to visitors, the statue of the Virgin of Juquila is placed behind glass in a half-dome niche in the center of the Sanctuary's altar. Two gold-plated, rectangular Corinthian columns frame the opening of the niche (Figure 2 and 4). The statuette, 11.8 inches tall and about four inches wide, stands on a bronze and gold-plated circular base with a lily ramification at her base. The intricate lilies have small floral charms on the tips of the petals representing the virtues of the Divine Mother and the archangels Michael, Gabriel and Rafael.<sup>19</sup> Even though her attire is changed periodically, she repeatedly wears a white and blue cloak with gold and blue embroidered emblems, colors that symbolize the Immaculate Conception.<sup>20</sup> The delicate brown complexion of her face

<sup>17</sup> Soriano Mendoza and Lugos López, *Peregrinaje Chatino, Los Caminos de Juquila*, 68. The description was also included in the Joseph Manuel Ruiz y Cervantes *Memorias de la portentosa imagen de Nuestra Señora de Xuquila.: Quiso conservar las con noticia del santuario y antigua romería*, Mexico: Reimpresas en México: Por don Felipe de Zúñiga y Ontiveros, 1796.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 69.

<sup>19</sup> Mario Carlos Sarmiento Zúñiga, "Un portento milagroso en época de reformas. La imagen de la Inmaculada Concepción de Juquila en la configuración de una devoción secular," *Estudios de Historia Novohispana* 56, (2017): 36.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.



is the only part of her body visible to the viewer. A gold crown with small jewels and stars decorate her dark hair, which drapes down her backside.

In 1989, *El Centro Regional de Oaxaca del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia* (The Regional Center of Oaxaca of the National Institution of Anthropology and History), was given permission to run radiocarbon dating tests of the statue and discovered that the image was in fact made during the sixteenth century out of wood and did not include the bronze and gold-plated base. On the other side of the altar wall, the niche of the statue can be accessed by the clergy through the sacristy room in the Sanctuary (Figure 5). A golden scalloped pattern reminiscent of a mandola frames the niche. Inside of the niche, a wooden frame with a glass window covers the back of the statue. From this perspective, the white lilies and the golden base can easily be viewed. The blue dress worn by the statue extends into a floral lace train that is held up to the top of the niche, covering the back side of the statue. The small stature of the Virgin limits her visibility to the visitors, nonetheless, thousands travel to the city of Juquila to see the Virgin annually.

### **MIRACLE STORY OF THE VIRGIN OF JUQUILA**

Historian William B. Taylor notes three types of miracle stories told in Europe about devotional images: an image that survived a desecration and/or destruction, an image that was discovered through a supernatural sign, and an image that appeared in a distinct place.<sup>21</sup> The majority of stories in New Spain followed the third type and emulate the structure of what historian Vicente de la Fuente, termed in 1879 as the *ciclo de los pastores* (shepherd's cycle). The shepherd's cycle narratives are about shepherds or non-

<sup>21</sup> Taylor, *Theater of a Thousand Wonders*, 325.

ecclesiastical people who encounter an apparition in a rural setting.<sup>22</sup> Building on de la Fuente's work, Honorio Velasco Maíllo outlined eleven steps that completed a shepherd's cycle miracle narrative, three of which are: the discovery of a sacred object in a distant place, the image appearing to a low-status person, and the final, most strategic step being the establishment of a new cultus institutionalized through a shrine or sanctuary.<sup>23</sup> The shepherd's cycle and the miracle stories about devotional images can be categorized as part of the Marian Narrative Formula that construct the story of Juquila.

After the placement of the Virgin of Juquila inside of the Sanctuary, the bishopric of Oaxaca sought to strengthen the pilgrimage route to the Virgin of Juquila at the new location. To help advocate the pilgrimage route, in 1786 under the patronage of bishop Ortigosa, Joseph Manuel Ruiz y Cervantes wrote, *Memorias de la Portentosa Imagen de Nuestra Señora de Xuquila* (Memories of the prodigious Image of our lady of Juquila) to establish an official miracle story of the Virgin to promote around New Spain. The first edition of the book was printed in Mexico City at the *Reimpresa en México* by don Felipe de Zúñiga y Ontiveros in 1791. Zúñiga y Ontiveros While the Sanctuary itself did not print the miracle story book, only images of the Virgin, the Church approved the Ruiz y Cervantes editions and sent them to Mexico City. By printing the miracle story in Mexico City, don Felipe de Zúñiga y Ontiveros obtained a monopoly on the Ruiz y Cervantes book for the next ten years following the initial print. Zúñiga y Ontiveros benefited

<sup>22</sup> Michael D. Murphy and J. Carlos Gonzalez Faraco, "Identifying the Virgin Mary," *Disarming Skepticism in European Vision Narratives.* *Anthropos* 106, no. 2 (2011): 516-517.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 517.

monetarily from this while the Sanctuary of Juquila received recognition in Mexico City.<sup>24</sup>

The Ruiz y Cervantes book contains an introduction, prologue, a section dedicated to the reader, eight chapters about the miracle story, details about the annual pilgrimage, news about the new ascendants to the Spanish throne, a *novena*—a nine-day prayer devoted to the Virgin, and the index.<sup>25</sup> After observing the increase in *peregrinos*, or pilgrims, to the Sanctuary, in 1787, the Oaxacan archconfraternity of the Immaculate Conception of Juquila decided that any reliquary or replication of the Virgin had to be printed and produced solely at the Sanctuary of Santa Catarina of Juquila. The archconfraternity claimed that images lost sacredness if they were reprinted or copied outside of the Sanctuary, thus controlling the devotion and the revenue deriving from the pilgrimage site of Juquila.

In the Ruiz y Cervantes 1796 imprint copy there is an illustration of an engraving done by Francisco Agüera of the image of the Virgin of Juquila (Figure 6)<sup>26</sup>. In this print, the Virgin of Juquila resembles a medieval style image of Mary, rather than the real statue of Juquila. The Virgin wears an oversized triangular dress that covers her entire body, only exposing her face and her praying hands. Throughout the dress, a damask woven pattern is repeated with gold thread. A golden crown with a cross placed in the center covers the head of the Virgin. Above the cross, an arc with rays spreads beyond

<sup>24</sup> Manuel Suárez Rivera, *Dinastía de Tinta y Papel: Los Zúñiga Ontiveros en la Cultura Novohispana* (1756–1825), (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2019): 109.

<sup>25</sup> Sarmiento Zúñiga, “Un portentoso milagroso en época de reformas,” 35.

<sup>26</sup> Joseph Manuel Ruiz y Cervantes, *Memorias de la portentosa imagen de Nuestra Señora de Xuquila: Quiso conservar las con noticia del santuario y antigua romería*, Mexico: Reimpresas en México: Por don Felipe de Zúñiga y Ontiveros, 1796. The first printed copy was done in 1791. This particular 1796 print is located in the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University. All of the prints in the book were created by Francisco Agüera.

the crown with twelve stars on each end of the rays. A nimbus radiates around the crown and ends by her shoulders. Her eyes almost make contact with the viewer, an unusual glance that is not commonly seen with images of Mary. At the bottom tips of the dress, two lit candles rest, alluding that the image is a statue. The statue is placed on an overly elaborate base, presumably the gold-leaf one that the statue stands on today. The print is framed with filigree, similar to decorations seen on the altars of churches. On the bottom of the print the text states:

*“Su Señora Ilustrísima concede 40 días de Indulgencia a quien rezare una Ave María delante de la soberana Imagen de Concepcion de [A]Mialtepeque con su titulo de Consuelo de Afligidos, se venera en la Cavezera de Santa Catarina Xuquila del Obispado de Oaxaca.”* (Your Illustrious Lady of the agree to 40 days of Indulgence who I will pray a Hail Mary in front of sovereign Image of the Conception of [A]Mialtepec with her title as the Consolation of the Afflicted, that is venerated at the Head of Saint Catarina Juquila of the Bishopric of Oaxaca).<sup>27</sup>

The placement of the print at the beginning of the first chapter provides the reader with the image of the Immaculate Conception from the onset. The image is now engraved in the reader’s mind and can be conceptualized throughout the story.

Most of the miracle stories formulated in New Spain often included an Indigenous person encountering a sacred image, such as the Virgin of Guadalupe appearing to Juan Diego miracle.<sup>28</sup> The first chapter, *“Primeras noticias de nuestra Imágen, y como fué al Pueblo de Amialtepec”* (First news of our Image, and how she went to the town of Amialtepec) begins in 1552 with the arrival of Spanish Dominican Friar, Jordán de Santa Catarina, who arrived to the monastery of Valladolid, in Mexico City.<sup>29</sup> The Vicar of

<sup>27</sup> Ruiz y Cervantes, *Memorias de la portentosa imagen de Nuestra Señora de Xuquila*, 1.

<sup>28</sup> N. Ross Crumrine and Alan Morinis, *Pilgrimage in Latin America*, (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1991): 35.

<sup>29</sup> I translated and every title of the chapters of Joseph Manuel Ruiz y Cervantes, *Memorias de la portentosa imagen de Nuestra Señora de Xuquila.: Quiso conservar las con noticia del santuario y antigua romería*, (Mexico: Reimpresas en México: Por don Felipe de Zúñiga y Ontiveros, 1796) and placed them in parentheses.

Mexico relocated Fray Jordán to Oaxaca, a relatively unfamiliar area to the Spanish. During his missionary work in Oaxaca, Fray Jordán carried the wooden statuette of the Immaculate Conception, or as we know her today, the Virgin of Juquila, which he carried from Spain to help “evangelize New Spain.”<sup>30</sup> A local Chatino accompanied and translated for Fray Jordán during his “spiritual conquest” of the region of Villa Alta in Oaxaca, stopping at many rural Indigenous communities.<sup>31</sup> Before the death of Fray Jordán in 1592, he gifted his companion the statuette of the Virgin of Juquila as a form of gratitude for his service over the years. The Chatino man took the statuette home and created a small shrine for the Virgin on top of the hill of Amialtepec. This shift in ownership of the statuette signifies a shift in power as well. The statuette of the Virgin of Juquila now belonged to an Indigenous man and was not under the clerical authority of the church.

Chapter two, “*Hacese famosa nuestra Señora en el Xacale del Indio, trasládase à la Iglesia, y à expensas de un portento queda célebre Santuario*” (Our Lady becoming famous in the hut of the Indian man, transporting to the church, and the expenses of a portent celebrated Sanctuary) references multiple appearances and miracles of the Virgin of Juquila after the Chatino man created the shrine for her. The most notable being in 1633, when an immense fire in Amialtepec destroyed the entire village, except the wooden statuette of the Virgin. The story also claimed that the fire darkened the complexion of the Virgin, giving her the nickname, *La Morenita*, (*the little brown one*), allegedly because she wanted to resemble the skin tone of local Indigenous people of

<sup>30</sup> Deidre Cornell, *American Madonna: Crossing Borders with the Virgin Mary*, (Maryknoll, N.Y: Orbis Books, 2010): 42.

<sup>31</sup> Sarmiento Zúñiga, “Un portento milagroso en época de reformas,” 28.

Oaxaca.<sup>32</sup> The scholarship currently published on the statue does not substantiate the previous claim of the darkening of the statue.<sup>33</sup>

Chapter three, “*Llega a la Ciudad la fama de nuestra Señora de Amialtepec: crece la Romería: intentase trasladar muchas veces á Xuquila, y otras tantas lo resiste multiplicando portento: condesciende por último con las devotas instancias*” (The fame arrives to the city of Our Lady of Amialtepec: the pilgrimage grows: attempted to transport the image multiple times to Juquila, and other more times that she resists multiplying the portent: condescends for the last devotional instances) recounts how the church in Juquila observed the increase of visitors to the Amialtepec site during the seventeenth century. In 1719, the church in Juquila decided to officially transfer the statue to the church as a preventative measure of further abuses, and to ensure orthodox devotion.<sup>34</sup> However, the transfer was more than just an act of protection, rather it was an exertion of institutional power to centralize economic growth and regulate Indigenous devotional following at the pilgrimage site. The Church engaged in a process of gifting and reacquisition with Chatinos. Once the Church noticed the statuette of Juquila was acquiring a local following and prominence among indigenous peoples, the Church seized the opportunity to reacquire Juquila’s power through a framed re-institutionalization of the icon via her enshrinement at the site of Amialtepec. Starting

<sup>32</sup> Sarmiento Zúñiga, “Un portento milagroso en época de reformas,” 29.

<sup>33</sup> In 2019, the Sanctuary of Santa Catarina Juquila conducted lab tests to figure out the provenance of the statue, unfortunately, the evidence has not been published but the Sanctuary theorizes that the statue may have been carved in Northern Europe. There are also theories circulating that the statue came from the Philippines but there is no evidence that friar Jordán went to the Philippines or that the statue was imported from there.

<sup>34</sup> Edward Wright-Rios, “Our Lady of Juquila: Nation, Region, and Marian Devotions,” in *Marian Devotions, Political Mobilization, and Nationalism in Europe and America*, edited by Roberto Di Stefano and Francisco Javier Ramón Solans, (Cham: Springer International Publishing: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016): 265.

with the creation of the shrine on the hill of Amialtepec, the pilgrimage to the Sanctuary of Juquila became the apex of a social and cultural structure in Oaxaca through the emblematic symbol that Juquila perpetuated.

Since the Virgin of Juquila appeared mostly to Indigenous people, it made her miracle story all the more relevant in converting Indigenous people to Catholicism. Chapter four, “*Cuentanse por mayor los milagros de nuestra sagrada Reyna, y pondérase su especial mocion como una de sus mayores maravillas*” (Telling the major miracles of our sacred Queen, and praise her special motion with one of the major wonders) placed Indigenous people as the protagonists of Catholic miracle stories that provided a false homogeneous narrative of quiet, devout, evangelized natives as a model to convert other non-Christian communities. Ruiz y Cervantes emphasized how the placement of the statue in the Sanctuary helped increase sacred confessions by those who were “Black, *mulatos*, native and the many combinations of mixed races were seen in the *castas*.”<sup>35</sup> The reference of ethnicities in the miracle story indicates the “success” of the Church to reach to various ethnicities living in New Spain, beyond Indigenous groups. The *casta* paintings produced in colonial Ne Spain demonstrated the complexity of race and ethnicity during this time period. Ruiz y Cervantes mentioning the arrival of Black and *mulatos* in Juquila increased the power of the Virgin of Juquila beyond Indigenous and Spanish communities. The story claimed that, “the Virgin appeared to numerous indigenous converts—as if to bequeath the Christian faith to them without Spanish intermediaries,” placing the power of conversion to the Virgin of Juquila and not on the Catholic Church. The Church believed that the statuette of Juquila held the power of

<sup>35</sup> Ruiz y Cervantes, *Memorias de la portentosa imagen de Nuestra Señora de Xuquila*, 41.

evangelizing Indigenous populations, and the pilgrimage route reinforced that notion of institutional power. The chapter also articulates how busy the Sanctuary was with the vast number of pilgrims that arrived to see the Virgin, another justification for the oftentimes violent methods of evangelization. This demonstrated to the bishopric in Mexico City that the Dominican missionaries had done a better job in Oaxaca than the Franciscan's did in Mexico City.

Another technique that showed the impact of the Virgin of Juquila was through alms. In chapter five, "*Persuaden la innumerables piedades de la Reyna de Xuquila los dones y quantiosas limosnas con que los Fieles significan su reconocimiento,*" (Persuading the innumerable mercies of the Queen of Juquila of the gifts and the large alms with the Faithful means her recognition), Ruiz y Cervantes concentrated on the amount of alms and gifts the Sanctuary received. He explicitly remarked on the Indigenous worshipers who arrived at the temple from far away distances and brought "endearing" gifts such as wheat, corn cobs, strings of cotton, silk, mats, baskets made out of leather and/or palm leaf, oils, and flowers. These items did not parallel common Catholic offerings seen in Europe. Ruiz y Cervantes also stated that between 1765 and 1785, the Sanctuary received 482 silver figurines and 2,000 wax figures.<sup>36</sup> Providing concrete numbers and demonstrating diversity among pilgrims let the reader comprehend the large advocacy that Juquila had during the switch from Amialtepec to Juquila.

Chapter six, "*Romería al Templo y Santuario de Xuquila, con su devotero desde la Ciudad de Oaxaca,*" (The pilgrimage at the temple and the Sanctuary of Juquila, with devout since the city of Oaxaca) provided details of the pilgrimage route, highlighting the

<sup>36</sup>Ruiz y Cervantes, *Memorias de la portentosa imagen de Nuestra Señora de Xuquila*, 51.



abundance of Indigenous groups arriving from the Southern coast of the towns.<sup>37</sup> Ruiz y Cervantes reiterated about the diversity of those who visited the sanctuary, mentioning the Black and *mulata* (a person of mixed white and Black ancestry in *casta* systems) women who arrived on horse to the town of Juquila. On December 8, the feast day of the Immaculate Conception, Ruiz y Cervantes affirmed that twenty-five thousand people visited the shrine annually.<sup>38</sup> Starting on page 67, a subsection called “*Derrotero de Oaxaca a Xuquila*” (Course from Oaxaca to Juquila) denoted specific directions on how to arrive to the Sanctuary of Juquila from Oaxaca City.

Chapter 7 is titled, “*Devota contienda de los interesados en el culto de nuestra ilustre Reyna sobre fabricarle Templo. Dificultades que retardaron comenzarlo ya vencidas. Quanto se interesa en la Obra nuestro Illustrisimo Mecenas*” (Devout dispute of the interests of the cult of our illustrious Queen over the fabrication of the temple. Difficulties that delayed the start that had already expired. How much has been interested in the work of our illustrious patron) The author included an illustrated map of the pilgrimage route in Oaxaca, emphasizing and identifying the hills mentioned in the previous chapter (Figure 7). The chapter explained the difficulties of building a Sanctuary in Juquila, as the entire town is on multiple hills. A second map of the pilgrimage route is shown that has noted and numbered the important towns that pilgrims passed along the way (Figure 8). At the end of the chapter, Ruiz y Cervantes included a document that communicated the conduciveness of the “illustrious Juquila,” another insinuation to the astonishing impact of the statue.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 59.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 62.

The final chapter 8, “*Nuevo Templo y su estado. Exhortacion á los Fieles para conlusion de la Obra*” (The New Temple and her state. Exhortation of the faithful for the conclusion of the work) concludes the miracle story by starting the chapter with the details of the interior of the newly built Sanctuary by architect Novas. A folded illustration of the side and façade of the Sanctuary is depicted. The outside of the remodeled church that is there today is reminiscent of the original structure (Figure 9). After the print, Ruiz y Cervantes summarized the timeline of the statue of Juquila and the impacts of her “sacred” status throughout the years. The *novena* then follows and concludes the book.

The miracle story written by Ruiz y Cervantes parallels the pattern that Taylor, de la Fuente, and Velasco Maíllo describe as a non-ecclesiastical person who encounters a miraculous apparition in a rural setting. Ruiz y Cervantes introduces Friar Jordán’s Chatino “companion” as a humble man living in Amialtepec who “willingly” offered to accompany Jordán throughout the coast. The shepherd’s cycle also aligns with the Marian Narrative Formula, the emphasis on the interaction between the Chatino man in Amialtepec and the statue, as well as the interactions with other Indigenous and Black people living in Oaxaca supports the impact of Juquila and the rising of her Marian cult during the eighteenth century. Oaxacan scholars, Moisés Soriano Mendoza and Mario Lugos López, identified Friar Jordán’s Chatino “companion” as Antonio Anastacio.<sup>39</sup> While the scholarship does not specify if Ruiz y Cervantes knew the identity of the Chatino man that Jordán interacted with, throughout Ruiz y Cervantes’s book, every person he mentioned by name was affiliated with the Catholic church or was of Spanish

<sup>39</sup> Soriano Mendoza and Lugos López, *Peregrinaje Chatino, Los Caminos de Juquila*, 57.

descent. It is possible that Ruiz y Cervantes intentionally left out the identity of Antonio Anastacio as a method to keep the Indigenous man anonymous so more people could relate to him.

### **RISE OF THE MARIAN CULT IN NEW SPAIN**

In 1517, Pope León X granted all of Spain the privilege of officially celebrating the Immaculate Conception after the Council of Florence (1431–1449) accepted the immaculate of Mary as free from original sin.<sup>40</sup> During the Spanish Inquisition, King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella exiled the Moorish and Jewish subjects from Spain, and granted Columbus his notorious voyage. Queen Isabella adopted the Immaculate Conception as the symbol of nationalistic unity of Spain which concurrently led to Mary becoming a symbol of conquest. In the XXV Session of the Council of Trent that occurred on December 3rd and 4th, 1563, Church officials addressed the, “invocation and veneration of relics of the saints and holy images,” and had institutions acknowledge the reasoning behind the use of cultic, didactic, and devotional, images which were included in the book called *Discourse Concerning Sacred and Profane Images* from 1594.<sup>41</sup> Church officials at the Council of Trent discussed the importance of recognizing holy images as a representation of faith, an edict spread to the furthest reaches of the empire. In both Spain and New Spain, however, many of these cult images were granted humanizing characteristics by devotees and members of the Church, especially during pilgrimages.

<sup>40</sup> Maria Evangelina Muñoz Santos, *La Inmaculada Concepción En Alcalá de Henares: Historia, Fiestas y Arte, Siglos XVI, XVII, XVIII*, (Guadalajara : Aache Ediciones, 2012): 33.

<sup>41</sup> Martha Reta, “Living Expressions of Faith and Artful Connection to Divinity,” 195.

The Statuette of the Virgin of Juquila in Oaxaca embodies the idea of holy Mary of the Immaculate Conception.<sup>42</sup> The Immaculate Conception eventually was utilized to represent numerous characters such as a queen, virgin, bride, the new Eve, mother, and intercessor; whereas the Virgin of Juquila's role as a fertile mother and intercessor, became a crucial part of her symbolic incarnation as a unifier of Spanish and Chatinos in Oaxaca. <sup>43</sup> Mary became "the most familiar representation of the mother of god in America, often invoked as the indispensable intercessor to her son at the last judgment and the representation of many famous shrines known by their local place names in New Spain."<sup>44</sup> Taylor deliberates the importance of Marian advocations in New Spain as another dimension of the complex interplay of image and presence that are centered on a shrine and/or defined by it. <sup>45</sup> In the case of the Sanctuary of Juquila, the statue represents both.

In particular, the devotion of the Immaculate Conception coincides perfectly with the story of colonization. "The church fostered Marian devotion because of obedience to the plan of God... His covenant has a Marian modality since the figure of the Mother of God is fundamental in the story of Salvation."<sup>46</sup> In Catholic dogma, Mary obediently follows the plan that God has created for her, and becomes the Queen of Heaven. Spanish who arrived to the Americas used the same salvation story of Mary when they attempted to evangelize Indigenous groups. Curator, Martha Reta argues that the veneration of Mary in the Americas also became a form of surrender.<sup>47</sup> In the mind of conquistadors

<sup>42</sup> Taylor, *Theater of a Thousand Wonders*, 247.

<sup>43</sup> William B. Taylor, "The Virgin of Guadalupe in New Spain: An Inquiry into the Social History of Marian Devotion." *American Ethnologist* 14, no. 1 (1987): 11.

<sup>44</sup> Taylor, *Theater of a Thousand Wonders*, 247.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 248.

<sup>46</sup> Reta, "Living Expressions of Faith and Artful Connection to Divinity," 198-199.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 199.

and missionaries, surrendering to Mary equated to surrendering to the Crown and the Catholic Church. Furthermore, Mary epitomized much more than the Mother of God, she also epitomized colonization.

During the European crusades that occurred between the eleventh–seventeenth centuries, the image of the Immaculate Conception symbolized fortitude in their campaigns.<sup>48</sup> Spain in particular, advocated for the immaculate movement of Mary, especially by the Franciscans and the Mercedarians. Spain sought to personify the symbol of the Immaculate Conception to fight against Islam in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>49</sup> The emblematic placement of the Virgin Mary on top of a crescent moon represented “both her triumph over the sublunary world of sin, and also her power over the enemies of her son, the Muslim people of the crescent moon.”<sup>50</sup> Since the medieval period, the Spanish have weaponized the image of the Immaculate Conception, using her image as a reason and a right to colonize and eradicate non-Catholic populations.

In 1519, Hernán Cortés replicated the same actions in the Americas as the ones used by the crusaders in Europe. On the banner carried by Cortés as a “spiritual armament,” the image of the Immaculate Conception swayed on one side while the shield of Castilla and León was placed on the back side (Figure 10).<sup>51</sup> The red Damascus silk material on the banner replicated the material used on images of the Madonna created in Italy.<sup>52</sup> On the banner, Mary sits in a three-quarter pose, the portrait only exhibiting the

<sup>48</sup> William J. Nowak, “Virgin Rhetoric: Fray Luis De León and Marian Piety in *Virgen, Que El Sol Más Pura*,” *Hispanic Review* 73, no. 4 (2005): 502.

<sup>49</sup> Suzanne L. Stratton-Pruitt, *The Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994): 5-8.

<sup>50</sup> Nowak, “Virgin Rhetoric: Fray Luis De León and Marian Piety in *Virgen, Que El Sol Más Pura*,” 502.

<sup>51</sup> Peterson, *Visualizing Guadalupe*, 109.

<sup>52</sup> Martínez, “The Banner of the Spanish Monarchy. The Political Use of the Immaculate Conception,” 126-127.

upper half of her body. Mary wears a blue cloak over her shoulders with a red dress underneath the cloak. Her hands are in a praying position and her exposed hair drapes down her shoulders. An eloquent gold crown, nimbus, and twelve stars adorn her head, delineated her as the Immaculate Conception. The performance of processing the banner through the Americas was a symbol of “ownership of uncharted lands” that the Catholic Church and the Crown completely supported. Cortés justified his deadly campaign in the Americas by stating that it benefitted natives, “so that they would come to knowledge concerning our holy Catholic faith and so that they would be vassals to our Majesties.”<sup>53</sup> The banner embodied colonization. Cortés had the banner restructured to recount the conquest of Tenochtitlan as a grand military enterprise that easily compared to the campaigns that occurred in Europe.<sup>54</sup>

The image of Mary in the Americas also signified the death of thousands of Indigenous people who encountered her image. The Spanish Crown and the Catholic Church agreed to use the image of Mary as a tool and model for conversion, regardless of the massacres that ensued in order to place the Catholic church above non-Catholic entities. The image of the Virgin of Juquila symbolized the violent transformation of the Coast of Oaxaca, her serene image hiding the deaths that happened because of her arrival to Oaxaca in the sixteenth century. Nonetheless, her image continued to flourish in the Americas.

Marian devotions, such as the Virgin of Juquila, classify into the category of Catholic image-centered devotional practices utilized in New Spain as a tool for evangelization. The Virgin of Juquila became the beholder of devotion and power that

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 128.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 126.

was activated through each individual who embarked on the pilgrimage journey to the Sanctuary. The pilgrimage journey reinforces communal identity through the power of divinity—an aspect that is not controlled by the institution itself but by the *peregrinos*.<sup>55</sup> Outside of institutional control, the *peregrino* engages in a multisensory journey that is not always a sanctified practice. According to anthropologist Arthur A. Joyce, Chatino religion was based on the belief of a vital force that animated all “living” things. Animate objects included natural resources: such as rain, mountains, light, wind and plants. Perhaps the rich natural environment at the original shrine at Amialtepec may have been the indicator of the initial popularity among Indigenous people in the seventeenth century. The pilgrimage site today reflects the culture of Oaxaca, an area that continues to have a strong Indigenous presence despite the arrival of the Dominican missionaries in the sixteenth century.

The rise of the Marian cult in the Americas did concern some of the clergy members, such as Spanish Friar, Toribio de Benevente. Commonly known as Motolinía, he was one of the twelve Apostles of Mexico who arrived in 1524 to New Spain. Friar Motolinía expressed his concerns about the extensive spread of Marian images to Indigenous groups without much explanation of who Mary represented. Friar Motolinía claimed that the first generation after the conquest would call every Christian image “Maria,” including God.<sup>56</sup> This concern sprouted from the “recycling” of images of Indigenous deities with the image of the Virgin Mary. The replacement of deities, especially those deities with motherly, protective attributes, did not erase the memories and the rituals conducted toward those deities.

<sup>55</sup> Crumrine and Morinis, *Pilgrimage in Latin America*, 16.

<sup>56</sup> Peterson, *Visualizing Guadalupe*, 16.

## CHAPTER CONCLUSIONS

Since the medieval period in Europe, the Catholic Church has implemented the Marian Narrative Formula as a tool for conversion and colonialism around the world. Mary's versatile characteristics as mother, queen, and intercessor easily adapted to Indigenous mother deities who worked as mothers, intercessors and the embodiment of fertility. The repetitive physical attributes of the image of Mary also became a tool of "colonizing sight," a term used by Peterson that will be discussed in the following chapter. Mary was one of the first images seen by Indigenous groups as the Spanish arrived. Paintings and sculptures spread throughout the Americas, as missionaries learned about mother deities who they would immediately replace with the Virgin Mary. Miraculous stories of Mary interacting with Indigenous people established a new cultus of Mary as the one who chose to embrace those living in the Americas as her own. Missionaries wasted no time in placing catholic structures on top of sacred lands and destroying any image that did not represent Catholic belief.

The Dominican missionaries carefully thought out the emergence of the Virgin of Juquila in the coastal region of Oaxaca. Fray Jordán carried the statue of the Virgin from Spain to deliberately place her in a location that he knew would require a physical embodiment of God that evoked Catholic dogma through her visual prominence as the caretaker of Chatinos. The 1786 miracle story written by Joseph Manuel Ruiz y Cervantes exemplified the significance of the Virgin of Juquila as the symbol of Oaxaca and for the Catholic Church, became a symbol of Spanish invasion and evangelization. The story highlighted the immediate impact of the statue and the series of miracles that occurred on the hill of Amialtepec. The narrative placed the Virgin of Oaxaca on the long



list of famous Catholic shrines that represented the Immaculate Conception and that had a pilgrimage attached to it.

## CHAPTER 2: COLONIZING SIGHT THROUGH SACRED SPACE, COSTUMING, AND VISUAL CULTURE

The importance of dress, as not only the regalia/costume adorning statues of saints and Mary, but also the dressing of the interiors of ecclesiastical institutions helps create a sensory response that works to retain faith and supports and maintains the Marian Narrative Formula. The images and sculptures of the Virgin of Juquila, the Virgin of San Juan de los Lagos, and the Virgin of Guadalupe prove how the Church uses the icon of the Immaculate Conception as a tool of indoctrination. The three Virgins all have a strong following in Mexico and have similar miracle stories that place Indigenous people as the main protagonist. By the end of the colonial period, the towns of Juquila, Mexico City, and San Juan de los Lagos all had institutionalized shrines and pilgrimages established in their towns. What often gets overlooked in the scholarship surrounding this topic is the transformation of land and its use when the Spanish arrived, especially for Indigenous sacred places. The miracle stories articulated by the Catholic Church attempted to erase the indigenous histories of these sacred places that had been venerated for centuries prior to the Spanish arriving. The creation of miracle stories was only a small component of a greater process of evangelization, the Catholic Church also manipulated visual culture in order to transform Indigenous sacred spaces into mostly Catholic spaces, usually completed through “colonizing sight.”<sup>57</sup>

Peterson introduced the concept of “colonizing sight” as the foundation of her book, *Visualizing Guadalupe*, demonstrates the prominence of the prolific image of the Virgin of Guadalupe in the Americas. Oral and pictorial communications became the

<sup>57</sup> Peterson, *Visualizing Guadalupe*, 8.

preferred method of interaction between different cultures in the Americas. Iberian invaders sought to eradicate elements of Indigenous belief systems, including the sensory experience of worship and veneration; however, mendicant orders recognized the central role of performance, song, music, and dance to Indigenous groups and they attempted to harness those practices to facilitate the acceptance of the new faith among Nahuas and to honor Catholic saints and feast days. The Catholic Church repeatedly colonized the entire sensorium of ritual to attempt to overlay an already existing religious experience. Going beyond colonizing sight, the statue of the Virgin of Juquila colonized the entire sensorium through the statue itself, the replicas of the statue, the practices of procession, singing, incense, and the physical interaction with the replicas of the statue and the offerings left on her mantle. The use of incense, the construction of altars, and the integration of Indigenous figures into Catholic miracle stories all functioned as tools to evangelize Indigenous people. The mendicant orders who arrived in the Americas brought medieval systems of vision, which prioritized physical sacred objects as the fundamental method of communication, as proven effective in medieval Europe during the crusades. As Peterson stated, “Catholicism continued to rank vision as the primary organ for understanding God’s universe, above the ear in the hierarchy of the senses.”<sup>58</sup> Friars and conquistadors heavily relied on the visual signs of Catholic images to profess their religiosity and convince others of their truth.

#### **METHODS OF EVANGELIZATION IN NEW SPAIN**

The Dominican friar and second Archbishop of Mexico City (1551–1572), Alonso de Montúfar y Bravo de Lagunas, advocated heavily for Marian devotions in New Spain,

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 8.

especially for the veneration of the Virgin of Guadalupe at the hill of Tepeyac. Montúfar promised King Charles V that he would create a Provincial Council in New Spain as a tactic to amalgamate the evangelization process as well to establish ecclesiastical provinces. The first Mexican Provincial Council occurred in 1555, wherein it was noted how non-Catholic practices continued to occur regardless of the efforts made by the missionaries to eradicate “pagan” symbols.<sup>59</sup> The clergy decided to blend Indigenous deities and Catholic saints, one of the first being the image of the Immaculate Conception as the Virgin of Guadalupe and the Nahuatl mother goddess, *Tonantzin*. The embodiment of a motherly figure conceptionally worked in both a Catholic and a non-Catholic framework.

After the Council of Trent (1545–1563), the Catholic Church demanded that New Spain incorporate the edicts proposed at the council however, the bishops at the Third Mexican Provincial Council did not apply the Tridentine legislation to New Spain until 1585.<sup>60</sup> The third Archbishop and Viceroy of New Spain, Pedro Moya de Contreras, hosted the council to discuss the interactions between Indigenous populations and Church officials in New Spain. The mendicant orders who attempted to evangelize native populations after 1585, had more aggressive and less lenient campaigns than the first wave of mendicant orders. The clergy in Oaxaca ensured to confiscate any Indigenous religious texts and would publicly whip anyone who performed or worshiped non-Catholic beliefs.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 40.

<sup>60</sup> Kristin Norget, "Hard Habits to Baroque: Catholic Church and Popular-Indigenous Religious Dialogue in Oaxaca, Mexico," *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos* 33, no. 1 (2008): 139-140.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 140.

The passing of the *Ordenanza del Patronazgo* in 1574 by the Third Provincial Council, created an Indigenous autonomy in Oaxaca.<sup>62</sup> The Spanish Crown, now led by King Phillip II, withdrew control of the Catholic parochial duties in New Spain. The Crown also retracted power from the individual friars. This vacating of authority and enforcement resulted in the preservation of Indigenous traditions throughout the seventeenth century, especially in rural towns like Juquila.<sup>63</sup> With the edicts from the Council of Trent, the Crown elected the bishops of New Spain, monitoring the mendicant orders through the bishops.<sup>64</sup> The bishops had to approve the construction of churches, shrines, and the use of sacred images proposed by the friars. Conversely, in Oaxaca, the constant disagreements among the Church clergy in regards to keeping Christian texts in Indigenous languages, led to an inconsistent teaching of Catholic dogma. Towns such as Juquila, had a heavy Indigenous presence prior to the arrival of the Spanish hence the prevalence of Indigenous traditions incorporated into Catholic traditions. As historian Yanna Yannakakis stated, by 1700, only ten percent of coastal Oaxaca had Spanish priests: most teachers of the Christian doctrine were Indigenous, and many of these people secretly conducted rituals at night, thus preserving the 1500-year-old traditional songs veiled in Catholic rituals.<sup>65</sup>

The Tridentine decree also asserted the use of devotional images as a method of conversion. The decree stated that sacred images should be handled by bishops to communicate Christian dogma, however bishops had to highlight and emphasize that the

<sup>62</sup> John Frederick Schwaller, "The Ordenanza Del Patronazgo in New Spain, 1574-1600," *The Americas* 42, no. 3 (1986): 253.

<sup>63</sup> Norget, "Hard Habits to Baroque: Catholic Church and Popular-Indigenous Religious Dialogue in Oaxaca, 145.

<sup>64</sup> Stafford Poole, "Opposition to the Third Mexican Council," *The Americas* 25, no. 2 (1968): 254.

<sup>65</sup> Yanna Yannakakis, *The Art of Being In-between: Native Intermediaries, Indian Identity, and Local Rule in Colonial Oaxaca*, (Duke University Press, 2008): 3.

images did not physically embody God.<sup>66</sup> The tools of evangelization used in Oaxaca were by no means new concepts, in fact these tools were refined during the Spanish Inquisition. As historian Stafford Poole articulated, “from the earliest day of Christianity words were borrowed, appropriated, and endowed with new meanings.”<sup>67</sup> The mendicant orders simply adjusted their tools as they encountered different ethnic groups. In New Spain, most didactic interactions with sacred images happened during sermons or catechetical instruction for Indigenous populations, usually occurring in open-air atriums in the newly constructed churches or outside if a church had not been constructed yet. The Church believed that the sacred images provided the answer that could not be answered through reading or listening, especially with the limitations in language barriers. These actions all fall under the concept of “colonizing sight” as the mendicant orders build churches with open-air atriums, use devotional images, and have Indigenous leaders teach the Catholic doctrine.

Spanish-invaded communities in New Spain generated a collective identity around Catholic devotions, especially in relation to the Virgin Mary. It has been noted that the popularity of *bultos*, or carved wooden religious figures, which have appeared in remote areas, tend to have higher cult followings. In the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, as illustrated by William Taylor, 23 other shrines in New Spain gained regional following through promotional religious programming.<sup>68</sup> In 1675, the Novohispanic creole, Luis Becerra Tanco wrote a book about the Sanctuary of the Virgin of Guadalupe called, *Felicidad de*

<sup>66</sup> Martha Reta, “Living Expressions of Faith and Artful Connection to Divinity: Devotional Images of New Spain,” in *Un Privilegio Sagrado: La Concepción De María Inmaculada: Celebración Del Dogma En México*, (Mexico City: Museo de la Basílica de Guadalupe, 2005): 196-195.

<sup>67</sup> Stafford Poole, "Some Observations on Mission Methods and Native Reactions in Sixteenth-Century New Spain," *The Americas* 50, no. 3 (1994): 339.

<sup>68</sup> William Taylor, *Theater of a Thousand Wonders*, 98.

*México en el principio y milagroso origen que tuvo el santuario de la Virgen María de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe*, and deliberated the concept of the conservation of memory in Indigenous societies. Becerra Tanco stated that, “by means of their songs, traditions and narratives 1500 years old were passed down from century to century: in these they referred to their wars, victories and disgraces, famines, plagues, births or deaths of the kings and illustrious nobles, the beginning and end of their rule, and memorable events which were slowly disappearing.”<sup>69</sup> Those traditions were orally passed through generations regardless of the tools the friars used to eradicate Indigenous belief systems.

After arriving in Oaxaca, Franciscans held sacrament of penances, or confession, with Indigenous populations that they encountered as they attempted to expand west. In 1733, Fray A. de Quintana, who primarily worked with Mixes, (from the Northeastern region of the modern state of Oaxaca) wrote a series of Mixe/Spanish translations of questions that friars and priests could ask when giving confession to Mixes. The following questions were asked:

Confessionary: *¿Has idoltrado?* (Have you idolatrized?)

Confessionary: *¿Has venerado, has revernciado como a Dios algún Ídolo, o piedra o algún árbol, o palo?* (Have you venerated, have you revered God like an idol, or a rock or a tree or a stick?)

Confessionary: *¿Has creídola idolatria o sacrificios, que hicieron los Antiguos antiguamente?* (Have you believed the idolatry or the sacrifices that were made by the Ancestors in the past?)

Confessionary: *¿Has encendido candelas, has quemado copal, has rajado ocote en tu milpa, o en el camino, o en el Serro, como los Antiguos hicieron en la Antigüedad?* (Have you lit candles, burnt copal, have sliced pine tree in your field, or on the road, or on the hill, like the Ancestors did in Antiquity?)

<sup>69</sup> Becerra Tanco, *Felicidad de México en el principio y milagroso origen que tubo el santuario de la Virgen Maria Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe*, (1675) 1979 Facsimile.

Confessionary: *¿Has hecho encender velas, has hecho quemar copal a alguna persona en cualquier parte?* (Have you lit candles, have you made copal burn for another person in whatever part?)<sup>70</sup>

These questions reveal that friars sought to determine who continued to venerate Indigenous deities, sacred lands, and/or practiced/led/attended shamanic rituals. Similar questions were asked to Zapotecs in the latter half of the eighteenth century, proving that the Spanish continued to use the same tactics used when they first arrived to the Americas.<sup>71</sup>

### **MARIAN REGALIA**

In the Americas, especially in New Spain, the images of Mary continued to reproduce the regal insignia worn by the images of Mary in Europe: extravagant blue and white robes with golden emblems made out of the finest fabrics known.

“The opulent labor intensive and expensive fabric elevated the mundane to the reverential. In Judeo-Christian liturgy cloth was used to embellish holy figures in a manner appropriate to their status as royalty of the celestial court...The Virgin Mary was adorned in regal layers of embroidered damask and her throne was draped with an honor cloth befitting her role as queen of heaven.”<sup>72</sup>

Particularly with the image of the Immaculate Conception, Mary’s adornments not only reflect the power that the Catholic Church holds, it also represents her role as queen of heaven and the queen of Spain and the Americas. The dress maintains the faith through sacred, reverential garments and through the adaptation of sacred traditions at the place of worship.

<sup>70</sup> Fray A. de Quintana, *Confesionario en lengua mixe*, viuda de Ortega, Puebla, 1733, in Marcello Carmagnani, *El Regreso de los dioses: El proceso de la reconstitución de la identidad étnica en Oaxaca Siglos XVII y XVIII*, (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1988): 31. The text has been translated in Spanish by Carmagnani, I have translated the text into English.

<sup>71</sup> Marcello Carmagnani, *El Regreso de los dioses: El proceso de la reconstitución de la identidad étnica en Oaxaca Siglos XVII y XVIII*, (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1988): 31.

<sup>72</sup> Peterson, *Visualizing Guadalupe: From Black Madonna to Queen of the Americas*, 161.



Peterson categorizes the Virgin Mary sculptures that wear aristocratic, triangular, bell-shaped dresses as “Triangular Virgins,” as seen on the Virgin of Juquila and the Virgin of San Juan de los Lagos.<sup>73</sup> The dress begins at the collar and gets wider towards the bottom, going beyond the end of her feet, giving no indication to the height of the statue. The bell shape of the dress covers the entire body of the Virgin, only revealing the face, with the exception of some who do have their hands exposed. The oversized dress placed on Mary avoids any allusion to Mary’s anatomical features. The incorporation of multiple foreign styles taught in Spain, including those from the Flemish School, developed a Virgin Mary that was more monumental than the Church itself. The use of the draped clothing and the sunburst mandorlas alluded to Mary, “making her journey from the corporeal to the otherworldly.”<sup>74</sup> Not all images of Mary go to such extreme measures to hide her body, such as the Madonna of Parturition, who depicts Mary pregnant with the Christ Child, or Madonna *Lactans* that depicts Mary nursing the Christ child. It is important to note that these types of Madonnas were seen less frequently in New Spain than the “triangular Virgins.” In the case of the Virgin of Juquila, the statue never displays her hands, only her small face and long black, straight hair. Most depictions of the Immaculate Conception wear white dress and a blue cloak with gold and silver embroidery. Overall, the images of the Immaculate Conception, including the one of Juquila, share similar attributes and methods of display.

The “Triangular Virgins,” fall into the category of devotional objects, that often moved around for evangelization purposes. According to Peterson, most of these images of the Virgin are carved out of wood or are painted on canvas. These types of devotional

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 56.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., 123.

images are often smaller in size, to limit the damage that can occur during transportation. The triangular shape of the dress also emulates the literal and metaphysical concept of mountain/stone/Virgin Mary.<sup>75</sup> The connection of Mary to the shape of mountains helped create a connection to those who believed in mountains and hills as sacred places, in the case of the Virgin of Juquila, the hill of Amialtepec became a multifaceted worship site. The hill of Tepeyac for the Virgin of Guadalupe in Mexico City, is another example of the mountain, stone, and the Virgin Mary becoming one metaphysical concept. Chapter Three provides a case study of the Virgin of Juquila and her connection to the hill of Amialtepec, the first location of the shrine.<sup>76</sup>

The Immaculate Conception took on a new role as the patron of the Spanish and was used as the justification for the invasion of the Americas. After the establishment of various ecclesiastical institutions, such as convents, confraternities, and missionaries, the cult of the Immaculate Conception exploded as the primary tool of evangelization.<sup>77</sup> Missionaries carried small, portable statues that could be easily transported as they walked around the numerous towns.<sup>78</sup> The Virgin of Juquila's small stature is what allowed friar Jordán to carry the statuette from Spain all the way to Oaxaca without it sustaining much damage. Aside from building churches, missionaries did not prioritize

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 67.

<sup>76</sup> Another example of the Virgin Mary connecting to the mountain and stone is the Andean deity Pachamama. The fertility goddess from Peru represents the physical mountain, fertility, and harvesting. When the Spanish arrived in Peru, they equated Pachamama as the Virgin Mary, an attempt to overlay Catholic belief over Indigenous belief systems that were being practiced at the time. See Carol Damian, "The Virgin of the Andes: Queen, Moon and Earth Mother," in *Southeastern College Art Conference Review* 14, no. 4 (December 2004).

<sup>77</sup> Reta, "Living Expressions of Faith and Artful Connection to Divinity," 199.

<sup>78</sup> Peterson, *Visualizing Guadalupe*, 132.

<sup>78</sup> Michael D. Murphy and J. Carlos Gonzalez Faraco, "Identifying the Virgin Mary: Disarming Skepticism in European Vision Narratives," *Anthropos* 106, no. 2 (2011): 518.

monumentality during their initial attempts of evangelization in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Mary ‘as the Immaculate Conception’ does not allude to her humbleness or the Virgin Birth of Jesus, but rather to Mary’s status as being free from original sin and her eternal place in heaven. The physical placement of devotional images becomes a crucial aspect to the impact she makes as a tool of conversion. The didactic images were always placed in a location that evoked public veneration. In order to be successful, the location has to invite the public to the space through the illusion of marvels and miracles. The image is surrounded by captivating accompaniments such as, candles, vases, jewelry, flowers, and other offerings that signify the evidence of worship of those who walked the pilgrimage to see the image in person.<sup>79</sup> In Amialtepec, the Virgin of Juquila had a shrine built by the Chatino man. Today, a replica of what the shrine might have looked like is placed next to a single-nave chapel (Figure 11). A replica of the Virgin of Juquila in an enclosed vitrine frames the center of the altar. Similar to the altar at the Sanctuary in Juquila, at Amialtepec the statue is placed high above the viewer in a niche surrounded by large bouquets of flowers. Visitors leave *milagritos*, money, and flowers at the chapel before they walk down the hill to venerate the spring where the Virgin of Juquila also appeared (Figure 12).

### **THE VIRGIN OF SAN JUAN DE LOS LAGOS**

Similar to the virgin of Juquila, the statue of the Virgin of San Juan de los Lagos (Our Lady of Saint John of the Lakes) is also small in size, almost 15 inches tall (Figure 13). The statue is located inside of the basilica of San Juan de los Lagos (completed in 1779)

<sup>79</sup> Reta, “Living Expressions of Faith and Artful Connection to Divinity,” 196.

in the town of San Juan de los Lagos in the modern state of Jalisco, Mexico. The Franciscan missionaries began inhabiting the town of San Juan de Los Lagos, then known as Mezquittitlán or Mezquitic, in the modern state of Jalisco, around 1530, soon after the order had arrived to New Spain.<sup>80</sup> The statue of the Immaculate Conception was transported to San Juan de los Lagos in the early 1530s by the Spanish priest named Miguel de Bologna, and fray Antonio de Segovia. Prior to arriving to San Juan de los Lagos, the statue of the Immaculate Conception was located in the town of Pátzcuaro, in the modern state of Michoacán.<sup>81</sup> In Pátzcuaro, the image was placed inside of a hospital chapel, without much of a large following. The statue was sculpted by an Indigenous artist out of *pasta de caña de maiz*, corn stalk paste, a material used by Indigenous people specifically for crafting representations of deities. <sup>82</sup> In San Juan de los Lagos, the statue was first placed in a small hermitage in 1543 and then later was moved to the chapel built in 1638. The current basilica of the Virgin of San Juan de los Lagos was built between 1732–1779.<sup>83</sup>

The miracle story of the Virgin of San Juan de los Lagos also follows the Marian Narrative Formula, the image miraculously appeared to non-ecclesiastical people, in this case, Indigenous people and mestizos. These miracles caused an increase of pilgrimages to visit the Virgin. One of the first miracles reportedly performed by the Virgin of San Juan de Los Lagos occurred in 1623, when a family of acrobats were traveling on the “Royal Highway” to Guadalajara from San Luis Potosí. During their performance in the town of San Juan de los Lagos, the youngest daughter fell during her stunt onto the

<sup>80</sup> Bohórquez Molina, *Coatlique Sanjuanita. La peregrinación a San Juan de los Lagos*, 38.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 27-29.

knives placed as part of the performance and perished instantly. The family prepared the daughter's body and transported her to the small chapel of the Virgin of San Juan de los Lagos. Ana Lucia, the Indigenous caretaker of the church, received the grieving family and took the body inside the sacristy to plead to the Virgin, asking for a miracle. Ana Lucia brought the statue of the Virgin down from sacristy and placed it near the deceased daughter. The parents unwrapped the body of the daughter to find that she was alive and well.<sup>84</sup> From 1623 on, pilgrims from all over New Spain came to venerate the statue of the Virgin. The bishop at the time, verified the incident and reported it as a legitimate miracle.<sup>85</sup> In the year 1666, the church of San Juan de los Lagos counted two-thousand pilgrims and towards the end of the eighteenth century, the church accounted for five-thousand pilgrims.<sup>86</sup>

The feast day of the Virgin of Juan de los Lagos falls annually on February 2, the day that the Virgin Mary was purified after giving birth.<sup>87</sup> Devotees all around Mexico embark on their pilgrimage to the Basilica of the Virgin, in a similar fashion to the pilgrimage in Juquila and the one in Mexico City. The increase in registered miracles during the seventeenth century encouraged the numbers of worshippers and helped shift the regional sacred site to a national sacred site. By the mid twentieth century, the shrine was the second most popular shrine in Mexico, after Guadalupe.<sup>88</sup>

Out of all the mendicant orders, the Franciscans were the primary advocates for the use of the image of the Immaculate Conception to evangelize New Spain. For the

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., 26.

<sup>85</sup> Mary Lee Nolan, "The Mexican Pilgrimage Tradition," *Pioneer America* 5, no. 2 (1973): 19.

<sup>86</sup> Bohórquez Molina, *Coatlíque Sanjuanita. La peregrinación a San Juan de los Lagos*, 29.

<sup>87</sup> David P. Sandell, "Mexican Pilgrimage, Migration, and Discovery of the Sacred," *The Journal of American Folklore* 126, no. 502 (2013): 361.

<sup>88</sup> Nolan, "The Mexican Pilgrimage Tradition," 19.

Franciscans, the Immaculate Conception symbolized charity and redemption, two of the numerous virtues that they attempted to teach Indigenous groups.<sup>89</sup> The small size of the statue of the Virgin of San Juan de los Lagos aligns with Peterson's categorization of "triangular virgins" that Franciscans easily transported from town to town. The small stature of the Virgin of Juquila increased the didactic connection with Indigenous people in New Spain. The mendicant orders enhanced the visual experience through manipulation of visual culture that altered Indigenous sacred spaces into Catholic sites.

### **THE *TILMA* IMAGE OF THE VIRGIN OF GUADALUPE**

The painted image of the Virgin of Guadalupe has overtaken the Americas as the emblematic, cultural representation of *mestizaje* dating back to the time of the Spanish invasion in the sixteenth century. Unlike the statue Virgin of Juquila and the statue Virgin of San Juan de los Lagos, the painting of the Virgin of Guadalupe is a two-dimensional painted image on a *tilma*, a garment worn by Nahuas in Central Mexico, that has been mounted and framed. The difference in medium, placed the *tilma* image of the Virgin of Guadalupe into an art historical context with other Spanish colonial artworks. In 1751, the Sanctuary of Guadalupe invited art experts to conduct an analysis to verify the miraculous nature of the *tilma*, Novohispanic painter, Miguel Cabrera, José de Ibarra, and other Mexico City painters were invited. In 1756, Cabrera published *Maravilla Americana y conjunto de raras maravillas observadas con la de Guadalupe de México*, that included the testimony of the analysis of the painting.<sup>90</sup> Cabrera compared the one-point perspective of the Virgin to other artists such as Albrecht Dürer, Apelles, and

<sup>89</sup> William B. Taylor, "The Virgin of Guadalupe in New Spain: An Inquiry into the Social History of Marian Devotion," *American Ethnologist* 14, no. 1 (1987): 11.

<sup>90</sup> Ray Hernández-Durán, *The Academy of San Carlos and Mexican Art History: Politics, History, and Art in the Nineteenth-Century Mexico*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2017): 117.

Spanish painter such as Baltasar de Echave, Juan Correa, among others. The testimony concluded that the *tilma* image was in fact an acheiropoietic image, even though Cabrera distinguished the disparity in the length of Guadalupe's legs, as well as the types of colonial pigments found on the canvas. This first in-depth analysis of the *tilma* image that occurred in the colonial period, placed the *tilma* into an art historical context as well as a devotional acheiropoietic image.

The miracle story states that the titular *tilma* image miraculously appeared on the *tilma* of Juan Diego, an Indigenous man that lived near the hill of Tepeyac. The hill transformed into one of the most iconic sacred Catholic shrines in the Americas, and the most visited Catholic pilgrimage site in the world. The Virgin of Guadalupe successfully intruded the lives of Indigenous, *mestizos* and the Spanish in New Spain, and her legacy continues to thrive as *La Morenita*, the little brown one, the same nickname given to the Virgin of Juquila.

The official miracle story of the Virgin of Guadalupe begins in December of 1531, when she appeared to Juan Diego, who had recently been Christianized. The Virgin of Guadalupe asked Juan Diego in Nahuatl if a church could be made in her honor at the hill of Tepeyac. After the first interaction, Juan Diego asked the first Archbishop of Mexico City, Juan de Zumárraga about the Virgin's desire of wanting a church in her honor. Unconvinced, Zumárraga ignored Juan Diego's pleas. Diego then returned to the hill and told the Virgin that Zumárraga did not believe him. Mary asked Diego to try again. After his second failed attempt, he asked Mary if she could provide proof of these interactions so Zumárraga could believe him. The day Diego planned to go, his uncle Juan Bernardino grew ill and Diego went to find a priest to give the last confession

instead of going to find Zumárraga as the Virgin Mary had asked him to. During his walk, the Virgin appeared to Juan Diego and asked him why he did not obey her requests. The Virgin assured Diego that his uncle had fully recovered and that he needed to pick roses from the Tepeyac hill to take to Zumárraga. Diego arrived to the church and showed Zumárraga the *tilma* filled with roses and the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe, the image we see today in the basilica.<sup>91</sup> Even though the *tilma* image claims a miraculous appearance on the *tilma* of Juan Diego, Peterson revealed the artist of the *tilma* image as Marcos Cipa de Aquino, a Nahuatl artist who worked with Franciscan workshops in the sixteenth century. Nonetheless, this revelation did not negate or discourage veneration and worship in Mexico. The artist workshops in Mexico City preserved small European prints of Mary, including woodcuts, illustrated books, painted panels, and textiles that Indigenous artists referenced when producing Catholic imagery.<sup>92</sup>

The painted *tilma* image is placed on the altar inside of the new Basilica of the Virgin of Guadalupe, in Mexico City consecrated in 1976. As the Immaculate Conception, the attire worn by Guadalupe slightly differs from the usual blue, gold, and white attire as seen on the Virgin of Juquila and the Virgin of San Juan de los Lagos (Figure 14). Guadalupe stands on top of a dark crescent moon and a small angel holds her cloak and dress. The ovular, golden mandorla with dozens of rays frames her entire figure. The artist intentionally painted Guadalupe with ashen olive skin, oval face, and dark brown hair to assimilate to the common hair color and skin tone of Nahuatl.<sup>93</sup> Mary serenely looks down with her hands in prayer, her brown skin peeking through her cloak.

<sup>91</sup> Peterson, "The Virgin of Guadalupe: Symbol of Conquest or Liberation?" 39.

<sup>92</sup> Peterson, *Visualizing Guadalupe: From Black Madonna to Queen of the Americas*, 102.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 105.



She wears a long pink gown with golden embroidery, above the gown, an aquamarine cloak with a golden outline and gold stars drape her entire body. As with the Virgin of Juquila and the Virgin of San Juan de los Lagos, the cloak and gown draped on Guadalupe hide any anatomical features that may accentuate her as a woman.

The angel holding the cloak of Guadalupe had teal, white, and red colored wings, a color scheme that changed to red, white, and green for the Mexican flag colors: a slight change to fit the national identity that Mexico struggled to exemplify.<sup>94</sup> The colors of the wings and the color of the Virgin's skin became tools of nationalism, especially after Independence in 1821. According to Edward Wright-Rios, the Virgin of Guadalupe emblemized "a state-led attempt to generalize a monolithic secular nationalism pitted against church-sponsored, equally monolithic, counter-nationalism."<sup>95</sup> As a devotional figure, the Virgin of Guadalupe represented the unifying touchstone of Catholic resistance and the rise of the nationalist identity.

The Virgin of Juquila and the Virgin of Guadalupe share one important similarity in this comparison: brown skin. The numerous miracle stories written about the Virgin of Guadalupe during the colonial period emphasized the brown skin tone as a method for connecting to Indigenous and *mestizo* readers. Around 1648, the Catholic Church in Mexico City pushed to legitimize the apparition of the Virgin of Guadalupe and published an official miracle story written by Miguel Sánchez. The story emphasized the Indigenous qualities that the Virgin had, such as her dark skin, her appearance to Juan

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., 105.

<sup>95</sup> Edward Wright-Rios, "Our Lady of Juquila: Nation, Region, and Marian Devotions," in *Marian Devotions, Political Mobilization, and Nationalism in Europe and America*, edited by Roberto Di Stefano and Francisco Javier Ramón Solans. (Cham: Springer International Publishing: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016): 257.

Diego and her speaking to Juan Diego in Nahuatl.<sup>96</sup> Similar to the Ruiz y Cervantes story about Juquila, both stories discuss the importance of the Virgin connecting with Indigenous populations in the area where they appeared.

One of the numerous miracle stories written during the colonial period, was written in a Nahua style. To further push the miracle story of Guadalupe, three annals-style native histories created in 1555–1556, illustrated the appearance of the Virgin written Nahuatl. In folio 9r, one sentence stated that Santa Maria Guadalupe appeared in 1555 in Tepeyac.<sup>97</sup> Peterson emphasizes on the use of the term *monexitizino*, meaning “appear” in Nahuatl. The word did not mean she appeared in a supernatural context, but rather, she was shown publicly, for the first time in 1555.<sup>98</sup> Most likely this referred to the placement of the *tilma* image at the shrine on the hill of Tepeyac. This exemplifies that the local comprehension of the “apparition” of the Virgin of Guadalupe was actually based on merely the physical arrival of a sacred image, not an unworldly miraculous apparition. While the Catholic Church enforced these colonizing concepts of miraculous apparitions of the Virgin of Guadalupe, this annal demonstrates that many of the Indigenous populations living in the Valley of Mexico did not truly believe the apparition was a genuine occurrence.

Peterson also asserts that the image of Guadalupe did not exist prior to 1555–1556.<sup>99</sup> The shrine and the image were created during the decade of the 1550s, constructed by archbishop Montúfar and recent Indigenous “converts.”<sup>100</sup> As mentioned

<sup>96</sup> Peterson, "The Virgin of Guadalupe: Symbol of Conquest or Liberation?" 42.

<sup>97</sup> Peterson, *Visualizing Guadalupe*, 111.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, 111.

<sup>99</sup> Jeanette Favrot Peterson, "Creating the Virgin of Guadalupe: The Cloth, the Artist, and Sources in Sixteenth-Century New Spain," *The Americas* 61, no. 4 (2005): 571.

<sup>100</sup> Peterson, *Visualizing Guadalupe*, 109.

in the previous chapter, the statue of the Virgin of Juquila survived a fire in Amialtepec, resulting in the darkening of her skin. The miracle story claimed the darkening of the skin was the statue adapting to the environment in which she was enthroned. Deliberately changing the skin tone in representations of the Virgin Mary signifies the importance of adaptation as a tool of evangelization. This is not an uncommon trope in Catholicism, it is part of the Marian Narrative Formula that was used globally in areas where mostly non-white people resided.

## **CHAPTER CONCLUSIONS**

Friar Jordán brought to Oaxaca the statue of the Virgin of Juquila as one of his main tools of evangelization. The shrine created in Mary's honor at Amialtepec continued the tradition of veneration at the hill, except the central image had changed to a Catholic figure. Peterson's concept of "colonizing sight" was adapted to the creation and prominence of the icons of the Virgin of Guadalupe, the Virgin of Juquila, and the Virgin of San Juan de los Lagos. The maintenance of faith through the manipulation of Indigenous sites during the time of the Spanish invasion played a crucial role in the Church's attempt of evangelization. However, the lack of Spanish leaders in rural areas such as Oaxaca, limited the Spanish influence, and resulted in the continuance of Indigenous traditions through the colonial period.

The dress and the regal insignia worn by the Immaculate Conception did not demonstrate a humble Madonna, rather she resembled the queen of the Americas. The sacred adornments on the dress as well as the shrines demonstrated the power both the Church and the Crown had in New Spain. Even with the assimilation of the Virgin of Juquila and the Virgin of Guadalupe to physically resemble the Indigenous population in

New Spain, the golden mandora and stars place the statue hierarchically and physically outside the reach of any individual.

Consolidating the power of the statue of Juquila to the clergy operating at the Sanctuary of Juquila reflected the tyrannous nature of the Crown and Church usurping political and monetary power from New Spain. The passing of the *Ordenanza del Patronazgo* in 1574 led to the regulation of the ceremonies and display of the statue of Juquila in the following centuries. The harsh reprimanding of anything non-Christian resulted in the Virgin of Juquila becoming a gateway for Chatino people in Oaxaca to cherish an icon that somewhat reflected their own deities. Unfortunately, the oppressive devotional assimilation that Indigenous people in New Spain endured during the colonial period has continued through modern times.

### **CHAPTER 3: PILGRIMAGE ROUTE TO THE VIRGIN OF JUQUILA AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF SACRED LANDSCAPE**

In the seventeenth century, the prominent pilgrimage route to the Virgin of Juquila took shape shortly after Antonio Anastacio built a shrine dedicated to the statue of the Virgin at the hill of Amialtepec. The statue of the Virgin gained a large Indigenous following that the Catholic leaders in Oaxaca saw as key to their success to evangelization. Yet, the Indigenous sacred element of the statue of Juquila on top of a hill, a detail emphasized in the Ruiz y Cervantes miracle story that has not received adequate scholarly attention. Similar to the Virgin of Guadalupe appearing on top of the hill of Tepeyac, the Virgin of Juquila was placed on the hill of Amialtepec, indicating that these two hills had a sacred attribute that the Marian Narrative Formula required for evangelization to succeed. The overlaying of Catholic sites can also be seen in the coast of Oaxaca, a method used throughout the Americas. The act of pilgrimage, including the pilgrimage to Amialtepec, was not a new concept to Chatinos in the coastal area of Oaxaca, it was essentially an adaptation to what was a previous pilgrimage site prior to the Spanish arrival. The Oaxacan coast had established devotional sites that were well known by Chatinos, Mixtecs, Mexicas, Zapotecs and other groups. Amialtepec continues to be one of the many sacred hills venerated by Chatinos in the coast of Oaxaca. The veneration at the hill at Amialtepec did not originate with the arrival of the statue of Juquila in the sixteenth century but rather, the arrival of the Virgin of Juquila transformed the hill of Amialtepec into a Catholic devotional place that was built on earlier Chatino belief systems as will be discussed in what follows.

The term pilgrimage contains two implications: one, a personal religious journey to a sacred place, and the other, an institution that involves human and material aspects designed to facilitate a spiritual experience embedded with ritual and symbolism.<sup>101</sup> Pilgrimages in New Spain merged Spanish and Indigenous traditions through performance, written word, and conversations to facilitate the divine experience that the *peregrinos* (pilgrims) personified.<sup>102</sup> Anthropologists, Alan Morinis and N. Ross Crumrine, contextualized pilgrimages through a historical lens, stating that each pilgrimage takes shape in a dynamic relationship that works within and outside of the institution itself. The pilgrimage site of the Virgin of Juquila exists within the historical context of colonialism and as a reflection of the shaping of a Mexican identity, however the institutionalization of the Virgin of Juquila's pilgrimage site did not stop the continuation of non-Christian practices at the pilgrimage site.<sup>103</sup>

Pilgrimages did not solely occur in Europe. Prior to the European arrival, in the Americas, numerous Indigenous groups embarked on pilgrimages that had processions similar to the Christian counterparts. After the arrival of the Spanish in the Americas, the Spanish combined Catholic and Indigenous rituals and processions to the Catholic Marian pilgrimages, resulting in a fusion of rituals and traditions. The Virgin of Guadalupe, the Virgin of San Juan de los Lagos, and the Virgin of Juquila all demonstrate that the process of embarking on a dangerous sacrificial pilgrimage was not a new concept in the colonial period, simply an adaptation to rituals that had previously occurred.

<sup>101</sup> N. Ross Crumrine and Alan Morinis, *Pilgrimage in Latin America*, (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1991): 2.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

In both traditions, the physical landscape of the sacred site that pilgrims visited was a key component in the experience. Both pre-Columbian and Medieval European pilgrimages had landscapes that involved heights, water, sacred flora and fauna, caves and/or sacred stones. For the Marian Narrative Formula to prosper in the Americas, missionaries often generated miracle stories that involved sacred images brought from Europe that created miracles for Indigenous people.<sup>104</sup>

### **PILGRIMAGE ROUTE TO THE VIRGIN OF JUQUILA**

The annual pilgrimage route that occurs on December 8 to the statue of the Virgin of Juquila is known today as, *La Ruta de Fe*, or “The Route of Faith” (Figure 15). Pilgrims begin their pilgrimage route from various parts of Mexico such as Oaxaca City, Mexico City, Chiapas or other Southern regions. Pilgrims first stop at the hill of Amialtepec, the initial place of apparition of the Virgin of Juquila, about thirteen miles outside of the town of Juquila. The second stop during the pilgrimage is at El Pedimento chapel in the town of Santiago Yaitepec. The chapel was built in the early eighteenth century by Chatino devotees and not the Catholic Church. El Pedimento chapel contains a replica of the image of the Virgin of Juquila, but unlike the original sculpture in the Sanctuary of the Virgin at Juquila, el Pedimento chapel has a more intimate connection that allows the pilgrims physically touch the replica of the Virgin and leave offerings, such as *milagritos* and money on her cloak. Touching sacred objects enhances the sensory response that helps retain the faith, as mentioned in Chapter 2. The third and final stop is at the Sanctuary of Santa Catarina Juquila. Most pilgrims follow a path that was set up prior to

<sup>104</sup> Mary Lee Nolan, “The European Roots of Latin American Pilgrimage,” in *Pilgrimage in Latin America*, edited by N. Ross Crumrine and Alan Morinis, 33.

the Spanish arrival, Chatinos believe that their deities had created a path to successfully cross through the hilly terrain without any issues.<sup>105</sup>

Initially, in the eighteenth century, the pilgrimage of Juquila began at the hill of Amialtepec and ended at the Sanctuary of Santa Catarina of Juquila. Now, the statue of the Virgin of Juquila is brought down annually from her niche in the Sanctuary and placed on the altar on November 8, the day of the celebration of the Virgin of Juquila in the town of Amialtepec. This specific pilgrimage route mimics the route taken by Don Manuel Cayetano y Casaus de Acuña after he received official authorization from the bishop Fray Ángel Maldonado, who transferred the statue of the Virgin to the Sanctuary of Juquila on June 30, 1719.<sup>106</sup> Today, the *Ruta de Fe*, encompasses multiple shrines and miracle sites around the coastal region that devotees can visit and visitors can choose any of the sites to begin the pilgrimage journey. Most devotees conclude their pilgrimage at the Sanctuary of Juquila, where the priest greets them and gives mass. As the centuries have passed, the pilgrimage route has expanded as roads were paved and transportation increased, making the route more accessible to thousands of annual visitors. Pilgrims and individuals partake on the journey, carrying out different observances to the Virgin of Juquila, oftentimes incorporating Indigenous non-Catholic rituals such as offerings to other deities or reciting prayers in their native language.

The pilgrimage to the Sanctuary of the Virgin of Juquila has prospered through the economic hardships, wars, and the Church's attempt to promote the Virgin of Guadalupe in Oaxaca. Historian Brian Connaughton, asserts the notion that people in

<sup>105</sup> Moisés Soriano Mendoza and Mario Lugos López, *Peregrinaje Chatino: Los Caminos de Juquila*, (Oaxaca: 1450 Ediciones, 2014): 11.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, 63.



Mexico were bound politically and spiritually by their place, a form of national unity that stemmed from divinely ordained hierarchical bonds during the colonial period.<sup>107</sup> Rather than attempting to promote the image of Juquila as a national symbol the way Mexico City did to the Virgin of Guadalupe, Oaxaca embraced the Virgin of Juquila as a regional symbol that did not have the necessity to encompass a national identity.

Marian devotions, such as the Virgin of Juquila, fall into the category of Catholic image-centered devotional practices utilized in New Spain as a tool for evangelization. The Virgin of Juquila became the beholder of devotion and power that was activated through each individual who embarked on the pilgrimage journey to the Sanctuary. The pilgrimage journey reinforces communal identity through the power of divinity—an aspect that is not controlled by the institution itself but by the devotees.<sup>108</sup> Outside of institutional control, the *peregrino* engages in a multisensory journey that is not always a sanctified practice. According to anthropologist Arthur A. Joyce, Chatino religion was based on the belief of a vital force that animated all “living” things. Animate objects included natural resources: such as rain, mountains, light, wind, and plants.<sup>109</sup> The pilgrimage site today reflects the culture of Oaxaca, an area that continues to have a strong Chatino presence despite the arrival of the Dominican missionaries in the sixteenth century and the strong presence of the Catholic Church that remains prevalent through the twenty-first century.

## **HISTORY OF CHATINOS IN OAXACA**

<sup>107</sup> Edward Wright-Rios, "Our Lady of Juquila: Nation, Region, and Marian Devotions," in *Marian Devotions, Political Mobilization, and Nationalism in Europe and America*, edited by Roberto Di Stefano and Francisco Javier Ramón Solans, (Cham: Springer International Publishing: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016): 259.

<sup>108</sup> Crumrine and Morinis, *Pilgrimage in Latin America*, 16.

<sup>109</sup> Arthur A. Joyce, *Mixtecs, Zapotecs, and Chatinos: Ancient Peoples of Southern Mexico*, (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010): 56.

The Indigenous group known as the Chatinos, have lived in the coastal region of Oaxaca since 400 BCE. Chatinos refer to themselves as *Kitse Cha'tnio*, translating to “difficult word.”<sup>110</sup> In the twenty-first century, Chatinos live in three main regions along the coast: Juquila/Yaitepec, Tataltepec, and Zenzontepec.<sup>111</sup> Ethnically, Chatinos are related to Zapotecs, and did not diverge from the Zapotecs until the later Formative period, around 400 BCE–250 CE.<sup>112</sup> In the Late Postclassic period (1100–1522 CE), the Mixtecs controlled the territory of Tututepec for about 300 years. The Mixtecs incorporated five ethnolinguistic groups to their territory during that time including, Amuzgo, Chatino, Zapotec, Chontal and Nahuatl.<sup>113</sup> In the fifteenth century, the Mexica arrived to the Oaxaca region, and conquered a large portion of the Mixtec empire. Soon after, the Spanish arrived in the sixteenth century. The arrival of the Mixtecs, Mexica and the Spanish all have influenced the coastal region of Oaxaca but have never eradicated Chatinos nor their language.

The Indigenous ideology of Chatinos venerates a few deities such as the rain, wind, mountains, and fire. Two main deities, *Cuichá* (Holy Father Sun) and *Yuu* (Holy Mother Moon) receive the most veneration.<sup>114</sup> The modern Chatino rain deity is known as *ho'o ti'yu*.<sup>115</sup> Chatinos also believe that there are nine levels in the underworld, each level contains natural elements such as rain and dirt that embody certain attributes of deities, a

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., 65.

<sup>111</sup> Eric Campbell, "The Internal Diversification and Subgrouping of Chatino," *International Journal of American Linguistics* 79, no. 3 (2013): 395.

<sup>112</sup> Alexander F. Christensen, "Colonization and Microevolution in Formative Oaxaca, Mexico," *World Archaeology* 30, no. 2 (1998): 265.

<sup>113</sup> Arthur A. Joyce, Andrew G. Workinger, Peter Kroefges, Maxine Oland, Stacie M. King, and Byron Hamann, "Lord 8 Deer 'Jaguar Claw' and the Land of the Sky: The Archaeology and History of Tututepec," *Latin American Antiquity* 15, no. 3 (2004): 274.

<sup>114</sup> Soriano Mendoza and Lugos López, *Peregrinaje Chatino, Los Caminos de Juquila*, 32.

<sup>115</sup> Joyce, *Mixtecs, Zapotecs, and Chatinos: Ancient Peoples of Southern Mexico*, 57.

similar ideology to the Mexicas.<sup>116</sup> The *Dueños* (owners, loosely equivalent to deities and/or spirits), that lived in the underworld formed groups with certain *dueños* to then present themselves as an avatar on earth. The manifestations of *dueños* in Chatino ideology, did not have a Catholic equivalent that the Spanish could replace with. *Dueños* could manifest in dreams, or visions, as a zoomorphic avatar.<sup>117</sup> Distinct to the good/evil dichotomy in many European belief systems, *dueños* could have both good and bad attributes, depending on the rituals erected in their honor. Similar to the process that happened to the Mexica in Mexico City, the Dominican missionaries attempted to recycle the implication of *dueños* as evil so Chatinos could recognize the meaning of Satan in Catholic dogma.<sup>118</sup> The Spanish repeatedly reused and morphed Indigenous beliefs and daily processes and practices in order to teach Spanish concepts.

### **PRE-COLUMBIAN INDIGENOUS RECORD KEEPING**

Indigenous groups in the area of Oaxaca used *lienzos* and codices as a way to represent land distribution before and after the Spanish arrived in the Americas. The word *lienzo* means canvas; Mesoamerican *lienzos* can be made out of sheets of cloth, varying greatly in size, painted on one side with maps, narratives, historical and authoritative information. Mesoamerican codices are screenfold manuscripts made out of *amate*, deerskin or fibers from agave plants. Spanish and elite Indigenous pole often sought to incorporate the *lienzos* and codices into their official documentation of land disputes that related to division of numerous territories. The *lienzos* and codices depicted sites

<sup>116</sup> Alicia Barabas, *Dones, Dueños y Santos: Ensayo Sobre Religiones en Oaxaca*, 1.st ed. México, (D.F.: Instituto Nacional De Antropología E Historia, 2006): 39.

<sup>117</sup> Edward Wright-Rios, *Revolutions in Mexican Catholicism: Reform and Revelation in Oaxaca, 1887-1934*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009): 253.

<sup>118</sup> Barabas, *Dones, Dueños y Santos: Ensayo Sobre Religiones en Oaxaca*, 45.

conquered by Indigenous groups and Spanish conquistadors, as well as sacred places, ancestral lineages, Catholic institutions, and land disputes that ended in death. The Indigenous sacred sites drawn on *lienzos* and codices usually referenced hills, bodies of water, or rituals. The hills and water elements usually signified a site sacred or meaningful to Indigenous groups, but not necessarily meaningful to the Spanish. Many cities were represented with an *altepetl* sign/glyph, a Nahuatl word for a city-state that usually incorporated a hill, water source, and/or an animal of some kind. There are different size variations of *altepetl*, the size determining the prominence of a city rather than its physical size.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Spanish officials ordered the Indigenous elders or scribes to create *lienzos* and codices dividing the land among different territories. *Lienzos* and codices created during the colonial period included Catholic churches, usually represented with a bell, cross, and a building, most often these were located above or near an Indigenous sacred site. *Lienzos* and codices provided crucial information that was passed down through priests and high officials such as geographical and historical information about a certain area. Some of the narratives written in the codices and *lienzos* described lineages to ancestors and creation stories that depicted travel through space and time.<sup>119</sup> *Lienzos* and codices in many cases became crucial evidence for claims of processions of lands and ancestral lineages, and especially relevant to the present study, they included indications/notations of sacred elements of nature, such as springs/waterfalls, hills, and caves that relate to life and death.<sup>120</sup>

<sup>119</sup> Ross Parmenter, "The Lienzo of Tulancingo, Oaxaca: An Introductory Study of a Ninth Painted Sheet from the Coixtlahuaca Valley," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 83, no. 7 (1993): 2.

<sup>120</sup> Barabas, *Dones, Dueños y Santos: Ensayo Sobre Religiones en Oaxaca*, 20.

A few of the Mixtec codices mention the coastal site of Juquila, in relation to the famous Mixtec ruler, of Lord 8 Deer Jaguar Claw. Lord 8 Deer (for short), ruled during the eleventh century, living from 1063–1115 CE. He enjoyed a successful life as one of the military rulers who expanded his territory around the Mixteca Alta, Mixteca Baja, and Coastal Mixtec regions of Oaxaca<sup>121</sup>. Anthropologist, John Pohl, wrote extensively on the life of Lord 8 Deer and the ninety-four cities that he conquered during his reign. The pre-Colombian Mixtec screenfold style Codices Colombino-Becker and Bodley mention Lord 8 Deer's activities and interactions within the area of Juquila. In the Codex Bodley, before Lord 8 Deer enthroned himself at Tututepec in 7 Flint (1084 CE), he is shown meeting the king and queen of Juquila (Figure 16).<sup>122</sup> Unfortunately, the Codex Bodley did not indicate if Lord 8 Deer visited any of the pilgrimage site. The Codex Colombino-Becker describes a coastal version of Lord 8 Deer's biography, giving a slightly biased history that favored the ruling family of Tututepec in the Mixteca Coast.<sup>123</sup> The first section, known as the Codex Colombino was used by the Tututepec lord in 1541 as an official document to define the land distribution in the coastal region. The Tututepec lord hired a scribe to add boundaries of towns that were under his control.<sup>124</sup> The Codex Colombino-Becker had been repurposed prior to the Spanish arrival, the codex was broken up and had some images erased. The Codex Colombino worked as a historical biography and as an official document, similar to the *lienzos*.

<sup>121</sup> Joyce, *Mixtecs, Zapotecs, and Chatinos*, 260-262.

<sup>122</sup> Joyce, Workinger, Kroefges, Oland, King, and Hamann, "Lord 8 Deer 'Jaguar Claw,'" 283.

<sup>123</sup> Elizabeth Hill Boone, *Stories in Red and Black: Pictorial Histories of the Aztecs and Mixtecs*, (University of Texas Press, 2000): 88.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, 248.

Art historian, Mary Elizabeth Smith wrote extensively about Mixtec and other Mesoamerican codices such as Codex Colombino Becker, Codex Nuttall, and Codex Bodley in her 1973 book, *Picture Writing From Southern Mexico*. The book provides detailed occurrences of every town that Lord 8 Deer visited during his reign. Both the Codex Bodley and the Codex Colombino include a place sign for Juquila that is represented with the Hand Holding Grass with an alternating circle and stepped pyramid-like frieze (Figure 17). Page 9-III of the Codex Bodley depicts Lord 8 Deer visiting 1 Death “Serpent Sun” and 2 Serpent “Flower Feathers.” This scene occurs right before Lord 8 Deer enthrones himself on top of the place sign for Tututepec.<sup>125</sup> In the Codex Colombino, the place sign of Juquila is shown as a compound sign with the town of Tututepec that is represented with a bird’s beak emerging from a stone hill.<sup>126</sup>

As previously stated, the town of Juquila was ruled by the Mixtecs for a brief period of time. In the Mixtec language in the modern period, Juquila translates to *ñuu sii to’o*, meaning “town of the Virgin,” although the literal translation is “town where the ruling grandfathers originated,” or “town of the hereditary nobility.” In the Codex Bodley 14-13 IV, the son of Lord 8 Deer, 6 House “Tiger Descending from the Sky” married 9 Flower “Jewel Heart,” the daughter of the rulers of Juquila.<sup>127</sup> This marriage tied one of the most prodigious Mixtec rulers to the coastal town of Juquila. Smith suggested that the marriage also tied together the Coast and the Alta regions that Lord 8 Deer had seized.

The representation of Chatinos and Mixtecs who lived in Juquila in the Codex Colombino and in Codex Bodley illustrates the power and influence of Chatinos in the

<sup>125</sup> Mary Elizabeth Smith, *Picture Writing from Ancient Southern Mexico; Mixtec Place Signs and Maps*, the Civilization of the American Indian Series: 124, (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1973): 76.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, 76.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, 75.

late Postclassic Period until the Spanish arrived at the coast of Oaxaca. At the time of the Spanish arrival, the census data record indicates that an even amount of both Chatinos and Mixtecs lived in Tututepec near the Río Verde.<sup>128</sup> In 1674, Dominican Francisco de Burgoa, compiled the expeditions made by missionaries in Oaxaca to send to King Phillip II of Spain. In the *Relaciones Geográficas*, the second section *Geográfica Descripción: de la parte septentrional, del Polo Ártico de la América*, introduces Juquila and Dominicans interactions with Chatinos, Zapotecs, and Mixtecs. The book describes the sacrifices made by missionaries but does not indicate the level of affluence of Chatinos throughout the coast, as the codices suggest.

### **INDIGENOUS PILGRIMAGES AND VENERATIONS IN OAXACA**

Oaxaca has a long tradition of veneration of sacred sites. Prior to the arrival of the Spanish and the rise of the Virgin of Juquila, Chatinos made pilgrimage and prayed to various sacred sites around the coastal region of Oaxaca. Many of the primary sources written by Dominicans during the colonial period did not reference specific names of the sacred sites but did allude to the knowledge of their existence. On December 8, 2019, the feast day and annual pilgrimage of the Virgin of Juquila, the Oaxaca City newspaper, *El Imparcial: El mejor diario de Oaxaca*, wrote an article about the significance of the Sanctuary of the Virgin of Juquila as well as other important sacred sites that Chatinos venerated in the area surrounding the town of Juquila. Journalist, Andrés Carrera Pineda stated that Chatinos prayed to individual hills around Juquila that have specific rocks with prayers and cave paintings such as *El Cerro Tlacuache* (Opossum Hill) and *La Piedra Letra* in San Juan Lachao (Letter Rock at Saint John Lachao). Carrera Pineda also

<sup>128</sup> Joyce, Workinger, Kroefges, Oland, King, and Hamann, “Lord 8 Deer ‘Jaguar Claw,’” 281.

argued that Chatinos used to venerate *Piedra del Sol* (the Rock of the Sun) and *Piedra Rey* (King Rock) in *K'chen skui* (San Miguel Panixtlahuaca).<sup>129</sup> His article in 2019 referencing at least four sacred Chatino sites in relation to the pilgrimage of Juquila, validates the prominence of these sites, and supports the idea that specific geographic features in and around the shrine of Juquila have enjoy—and continue to enjoy—a long history of sacrality despite colonial to erase those traditions (Figure 18).

One of the hills mentioned in the article, *El Cerro Tlacuache*, in the municipality of San Juan Lachao, has a series of petroglyphs, that are located inside of a small cave that many Chatinos believe is one of the entrances to the underworld.<sup>130</sup> The petroglyphs inside of the cave were drawn in red dye, the zigzag figures representing a strong natural force such as wind, water, fire, or Venus. Scholars, Moisés Soriano Mendoza and Mario Lugos López argue that the zigzag shapes also represent Quetzalcoatl, the feathered serpent aka Ehecatl the Wind deity in many Mesoamerican cultures (Figure 19).<sup>131</sup> One of the zigzags represents a lightning bolt that is known to Chatinos as the Son of the Sun, the one who announces that the rain is approaching, as they had prayed for. In traditional Mesoamerican Quetzalcoatl is an ancient deity who flies on the wind bringing the rain. Another sacred rock, *Piedra Letra* (Letter Rock), over three and half feet tall, has traces of what may be an archaic alphabet.<sup>132</sup> The alphabet has yet to be deciphered by scholars, and although not of pre-Columbian origin, Chatinos claim that their ancestral grandfathers carved the alphabet on the *Piedra Letra*. In the lower part of the town of

<sup>129</sup> Andrés Carrera Pineda, “La Virgen de Juquila también peregrinó,” *El Imparcial: El Mejor diario de Oaxaca*, December 8, 2019, [http://imparcialoaxaca.mx/oaxaca/382860/la-virgen-de-juquila-tambien-peregrino/?fbclid=IwAR2C74xNw9zNGWvgsFwqZYSTJ7LOkwx\\_twBOGORhOXBVZyN2xeUB0eXcvI](http://imparcialoaxaca.mx/oaxaca/382860/la-virgen-de-juquila-tambien-peregrino/?fbclid=IwAR2C74xNw9zNGWvgsFwqZYSTJ7LOkwx_twBOGORhOXBVZyN2xeUB0eXcvI)

<sup>130</sup> Soriano Mendoza and Lugos López. *Peregrinaje Chatino, Los Caminos de Juquila*, 32.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, 32-33.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, 35-36.



Juquila, *Piedra del Rey* (Rock of the King) is near a small water deposit that has been a pilgrimage site since sixteenth century.<sup>133</sup> The sacred caves are only accessed by shamans who have ability to interact with deities and other natural forces while the rocks could be approached and venerated to by any devotee. Soriano Mendoza and Lugos López state that *El Cerro Tlacuache* and other sacred hills along the coastal region have been places of pilgrimage for thousands of years.<sup>134</sup>

Chatinos refer to the hill of Amialtepec as *El Cerro de la Virgen*, or the Hill of the Virgin, in Spanish, or in Chatino *ki' ya ku ne'* (*montaña comerá persona* or mountain will eat a person). *El Cerro de la Virgen* is where devotees petition, and venerate the footprints and the staff of the Virgin of Juquila as she had passed through the hill during her journey from the town of Juquila before the Sanctuary had officially transferred her in 1719.<sup>135</sup> Chatinos today refer to the Virgin of Juquila as the *Virgen del Cerro*, the Virgin of the mountain, connecting her spiritually to the sacred hill. Throughout the year, multiple devotees stop at Amialtepec to see the place of the miracles of the Virgin of Juquila as well as to take some of the water from the sacred waterfall.

Arthur Joyce conducted excavations of a place that was also named *El Cerro de la Virgen*, however, this is not the same place as the hill of Amialtepec. The archaeological site of *El Cerro de la Virgen*, is located a few miles south of the town and municipal capital of Villa de Tututepec del Melchor Ocampo on the Pacific coast of Oaxaca. The archaeological site, excavated by Joyce is near the area of Tututepec, that was mentioned by Lord 8 Deer in the Codex Colombino and the Codex Bodley. The archaeological

<sup>133</sup> Ibid., 43.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid., 34.

<sup>135</sup> Ana Bella Pérez Castro, *La Identidad: Imaginación, Recuerdos y Olvidos*, (México, D.F.: Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas, UNAM, 1995): 35.

evidence of offerings suggests that the Tututepec *Cerro de la Virgen* has been venerated since the Terminal Formative Period (250–900 CE).<sup>136</sup> These excavations yielded ceremonial caches, mortuary offerings, and other objects. Analysis of ash and charcoal remains demonstrate that these offerings were imported to the Oaxacan coast. The offerings traded and/or imported suggest the circulation of wealth along the coast and points towards the importance of veneration for certain sacred hills.<sup>137</sup>

The pilgrimage to the Virgin of Juquila is not the only pilgrimage dedicated to the Virgin Mary in the coast of Oaxaca. In Santa Cruz Mitlatongo, Nochistlán, about 150 miles north of Juquila, the primary hill named Monterey is surrounded by seven other hills that are surrounded by the hills that represent the houses of the wind and the houses of the water.<sup>138</sup> The hills in the coastal region of Oaxaca have an extraordinary sacred significance to Chatinos because they physically and spiritually place them closer to the Holy Mother Moon and the Holy Father Sun.<sup>139</sup> Topographically, the area around Juquila is very mountainous, and the abundance of hills provides Chatinos with numerous sacred hills that they venerate throughout the year. According to one of the Chatino myths, king *Camanderú*, one of the deities who lived on the hill of Monterey, competed with surrounding kings for the land. Every 6<sup>th</sup> of January, pilgrims arrive to the hill pleading for abundance and health, and on every 3<sup>rd</sup> of May, devotees plead for rain by embarking

<sup>136</sup> Arthur A. Joyce, Sarah B. Barber, Jeffrey Brzezinski, Carlo J. Lucido, and Víctor Salazar Chávez, "Negotiating Political Authority and Community in Terminal Formative Coastal Oaxaca," in *Political Strategies in Pre-Columbian Mesoamerica*, edited by Kurnick Sarah and Baron Joanne, 61-96, (Colorado: University Press of Colorado, 2016): 65. I think it is important to mention the sites that have been excavated around the coast of Oaxaca because they provide an additional form of evidence that shows the power and the circulation of wealth that occurred during the pre-Columbian period. Oftentimes, the pre-Columbian period gets overshadowed or oversimplified when discussing the colonial period.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, 65.

<sup>138</sup> Barabas, *Dones, Dueños y Santos*, 76.

<sup>139</sup> Soriano Mendoza and Lugos López, *Peregrinaje Chatino, Los Caminos de Juquila*, 32.

on a week-long pilgrimage through the seven hills where the houses of the wind and rain deities are located, and at each hill they pray at each of the caves on the hill.<sup>140</sup>

Chatinos and Mixtecs both venerate the hill of *Yucusáa*, a few towns south of the town of Juquila. According to Chatinos and Mixtecs, the Yucusáa hill has a sacred snake that oversees the water on the hill and surrounding areas and also invites the rain to the area. Chatinos and Mixtecs continue to dispute over the proprietorship of *Yucusáa* hill.<sup>141</sup> *El Cerro Gavilán*, near the town of San Juan Quiahije, fifteen miles north of Santa Catarina Juquila, is the hill that the supposed *El Rey Chatín* (The King Chatín) resides. According to the Chatino myth, *El Rey Chatín* appeared to create the territory in the Coastal region of Oaxaca to the Chatinos. In return, he placed symbols of his facial features on hills and rocks around the region so Chatinos could venerate him and leave offerings.<sup>142</sup>

Similar to the pilgrimage that happens at the hill of Monterey, Chatinos from Yaitepec, where *El Pedimento* Chapel is located, have a pilgrimage where they also visit and venerate the water deities. In the twenty-four-mile pilgrimage route, the devotees visit *Ki'ya ka'yu* (the Five Mountains), the spring called *Xkwa* (Hoyo de Atole), the house of the water deity, *Ki'ya chko* (Adorned Mountain), the *Cerro de la Virgen*, and lastly *Chku la kati* (the Seven Waterfalls) in the *Río Manteca*. At each of these locations, Chatinos of Yaitepec bury offerings of bread and chocolate, light candles and shoot fireworks.<sup>143</sup> The pilgrimages to the sacred hills mentioned above are all part of a long,

<sup>140</sup> Barabas, *Dones, Dueños y Santos*, 76-77.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, 76.

<sup>142</sup> Pérez Castro, *La Identidad: Imaginación, Recuerdos y Olvidos*, 35.

<sup>143</sup> James B. Greenberg, *Religión y economía de los chatinos*, (México, D.F.: Instituto Nacional Indigenista, 1987): 171.

tradition of sacrificial journeys, offerings, and pediments that have been dedicated to the *Santo Padre Sol* (Holy Father Sun), the *Santa Madre Luna* (Holy Mother Moon) and to other important deities that impact Chatinos directly.

Caves are equally as venerated as the hills in the region of Oaxaca. Between the Formative and the Post-Classic period, are cited as origin points for many ethnic groups, for example, Chicomoztoc (the place of the seven caves) in the Mexica origin story, is among the most well known in the *Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca*. In the pre-contact period, caves had multiple connotations, such as: the womb of the earth, dwellings of the deities of the hill, the snake, the holder of water, dwelling of the deceased, tombs of ancestors, the mythical place of the birth and disappearance of cultural heroes, the birthplace of multiple ethnic groups, the cult of idols, the place of sacrifice for children to bring rain, agricultural rituals, oracle, and the entryway to the underworld.<sup>144</sup> Caves continue to hold the same meanings that they did in the Ancient Americas. One of the most significant caves for Chatinos is the *Cueva de la Neblina* (the Cave of the Fog), located north of Juquila in Yaitepec, represents the entrance to the underworld for the deceased.<sup>145</sup>

The sacredness of water, in all forms, holds a sacred significance to many Indigenous groups. *Manantiales*, or springs, are other sacred natural elements that are venerated by Chatinos. Sacred water sources may include waterfalls, water runoffs, and lakes. These type of sacred water sources hold seeds, fruits, vegetation, and animals and others give abundances of treasure.<sup>146</sup> Springs have a prodigious sacred value because of

<sup>144</sup> Barabas, *Dones, Dueños y Santos*, 77.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, 79.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, 83.

the inclusion of springs in one of the episodes of the Cycle of the Hero Twins, where the sun creates the spring.<sup>147</sup> *Las tonas*, or the animistic entities of people, live inside of many of the sacred springs and only a *ne ho'o* (a Chatino shaman) can rescue the *tona* to restore the health of an ill person.

The *santa ciénegas* (sacred wetlands) and the springs that run down the hillsides are known as *Ho'o Ycua'*, a place of worship for Chatinos and a place where deities can live.<sup>148</sup> Each *santa ciénega* has a protector called *Kuna Ko* (Snake of the Fog) who takes care of the land and prevents it from being desecrated. The protector *Kuna Ko* has the power to punish those who have violated the norms.<sup>149</sup> Near the town of Juquila, a *santa ciénega* named *Hondura de la Culebra Flor* or *Culebra de Siete Cabezas* (Depth of the Serpent Flower or Flower of the Seven Heads) is the hill where the community can take offerings that comprise of candles and *sempervivum* plants in order to ask for rain and a good harvest for the upcoming season.

### **OTHER MARIAN DEVOTIONS IN THE JUQUILA DISTRICT**

Not all of the sacred hills along the coast are solely dedicated to Indigenous deities. Some of the sacred hills have shrines dedicated to figures of the Virgin Mary that are venerated in a similar custom as the Virgin of Juquila. In the Juquila District, statuettes of the Immaculate Conception are venerated as the sisters or daughters of the Virgin of Juquila that is in the Sanctuary of Juquila. Unlike the replicas of the Virgin of Juquila placed in Amialtepec and the Pedimento Chapel, these statues are a less miraculous version of the original statue. The sanctuaries in Chontecomatlán, Ixcuintepec, Tejalapam, Huiccisíl,

<sup>147</sup> Ibid., 83.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid., 83-84.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid., 84.

and Agua Virgen dedicate their shrines to the sisters and daughters of the Virgin of Juquila.<sup>150</sup> The Virgin's that are the supposed sisters or daughters to the Virgin of Juquila all have interacted with the Virgin but fall into a lower rank of the hierarchy of worship, a concept that is more Indigenous. All of the Virgin's appeared to Indigenous people at the locations mentioned above, usually in a non-Catholic sacred place. The apparitions of the sisters and daughters of Juquila demonstrate the significance of the influence of the Marian Narrative Formula, even with images that did not emerge from the Catholic Church.

The placement of replicas of the Virgin of Juquila derive from the supposed miraculous apparitions that occurred to devotees during their pilgrimage journey. The pilgrims, usually of native descent, allegedly encounter the Virgin of Juquila in other sacred forms during their sacrificial journey to the sanctuary. The sanctified replicas, such as the statues of Juquila at the Pedimento Chapel, inside the reconstructed original shrine at Amialtepec, and the small temple at the bottom of the hill at Amialtepec all become places to rest and venerate the image. Each replica falls under a hierarchy of worship, above the images of the sisters and daughters of the Virgin of Juquila. Depending on the number of miracles each replica conducts, that determines where they fall on the hierarchy of worship. A similar claim can be made about Catholic saints that perform miracles, such as Saint Anthony of Padua.

The miracle stories about the Virgin of Juquila involve the apparition of the statue at the waterfall of the hill of Amialtepec as well as a tiny cave in the crevices of the hill immediately to the left of the waterfall. Most of the Virgin's apparitions occur at

<sup>150</sup> Barabas, "Los santuarios de vírgenes y santos aparecidos en Oaxaca," *Cuicuilco* 13, no. 36. (2006): 250.

Amialtepec, suggesting to devotees that she preferred to appear at the location of her original shrine. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the Virgin of Guadalupe also appeared on the sacred hill of Tepeyac. Prior to the emergence of the Virgin of Guadalupe, at the hill of Tepeyac, Mexica's venerated several earth deities and the mother deity, Tonantzin, who had a temple dedicated to her on top of the hill. Tonantzin represented the mother of the gods for the Mexica and had an annual celebration around the winter solstice. The apparition of Guadalupe happened in December of 1531, soon after the invasion of the Spanish in the Americas.<sup>151</sup> The miracle story of the Guadalupe was conveniently structured to happen during the same date as the winter solstice and the feast day of the Immaculate Conception, that falls on the 8<sup>th</sup> of December. Peterson suggests that the miracle story of Guadalupe was published by Miguel Sánchez in 1648, as a way push the image of Guadalupe as a national symbol of New Spain.<sup>152</sup> As Ruiz y Cervantes did with Juquila, Sánchez and the "four evangelists" constructed a miracle narrative that historicized an American Madonna that connected to her Indigenous subjects.

Similar to the Virgin of Juquila and the Virgin of Guadalupe, the Virgin of San Juan de los Lagos was placed in the small town of the Indigenous group known as Mezquitic. Since the twelfth century CE, the Mezquitic became a sedentary society to the area of Los Altos in the modern state of Jalisco. Multiple pre-contact archeological zones also exist around the same area of San Juan including: Teocatitlán, el Cerro Támara, Tlacuitapan.<sup>153</sup> The town of Mezquitic de la Magdalena, near the town of San Juan de

<sup>151</sup> Peterson, "The Virgin of Guadalupe: Symbol of Conquest or Liberation?" *Art Journal* 51, no. 4 (1992): 39-40.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.

<sup>153</sup> José Gerardo Bohórquez Molina, *Coatlíque Sanjuanita. La peregrinación a San Juan de los Lagos: un rito Solidario de retorno a Aztlán*, (Guadalajara: Universidad Autónoma de Querétaro, 2008): 32.

Los Lagos, has a hill that has been a place of adoration of the *cuichá* (sun), Venus, the moon, and other animals that reside on the hill, from Epiclassic period to the twenty-first century.<sup>154</sup>

Anthropologist, Alicia Barabas describes the anthropomorphism and sociomorphism of saints and virgins, a similar transformation that occurred to the *dueños* and other deities.<sup>155</sup> Many of the images of the Virgin Mary throughout New Spain have a humanistic personality that devotees have shaped and morphed throughout the centuries. In the case of the Virgin of Juquila, from the Ruiz y Cervantes miracle story, the Virgin does not appreciate the transfer of her shrine from Amialtepec to Juquila, her supposed return to Amialtepec is a human decision that a statue should not have the capacity to do. These humanistic attributes also do not follow the Christian dogma of giving sacred images humanistic values, as the image should only represent a vessel to reach God. The positive and negative emotions that the Virgin of Juquila supposedly has also falls under the belief that Indigenous deities have both good and evil attributes, depending on how they are venerated. Barabas connects the sociomorphism of the Virgin of Juquila to that of the Chatino deities, as they appear to fulfill certain pleas made by Chatinos.

In the case of the Virgin of Guadalupe, Peterson also notes the humanistic attributes placed on the image by many Indigenous devotees. The images are vivified and worshiped directly, rather than their celestial prototypes.<sup>156</sup> The Franciscans who arrived to Mexico City initially believed that they had successfully evangelized the Mexica since

<sup>154</sup> Bohórquez Molina, *Coatlíque Sanjuanita. La peregrinación a San Juan de los Lagos*, 42.

<sup>155</sup> Barabas, "Los santuarios de vírgenes y santos aparecidos en Oaxaca," 228.

<sup>156</sup> Peterson, "Creating the Virgin of Guadalupe: The Cloth, the Artist, and Sources in Sixteenth-Century New Spain," *The Americas* 61, no. 4 (2005): 583.



missionaries witnessed Indigenous folks “praying” to sacred images. The Council of Trent had already expressed their reluctance to devotional images and most of the veneration of saints that occurred in the Americas could be defined as idolatrous. The failure of the Franciscans worried other mendicant orders as they attempted to expand North, South, and West of Mexico City throughout the following centuries.

### **THE VIRGIN OF JUQUILA AS *HO’O KI-LA’/SANTO LUMBRE/HO’O’ KO***

In the miracle story written by Ruiz y Cervantes, he mentions how Fray Jordán gives the statue of the Virgin of Juquila to an Indigenous man, what Ruiz y Cervantes excludes from his 1791 book, is the deity who the Virgin of Juquila represented to the Chatinos living in Amialtepec. They identified the Virgin of Juquila with the Chatino deity *Ho’o Ki-la’*, *Santo Lumbre* or with the lunar deity *Ho’o Ko*.<sup>157</sup> If you say the Chatino word *Ho’o Ki-la’* out loud, it sounds like the word Juquila, demonstrating that the word “Juquila” was a Spanish adaptation to Chatino term. Ruiz y Cervantes does mention the apparition of the Virgin of Juquila in a small cave on the side of the waterfall in Amialtepec. The waterfall today is at the bottom of main hill of Amialtepec, the sanctuary with a replica of the Virgin was placed at the top and the bottom of the hill.

The image of the Immaculate Conception always includes Mary standing on a crescent moon. The reference originates from the Book of Revelation 12:1, where they describe the Apocalyptic Woman as “a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars.”<sup>158</sup> While moons are represented throughout Pre-Columbian visual culture, crescent moons did not appear in Pre-

<sup>157</sup> Barabas, “Los santuarios de vírgenes y santos aparecidos en Oaxaca,” 249.

<sup>158</sup> Peterson, “Creating the Virgin of Guadalupe,” 592.

Columbian codices, that symbol came from Europe.<sup>159</sup> The Virgin of Juquila, the Virgin of Guadalupe and the Virgin of San Juan de los Lagos all stand on a crescent-shaped moon. The veneration of a lunar deity named *Ho' o Ko* is also venerated at the hill of Amialtepec. I suggest that the placement of the statue of the Virgin of Juquila during the seventeenth century was deliberate choice made by both Antonio Anastacio who built the shrine and friar Jordán who most likely asked Anastacio about the deities that Chatinos venerated at the hill of Amialtepec.

## CHAPTER CONCLUSIONS

The Spanish failed to completely evangelize Indigenous sacred land in the coastal area, especially at the hill of Amialtepec and other surrounding sacred hills. Pilgrimages to sacred sites occurred far before the arrival of the Spanish to the Americas. The statue Virgin of Juquila proves once again that many of the Catholic sacred images, especially those in the Americas, are an adaptation of previous venerated Indigenous sites, such as the Cerro of the Virgen, *Ho' o Ki-la'*, and *Santo Lumbre* at Amialtepec. The surrounding hills in Amialtepec elevate the sacredness of the hill, as articulated through the details of caves, waterfalls, and hills that represent dwellings for deities and entrances to the underworld. Even though the miracle story written by Ruiz y Cervantes does not mention or allude to any Indigenous deity or sacred site, the codices and modern practices indicate otherwise. The Dominicans who arrived in Oaxaca did not mention the sacredness of land and how the veneration of such landscapes transformed into Catholic rituals. The suppression of Chatino sacred knowledge of land was another tool used by the Spanish to

<sup>159</sup> Smith, *Picture Writing from Ancient Southern Mexico*, 92.

diminish traditions however, these traditions continue to take place alongside and within the Catholic realm in Mexico.

Mesoamerican codices have narratives that use a thematic approach to tell a story. The historical portion of codices often describe the life of a warrior or a leader however, the story tends to have a strong bias towards the main character, such as the enigmatic story of Lord 8 Deer and his excursion through the coastal region of Oaxaca and surrounding states. The same issue occurs in the creations of the Marian Narrative Formula. The miracle stories about Mary have the same structure that helps create a local and eventually, a national following. The Virgin of Juquila, the Virgin of San Juan de los Lagos and the Virgin of Guadalupe are all “one of the many cults of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception imported by the Spanish.”<sup>160</sup>

<sup>160</sup> Peterson, "The Virgin of Guadalupe: Symbol of Conquest or Liberation?" 39-40. Peterson stated this in regards to the Catholic hermitage that was built on top of the hill of Tepeyac however, it also works for the Virgin of Juquila and the Virgin of San Juan de los Lagos.

## CONCLUSION

The statuette of the Virgin of Juquila's symbiotic representation of Indigenous and Catholic iconography transformed the cultural identity of Oaxaca from the moment Friar Jordán introduced the small statue to Chatino locals and the Oaxacan bishopric. The devotional Indigenous following of the Virgin at the beginning of the seventeenth century provided the towns of Juquila and Amialtepec with a localized symbol that appeared to have Indigenous and Catholic iconography embedded into both the statuette and her associated pilgrimage. The image of Juquila's transference of power from the local population to the Catholic Church demarcated Juquila as the region's primary symbol of Oaxacan identity, thus hindering the influence of other Marian devotions in this area.

The Virgin of Juquila, the Virgin of San Juan de los Lagos, and the Virgin of Guadalupe can all follow a similar Marian Narrative Formula. The Catholic Church used these three images, among many others, as tools to evangelize indigenous communities whom they viewed as needing salvation. The three-part miracle story used in Marian Narrative Formulas, include: Mary appearing to an individual who has not been converted, the creation of a shrine dedicated to the sacred Marian image, and the use of multi-sensory responses that increase devotional following during pilgrimages. The miracle story written by Joseph Manuel Ruiz y Cervantes highlighted the humility and devotion of the Indigenous people that interacted with the statuette, as well as the regional influence generated by the pilgrimage. The "miraculous" survival of the Virgin of Juquila in the 1633 fire generated a mythic multi-sensory response for Chatinos and

the Spanish living in the area at the time. The fire incident demonstrated that the statuette could survive natural disasters and functioned as evidence of the Virgin's divine power.

With the Virgin of Juquila's resilience after the fire, the rise of the Marian cult in Oaxaca found stronger footing in the region while, in New Spain more broadly, other rising Marian popularization gained influence through new strategies of visual culture manipulation. The Spanish Inquisition confirmed that the image of the Immaculate Conception, generally, worked as a symbol of defining a nationalistic identity in New Spain while simultaneously representing the success of conquest by both the Spanish and the Church. The Council of Trent accepted the veneration of holy images and relics through didactic, cultic, and devotional means, which further helped legitimize the adaption of Mary in New Spain as the emblem of conquest. Mary's presence, as "the most familiar representation of the mother of god in [the] America[s]," became visual confirmation for successful missions by the mendicant orders to provide to the Spanish Crown. It is evident that the Church used the statuette of the Virgin of Juquila as an icon of divine truth and evidence of evangelization through divine intervention. The overlaying of Catholic rituals over Indigenous rituals at the hills of Amialtepec and *Cerro de la Virgen* represent a form of what many anthropologists would consider hybridity. However, I rather agree with term that anthropologists Leopoldo J. Bartolomé and Alicia M. Barabas suggest, which is "symbolic articulation." The statuette of the Virgin of Juquila functioned as a tool of institutional power and has been claimed time and time again by the people of Juquila who have established and applied their own localized traditions to the act of pilgrimage.

While the affluence of Chatinos prior to the arrival of the Spanish was not written about in Spanish documents, the Mixtec codices Bodley and Colombino-Becker provide evidence supporting the importance of Chatinos and the town of Juquila during the zenith of Zapotecs and the Mixtecs during the time of Lord 8 Deer Jaguar Claw (1063–1115). The archaeological research conducted by Arthur A. Joyce and others suggest the importance of offerings, especially to the solar and lunar deities. The petroglyphs at *El Cerro Tlacuache* and *La Piedra Letra* also determine how Chatinos have gone on pilgrimages to specific shrines to give their offerings and penances. Evidence suggests the act of pilgrimage to Amialtepec did not begin with the establishment of the shrine of the Virgin of Juquila, but five-thousand years before the seventeenth century.

The hill of Amialtepec as *El Cerro de la Virgen/ki' yak u ne'* (“the hill of the Virgin”/ “mountain will eat a person”), and the Virgin of Juquila as the Chatino deity *Ho'o Ki-la, Santo Lumbre*, and the lunar deity. *Ho'o Ko* answers the question of what was the sacred presence at the hill of Amialtepec before the statue of the Virgin of Juquila arrived in the late sixteenth century. Spanish primary sources fail to mention the importance of Amialtepec as a site of veneration and pilgrimage prior to the arrival of the statuette, however, they overly emphasize the immediate influence of the Virgin of Juquila after the Chatino man, Antonio Anastacio, built the official shrine for the Virgin. The hill, the waterfall, and the small cave in Amialtepec were a part of indigenous significance and ritual that occurred prior to Spanish arrival. The placement of the statue of Juquila was a mere adaptation of an already long-running site of signification.

The pilgrimage to the Sanctuary of Santa Catarina of Juquila is one of many Marian devotions and pilgrimages around Mexico that continue to prosper, yet the impact

of colonization and cultural disparity still lingers. In the late 1990s, Indigenous people from the town of Juquila created the Pedimento chapel for the Virgin of Juquila outside of the city. The people sought to have a shrine dedicated to the Virgin that was out of reach from clerical control. This moment demonstrates the persistence of indigenous cult devotions to the Virgin of Juquila that began in the early colonial period before Spanish missionary contact in Oaxaca. The constant confrontation between indigenous and institutional control is a common trope throughout the Americas. The statuette of the Virgin of Juquila reflects the identity crisis that still confronts Mexico and its own sense of national identity. The inability to maintain Juquila as a solely Catholic image is indicative of the indigenous communities' own tenacious resistance in the Oaxacan regions of Juquila and Villa Alta. Friar Jordán understood the sacred impact of the hill of Amialtepec when he deliberately decided to gift the statuette to Anastacio, which follows a similar instance with the image of Guadalupe at the hill of Amialtepec in the Valley of Mexico a few decades prior.

The fight over sovereignty for the land of Juquila continues to be contended among the Chatino population and Catholics in the area. In recent history, the weeks leading up to the annual pilgrimage to the sanctuary of Juquila, which occurred on December 8, 2019, protests emerged within the Chatino communities from Santiago Yaitepec and Santa María Chicholta. Protestors began blocking the road used by pilgrims to travel to the Sanctuary of Santa Juquila. The blockage of roads occurred after agrarian

conflicts between Santa Catarina Juquila and Yaitepec went unresolved.<sup>161</sup> Aside from the agrarian conflicts, another issue arises: El Pedimento Chapel of Juquila.

Another issue arose in 2019 when local communities discovered the amount of money the El Pedimento Chapel received annually, given the area's high levels of poverty. The chapel itself received around 10 million *pesos* in monetary alms. Throughout 2019, the residents of Santiago Yaitepec claimed the land where El Pedimento located belongs to their community therefore they should be in control of the money, rather than the city of Juquila who has managed the pilgrimage revenue since 1980.<sup>162</sup> The protests resulted in the presence of police and the unfortunate death of an elderly Chatino woman who would sell tortillas and seeds at the chapel. The woman was killed by brute police force and tear gas inhalation. For a few days, access to Juquila was completely closed off, numerous people were wounded, dozens were left stranded, and a vehicle was set on fire.<sup>163</sup> These historic disputes and violence are by no means new and parallel the testament of the Virgin of Juquila as both an image of worship and contention.

The statuette of Juquila clearly demonstrates how the image of the Immaculate Conception was successfully used for conversion in the coastal region of Oaxaca and the areas of San Juan de los Lagos and Mexico City. Even though the impacts of colonization still thrive today through the twenty-first century in a myriad of ways, the Marian Cult's

<sup>161</sup> Andrés Carrera Pineda, "Habitantes de Yaitepec bloquean la carretera al santuario," *El Imparcial: El Mejor diario de Oaxaca*, November 26, 2019, <http://imparcialoaxaca.mx/oaxaca/378698/cierran-el-paso-a-peregrinos-en-juquila/>

<sup>162</sup> Pineda, "El Pedimento, zona en disputa: La Capilla de este lugar sagrado más de 10 mdp al año," *El Imparcial: El Mejor diario de Oaxaca*, November 30, 2019, <http://imparcialoaxaca.mx/los-municipios/380163/el-pedimento-zona-en-disputa/>

<sup>163</sup> Miguel Maya Alonso, "Por la fuerza recuperan el pedimento de Juquila," *El Imparcial: El Mejor diario de Oaxaca*, December 1, 2019, <http://imparcialoaxaca.mx/los-municipios/380417/por-la-fuerza-recuperan-el-pedimento-de-juquila/>



influence in the Americas, despite its ubiquitous visual power, represents a colonial legacy that was not completely successful since Indigenous traditions and rituals still survive today. The Virgin of Juquila and her associated pilgrimage are exemplary of resistance by Chatino people who adapted and realized ways to innocuously interweave their own histories and culture into the patterns of Catholic orthodoxy.

## IMAGES AND MAPS



Figure 1. Map of Mexico, the state of Oaxaca and Juquila. Accessed February 28, 2020:  
<http://reydocbici.com/blog/2010/12/juq/>



Figure 2. Unknown Artist. *The Statue of the Virgin of Juquila*. ca. 16th Century. Wood with bronze/gold base. 11.5 x 4 inches. Sanctuary of Santa Catarina de Juquila. Juquila, Oaxaca, Mexico. Accessed February 29, 2020 <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia>





Figure 2. Bernardo Novas. Façade of the Sanctuary of Santa Catarina of Juquila. Completed in 1874, renovated in 1986. Juquila, Oaxaca, Mexico. Accessed February 29, 2020 <https://www.flickr.com/photos/ilhuicamina/23532722351>



*Figure 3.* Altar and Statue of the Virgin of Juquila inside of Sanctuary of Santa Catarina of Juquila. Juquila, Oaxaca, Mexico. (Photograph by Paloma Barraza. Taken January 9, 2020).





*Figure 5.* The back of the niche of the statue of the Virgin of Juquila inside of the Sacristy room. Sanctuary of Santa Catarina of Juquila. Juquila, Oaxaca, Mexico. (Photograph by Paloma Barraza. Taken January 9, 2020).





Figure 6. Francisco Agüera. Print of the statue of the Virgin of Juquila. In *Memorias de la portentosa imagen de Nuestra Señora de Xuquila: Quiso conservar las con noticia del santuario y antigua romería*. (Mexico: Reimpresas en México: Por don Felipe de Zúñiga y Ontiveros, 1796) bound to page 1.  
<https://archive.org/details/memoriasdelaport00ruiz/page/n23/mode/2up>









Figure 8. Francisco Agüera. Print of the Pilgrimage Route to the Sanctuary of Juquila from Oaxaca City with a legend that includes a list of towns. In *Memorias de la portentosa imagen de Nuestra Señora de Xuquila: Quiso conservar las con noticia del santuario y antigua romería*. (Mexico: Reimpresas en México: Por don Felipe de Zúñiga y Ontiveros, 1796) bound to page 82. <https://archive.org/details/memoriasdelaport00ruiz/page/n23/mode/2up>





Figure 9. Francisco Agüera. Print of the exterior of the Sanctuary of Santa Catarina Juquila. Juquila, Oaxaca, Mexico. In *Memorias de la pontentosa imagen de Nuestra Señora de Xuquila: Quiso conservar las con noticia del santuario y antigua romería*. (Mexico: Reimpresas en México: Por don Felipe de Zúñiga y Ontiveros, 1796) bound to page 102 (top). <https://archive.org/details/memoriasdelaport00ruiz/page/n23/mode/2up>. Photograph of the exterior of Sanctuary of Santa Catarina Juquila. Photograph by Paloma Barraza. Taken on January 10, 2020 (bottom).



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Figure 10. Anonymous Spanish Artist. Banner of Hernán Cortés. *Immaculate Conception*, (top) Seal of Castilla and León (bottom). c. 1519. Oil on Damask. In Iván Martínez, "The Banner of the Spanish Monarchy. The Political Use of the Immaculate Conception." Edited by Martínez Iván, Martha Reta, Lenice Rivera, and Jorge Guadarrama. *Un Privilegio Sagrado: La Concepción De María Inmaculada: Celebración Del Dogma En México*. México, D.F.: Museo de la Basílica de Guadalupe, 2005. Page 125-126.





*Figure 11.* Replica of the shrine that the Chatino man (Antonio Anastacio) built for the Virgin of Juquila, according to the Joseph Manuel Ruiz y Cervantes miracle story about the Virgin of Juquila. Amialtepec, Oaxaca, Mexico. (Photograph by Paloma Barraza. Taken January 10, 2020).





*Figure 12.* Inside of the chapel of Santa Maria of Amialtepec (left). Close up of the altar with two statues of the Virgin of Juquila (right). Amialtepec, Oaxaca, Mexico. (Photograph by Paloma Barraza. Taken January 10, 2020).





*Figure 13.* Unknown Artist. The Virgin of San Juan de los Lagos. c. 1623. Sugar Cane Paste. 13.18 inches tall. Basilica of Our Lady of San Juan de los Lagos. San Juan de los Lagos, Jalisco, Mexico. (Photograph by Alejandro Linares Garcia, 2011). Accessed on February 29, 2020. <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:ImageOurLadySanJuanLagos02.jpg>



*Figure 14.* Attributed to Marcos Cipac de Aquino. The Virgin of Guadalupe (the titular tilma image). ca.1555. Oil and Tempera on Cloth. 68.9 x 43 inches. Basilica de la Virgen de Guadalupe. Mexico City, Mexico.





Figure 15. Map of Pilgrimage route to the Sanctuary of Santa Catarina of Juquila, known as *Ruta de Fe*. Painted at a bus stop destined to Juquila, in Oaxaca City, Oaxaca, Mexico.

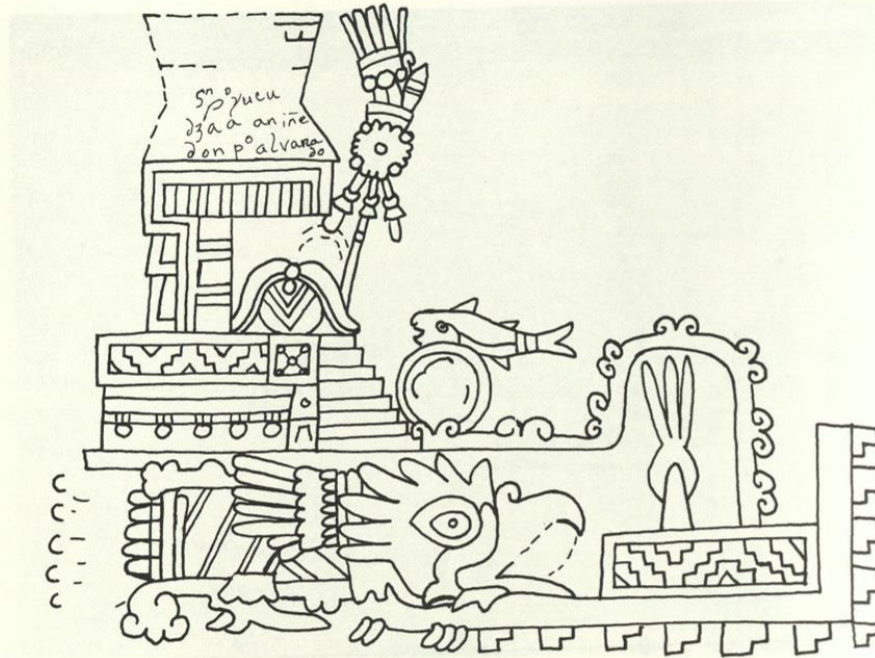
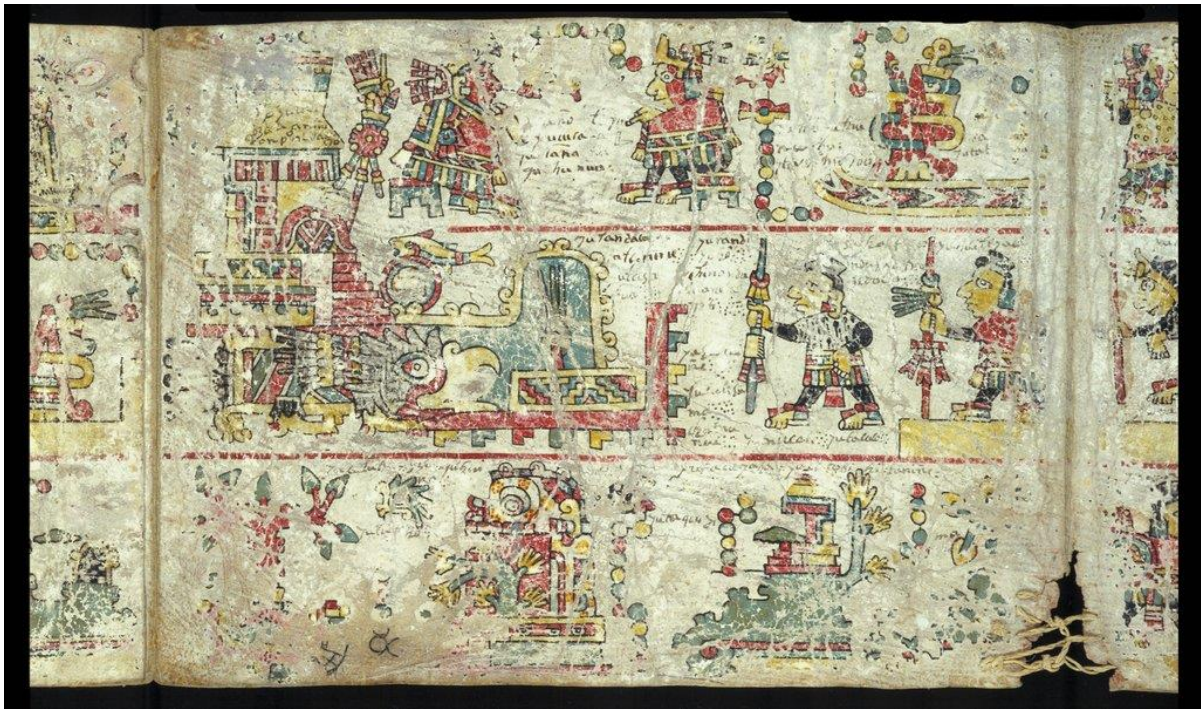


Figure 16. Codex Colombino, page 5, Tututepec and Juquila place glyph on top of ballcourt (top). Drawing of the same image (bottom). Mixtec. 12<sup>th</sup> century CE. Tanned deer hide folded and painted on one side. Accessed on February 29, 2020 <https://www.wdl.org/en/item/3245/> Drawing in Smith, Mary Elizabeth. *Picture Writing from Ancient Southern Mexico; Mixtec Place Signs and Maps*. The Civilization of the American Indian Series: 124. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1973. Page 246.



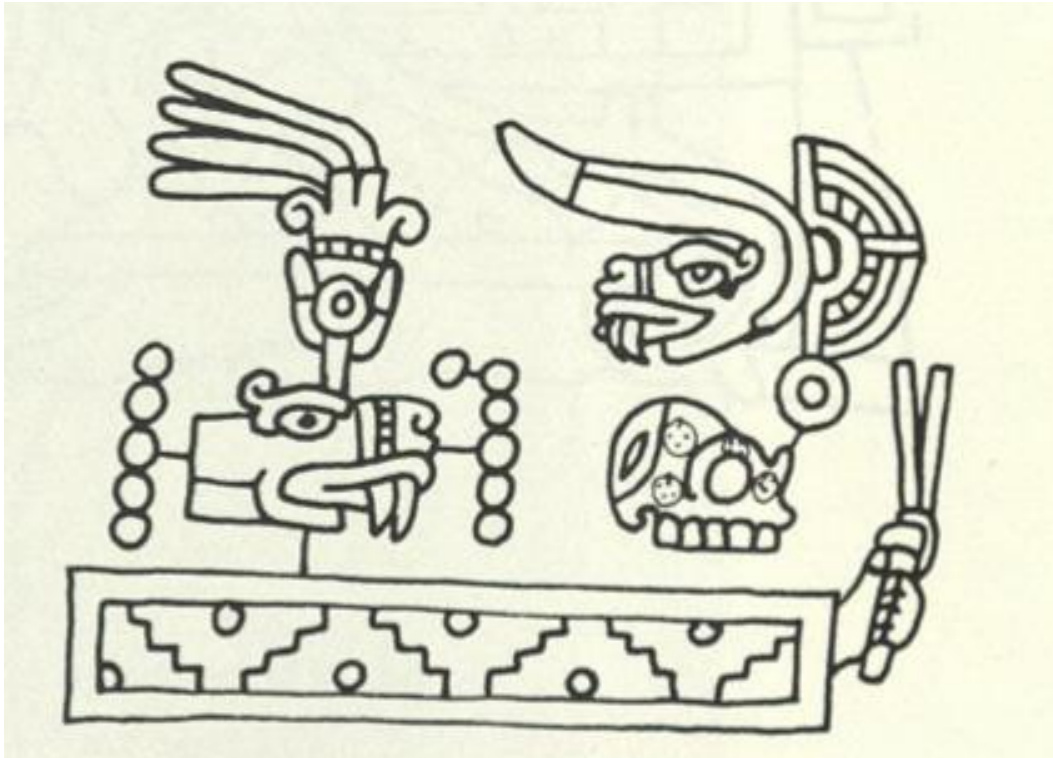


Figure 4. Drawing of place sign of Juquila in Codex Bodley, eagle head combined with geometric platform and tuft of grass, 13-IV. Mixtec. 14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> Centuries CE. Tanned deer hide. Drawing in Smith, Mary Elizabeth. *Picture Writing from Ancient Southern Mexico; Mixtec Place Signs and Maps. The Civilization of the American Indian Series: 124.* Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1973. Page 257.

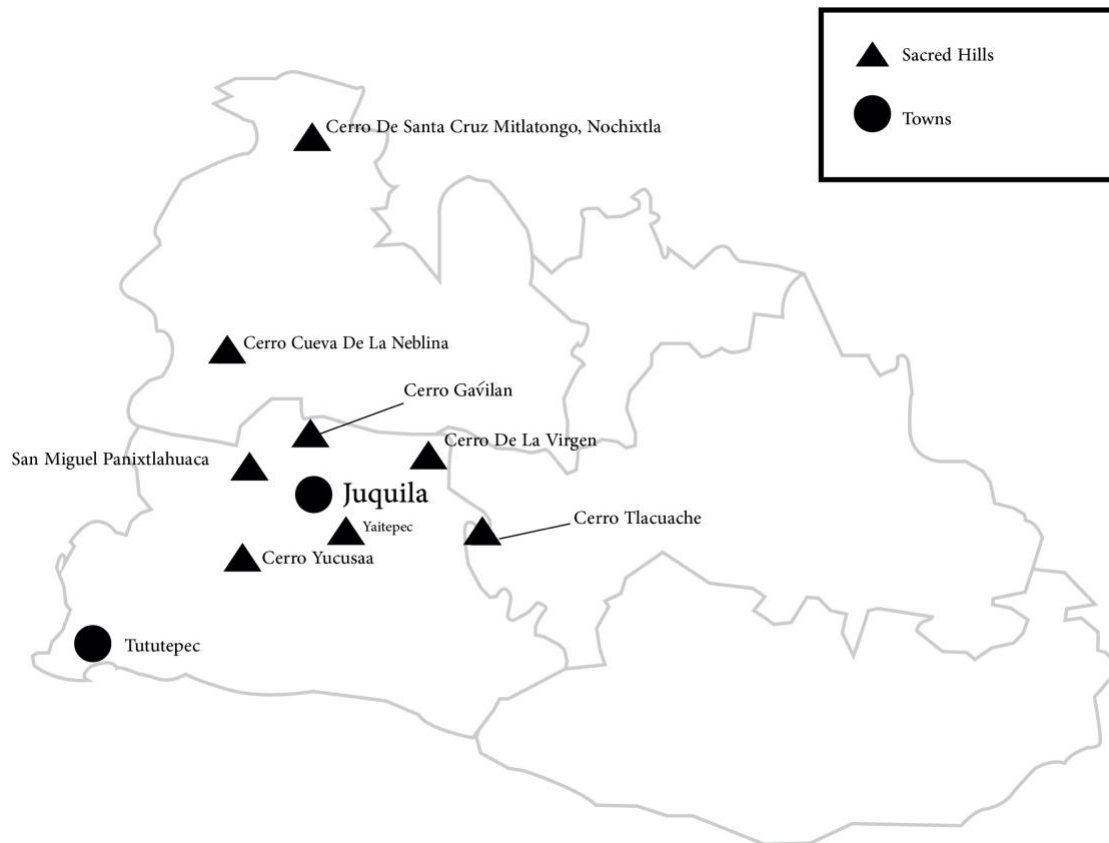


Figure 5. Coastal Oaxaca Map of Sacred Indigenous Sacred Hills and Towns. Created by Felicia Nez.



*Figure 6. Petroglyphs at El Cerro Tlacuache. In Soriano Mendoza, Moisés and Mario Lugos López. Peregrinaje Chatino, Los Caminos de Juquila. Oaxaca: 1450 Ediciones, 2014. Page 33.*

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