

Traditional Marian Celebrations in Mexico, an Immaterial Cultural Heritage that Remains.

Raúl Rivero Canto
Universidad Marista de Mérida
ICICH-ICOMOS Member
rau10@hotmail.com

ABSTRACT

Among the most prominent traditional festivals in Mexico are the celebrations dedicated to the Virgin Mary. Some of these celebrations are massive. One of them is the celebration of Our Lady of Guadalupe that annually receives more than ten million people in the Basilica in her honor in Mexico City in the first days of December. Others have great cultural importance such as the Pilgrimage of the Virgin of Zapopan, which was declared Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity during the XIII session of the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of UNESCO in 2018. However, there are festivals of this type throughout the Mexican territory. They show traditional dances, multicolored crafts, aromas and flavors inherited from the Mayan, Aztec, Zapotec, Totonac cultures, among others.

The objective of this work is to analyze what are the factors that allow the Marian celebrations in Mexico to be adapted to the contemporary way of life. Its main source is the interviews and surveys that were carried out among the participants of such celebrations throughout Mexico. From the testimonies of the heirs of the intangible heritage, we can understand what are the challenges facing Marian celebrations and what are the strategies they are using for their safeguarding.

Key Words: Popular festivals; Virgin Mary; Mexico; Religious celebrations; intangible Heritage.

ICOMOS
international council on monuments and sites

ICICH
International Committee on Intangible Cultural Heritage



Las Celebraciones Tradicionales Marianas en México: Patrimonio Cultural Inmaterial que Permanece

Raúl Rivero Canto
Universidad Marista de Mérida
Miembro ICICH-ICOMOS
rau10@hotmail.com

RESUMEN

Entre las fiestas tradicionales más destacadas en México están las celebraciones dedicadas a la Virgen María. Algunas de estas celebraciones reúnen multitudes. Una de ellas la de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe que tan sólo en la Basílica en su honor en la Ciudad de México recibe anualmente más de diez millones de personas en los primeros días de diciembre. Otras poseen gran importancia cultural como la Romería de la Virgen de Zapopan que fue declarada Patrimonio Cultural Inmaterial de la Humanidad durante la XIII sesión del Comité Intergubernamental para la Salvaguardia del Patrimonio Cultural Inmaterial de la UNESCO en 2018. Sin embargo, hay fiestas de este tipo en todo el territorio mexicano. En ellas se ven las danzas tradicionales, las artesanías multicolores y los aromas y sabores heredados de las culturas maya, azteca, zapoteca, totonaca, entre otras.

El objetivo de este trabajo es analizar cuáles son los factores que permiten que las celebraciones marianas en México se puedan adaptar a la manera de vivir contemporánea. Su principal fuente son las entrevistas y encuestas que se realizaron entre los participantes de tales celebraciones a lo largo y ancho de México. A partir de los testimonios de los herederos del patrimonio inmaterial, podemos comprender cuáles son los retos a los que se enfrentan las celebraciones marianas y cuáles son las estrategias que están empleando para su conservación.

Palabras Clave: Fiestas populares; Virgen María; México; Celebraciones religiosas; Patrimonio Inmaterial.

ICOMOS
international council on monuments and sites

ICICH
International Committee on Intangible Cultural Heritage



UNIVERSIDAD NACIONAL
AUTÓNOMA DE
MÉXICO



UNAM
Patrimonio
MEC-EDUPAZ

Célébrations Mariales Traditionnelles au Mexique: Patrimoine Culturel Immatériel qui Demeure.

Raúl Rivero Canto
Universidad Marista de Mérida
Member ICICH-ICOMOS
rau10@hotmail.com

RÉSUMÉ

Parmi les fêtes traditionnelles les plus importantes au Mexique figurent les célébrations dédiées à la Vierge Marie. Certaines de ces célébrations attirent les foules. L'une d'elles est celle de Notre-Dame de Guadalupe qui seule dans la basilique en son honneur à Mexico reçoit plus de dix millions de personnes par an dans les premiers jours de décembre. D'autres ont une grande importance culturelle comme le Pèlerinage de la Vierge de Zapopan qui a été déclaré patrimoine culturel immatériel de l'humanité lors de la XIII session du Comité intergouvernemental pour la sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel immatériel de l'UNESCO en 2018. Cependant, il y a des festivals de cette tapez sur tout le territoire mexicain. En eux, vous pouvez voir des danses traditionnelles, des métiers multicolores et des arômes et des saveurs hérités des cultures maya, aztèque, zapotèque, totonaque, entre autres.

L'objectif de ce travail est d'analyser quels sont les facteurs qui permettent d'adapter les célébrations mariales au Mexique au mode de vie contemporain. Sa principale source est les entretiens et enquêtes qui ont été menés parmi les participants à de telles célébrations à travers le Mexique. À partir des témoignages des héritiers du patrimoine immatériel, nous pouvons comprendre quels sont les défis auxquels sont confrontées les célébrations mariales et quelles sont les stratégies qu'elles utilisent pour sa conservation.

Mots Clés: Fêtes populaires; Vierge Marie; Mexique; Célébrations religieuses; Patrimoine Immatériel.

ICOMOS
international council on monuments and sites

ICICH
International Committee on Intangible Cultural Heritage



Traditionelle Marianische Feiern in Mexiko, ein Immaterielles Kulturerbe, das Erhalten Bleibt.

Raúl Rivero Canto
Universidad Marista de Mérida
ICICH-ICOMOS Mitglied
rau10@hotmail.com

Zusammenfassung:

Zu den bekanntesten traditionellen Festen in Mexiko zählen die Feierlichkeiten, die der Jungfrau Maria gewidmet sind. Einige dieser Feierlichkeiten ziehen Menschenmengen an. Eine davon ist die der Muttergottes von Guadalupe, die nur in der Basilika zu ihren Ehren in Mexiko-Stadt in den ersten Dezembertagen jährlich mehr als zehn Millionen Menschen empfängt. Andere haben eine große kulturelle Bedeutung, wie die Pilgerfahrt der Jungfrau von Zapopan, die während der XIII. Sitzung des Zwischenstaatlichen Ausschusses zur Sicherung des immateriellen Kulturerbes der UNESCO im Jahr 2018 zum immateriellen Kulturerbe der Menschheit erklärt wurde. Es gibt jedoch Festivals dafür Typ im gesamten mexikanischen Gebiet. In ihnen können Sie traditionelle Tänze, buntes Kunsthandwerk sowie Aromen und Geschmacksrichtungen sehen, die unter anderem aus den Kulturen der Mayas, Azteken, Zapoteken und Totonac stammen. Ziel dieser Arbeit ist es zu analysieren, welche Faktoren es ermöglichen, marianische Feiern in Mexiko an die zeitgenössische Lebensweise anzupassen. Die Hauptquelle sind die Interviews und Umfragen, die unter den Teilnehmern solcher Feierlichkeiten in ganz Mexiko durchgeführt wurden. Aus den Zeugnissen der Erben des immateriellen Erbes können wir verstehen, welchen Herausforderungen die marianischen Feierlichkeiten gegenüberstehen und welche Strategien sie für ihre Erhaltung anwenden

Schlüsselwörter: Volksfeste; Jungfrau Maria; Mexiko; Religiöse Feste; Immaterielles Kulturerbe.

ICOMOS
international council on monuments and sites

ICICH 
International Committee on Intangible Cultural Heritage



Celebrazioni mariane tradizionali in Messico: Patrimonio culturale immateriale che rimane

Raúl Rivero Canto
Universidad Marista de Mérida
Membro ICICH-ICOMOS
rau10@hotmail.com

SOMMARIO

Tra le feste tradizionali più importanti in Messico ci sono le celebrazioni dedicate alla Vergine Maria. Alcune di queste celebrazioni attirano folle. Uno di questi è quello di Nostra Signora di Guadalupe che solo nella Basilica in suo onore a Città del Messico riceve più di dieci milioni di persone all'anno nei primi giorni di dicembre. Altri hanno una grande importanza culturale come il Pellegrinaggio della Vergine di Zapopan, dichiarato Patrimonio Culturale Immateriale dell'Umanità durante la XIII sessione del Comitato Intergovernativo per la Salvaguardia del Patrimonio Culturale Immateriale dell'UNESCO nel 2018. Tuttavia, ci sono festival di questo tipo in tutto il territorio messicano. In essi puoi vedere danze tradizionali, artigianato multicolore e aromi e sapori ereditati dalle culture Maya, Azteca, Zapoteca, Totonaca, tra gli altri.

L'obiettivo di questo lavoro è analizzare quali sono i fattori che consentono di adattare le celebrazioni mariane in Messico al modo di vivere contemporaneo. La sua fonte principale sono le interviste e le indagini condotte tra i partecipanti a tali celebrazioni in tutto il Messico. Dalle testimonianze degli eredi del patrimonio immateriale si capisce quali sono le sfide che le celebrazioni mariane affrontano e quali sono le strategie che stanno utilizzando per la sua conservazione.

Parole Chiave: Feste popolari; Vergine Maria; Messico; Celebrazioni religiose; Patrimonio immateriale.



Celebrações Marianas Tradicionais no México: Patrimônio Cultural Imaterial que Permanece.

Raúl Rivero Canto
Universidad Marista de Mérida
Membro ICICH-ICOMOS
rau10@hotmail.com

RESUMO

Entre as festas tradicionais mais proeminentes no México estão as celebrações dedicadas à Virgem Maria. Algumas dessas celebrações atraem multidões. Uma delas é a de Nossa Senhora de Guadalupe, que só na Basílica em sua homenagem na Cidade do México recebe mais de dez milhões de pessoas anualmente nos primeiros dias de dezembro. Outros têm grande importância cultural como a Peregrinação da Virgem de Zapopan que foi declarada Patrimônio Cultural Imaterial da Humanidade durante a XIII sessão do Comitê Intergovernamental para a Salvaguarda do Patrimônio Cultural Imaterial da UNESCO em 2018. No entanto, existem festivais deste tipo em todo o território mexicano. Neles você pode ver danças tradicionais, artesanatos multicoloridos e aromas e sabores herdados das culturas maia, asteca, zapoteca, totonaca, entre outras.

O objetivo deste trabalho é analisar quais são os fatores que permitem que as celebrações marianas no México se adaptem ao modo de vida contemporâneo. Sua principal fonte são as entrevistas e pesquisas realizadas entre os participantes dessas celebrações em todo o México. A partir dos depoimentos dos herdeiros do patrimônio imaterial, podemos compreender quais são os desafios que as celebrações marianas enfrentam e quais as estratégias que estão utilizando para a sua conservação.

Palavras-Chave: Festas populares; Virgem Maria; México; Celebrações religiosas; Patrimônio Imaterial.

ICOMOS
international council on monuments and sites

ICICH
International Committee on Intangible Cultural Heritage



UNAM
Patrimonio
MEC-EDUPAZ

Traditional Marian Celebrations in Mexico, an Immaterial Cultural Heritage that Remains*

Raúl Enrique Rivero Canto⁽¹⁾
Universidad Marista de Mérida

Introduction

Throughout the year, throughout Mexico celebrations are held in honor of the Virgin Mary, Mother of God. These practices range from the simple "novenas" in the houses to the great pilgrimages that can gather millions of people.

The objective of this paper is to study, in the first place, why Marian celebrations are a fundamental part of the Mexican intangible cultural heritage. Also analyze which are the factors that allow the Marian celebrations in Mexico to be adapted to the contemporary way of life and in what way they become part of the daily life of Mexicans.

The main sources of this paper are the interviews and surveys that were carried out among the participants of such celebrations throughout Mexico. From the testimonies of the heirs of the intangible heritage, we can understand what are the challenges facing Marian celebrations and what are the strategies they are using for their safeguarding. Also an important source is the ethnographic work of the author who has documented numerous religious celebrations in Mexico. His participant observation allowed him to better understand the phenomenon and understand the factors that surround it. Although the methodological approach is mixed since it involves quantitative data, qualitative data is essential to understand the context and value of this proposal.



***Note:** MEC-EDUPAZ Journal No.19 appreciate and recognize the ICICH expert lecture of this Article, by Mrinalini, Atrey PhD.

(1) Architect, master and doctor in History. He is an active member in ICOMOS activities in Yucatan, Mexico. Expert member in ICICH-ICOMOS and in PRERICO – ICOMOS and Associate member in CIVVIH – ICOMOS.

The development of the article consists of four parts. The first explains how Mexican Marian celebrations are a good example of intangible cultural heritage based on the current theoretical framework. The second part explains the fundamental importance of devotion to the Virgin of Guadalupe in Mexican culture and analyzes why it has not been considered cultural heritage even though it is.

The third part of this paper studies how the Pilgrimage of Zapopan has managed to be declared Cultural Heritage of Humanity and how this has influenced the safeguarding of this cultural practice. Finally, the fourth part presents how various historic towns and cities also have Marian festivities throughout Mexico. There we study what are the challenges that these festivals face and what are the possible strategies for their conservation.

Are the Marian Celebrations in Mexico an Example of Intangible Heritage?

To answer the previous question, it is necessary to review what the concept of intangible cultural heritage implies. The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage considers the following concept:

The “intangible cultural heritage” means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity. (UNESCO, 2003, no. 3).

Reviewing what is written above; it is possible to derive some questions that serve as a guide for the analysis of this case. Probably the first question is whether Mexicans themselves consider Marian celebrations as part of their cultural heritage. One option to solve the above dilemma is to change the academic term "cultural heritage" to "daily life." Thus, if the question is whether Marian celebrations are a fundamental part of the life of the peoples and cultures of Mexico, the answer is a firm yes.

The XII Census of Population and Housing in Mexico carried out in 2010 reported that 82.7% of Mexicans consider themselves Catholic (INEGI, 2010). In that same sense, the ENCREER survey carried out by the scientific group called the Red de Investigadores del Fenómeno Religioso en México (RIFREM) in 2017 reports that 70.1% of Mexicans are religious believers either by tradition or by Fenómeno Religioso en México (RIFREM) in 2017 reports that 70.1% of

Mexicans are religious believers either by tradition or by conviction (RIFREM, 2017, p.26). If we cross both data it is feasible to infer that 58% of Mexicans are devotees Catholics. To better address this situation, other aspects of daily life that affect ICH can be analyzed. Among them are: pilgrimages to sanctuaries, the presence of an altar at home, daily prayers.

| Indicator | Results (%) |
|---|-------------|
| Religious believers in México | 70.1% |
| Participation in pilgrimages | 51.0% |
| Altar home dedicated to Our Lady of Guadalupe | 59.4% |
| Altar home dedicated to another Marian advocacy | 08.3% |

RIFREM, 2017.

Table 1.
Indicators of religious participation in Mexico.

About the indicator "participation in pilgrimages", the referred survey presents that 51% of Mexicans usually participate in pilgrimages to sanctuaries (RIFREM, 2017, p. 34). The importance of these pilgrimages lies in the fact that they involve passing a journey that goes from the profane to the sacred in terms of Durkheim's (1993) sociological theory.⁽²⁾ Those who participate in them undertake a journey in search of the sacred (López and Fourier, 2012).

This is a relevant indicator because pilgrimages are not the result of spontaneous impulses but rather involve movements in the space of groups organized on specific days or based on scheduled calendars according to the theory established by Turner and Turner (1978). Sometimes these tours are done as a penance punishing the body itself even as a way of gratitude as can be seen in the description that Aguilar Ros (2009, p. 34) makes of the journey of the pilgrims who go to see the Holy Virgin in Talpa de Allende, Jalisco, Mexico.

Although pilgrimages are one of the cultural manifestations whose social impact is most evident, there are other practices that take place inside the home that are also part of daily life and that, in a more practical sense, are part of cultural heritage. One of them is the presence of a domestic altar at home dedicated to the Virgin Mary.

(2) Durkheim (1993) considers that there are two different and opposite realities: the sacred and the profane. If the profane enters the sacred then the sacred would lose its status. However, it is possible that the sacred is displaced into everyday life by offering moments or spaces of the sacred in profane settings.

The ENCREER survey indicates that 59.4% of Mexicans have an altar at home dedicated to Our Lady of Guadalupe, while 8.3% have an altar dedicated to another Marian devotion, giving a total of 67.7% of Mexicans with a Marian domestic altar (RIFREM, 2017, p. 38). On the other hand, for this study, another survey was carried out whose sample population was composed of researchers linked to the religious phenomenon, participants of cultural heritage traditions and promoters of the safeguarding of cultural heritage.

| Indicator | Results (%) |
|---|-------------|
| Altar home dedicated to the Virgin Mary | 83.9% |
| Daily recitation of the Holy Rosary | 54.8% |
| Hail Mary recitation before going to sleep | 32.3% |
| Hail Mary recitation during the day | 38.7% |
| <i>Angelus</i> or <i>Regina Coeli</i> prayers at noon | 29.0% |

Traditional Marian Celebrations
in Mexico Survey

Table 2.
Indicators of daily religious life.

This survey showed that 83.9% of the participants have a Marian altar at home. Among the devotions they mentioned in the survey as part of the domestic altars are: Our Lady of Guadalupe, Our Lady of Carmen, Our Lady of the Assumption, Our Lady of Sorrows, Immaculate Conception, Our Lady of Perpetual Help, Our Lady of Fatima, Our Lady of Juquilá, Our Lady of Zapopan and Our Lady of Izamal. These last three correspond to local devotions from three historical Mexican regions: Oaxaca, Occidente and the Yucatan Peninsula.

Another measurable indicator is whether or not you pray at home. In this sense, the interviewees were asked if they pray daily, if it was Marian and what type it was. 54.8% responded that they perform the Holy Rosary on a daily basis. This practice, spread in Mexico by Dominican friars since the 16th century, consists of praying five "mysteries." Each mystery is made up of an Our Father and ten Hail Mary. It is important to consider that praying a Rosary can take from 5 to 30 minutes, so this would imply dedicating a good part of the day to this practice.

32.3% of the interviewees answered that they say at least one Hail Mary when waking up or before going to sleep, while 38.7% answered that they say it at any other time of the day. It is also notable that 29% of the interviewees suspend their work at noon (12:00) to pray, either alone or with their colleagues, the *Angelus* or *Regina Coeli* prayers.



Picture taken by Héctor Javier Sánchez Juárez, 2020.

Image 1.

Domestic altar to Our Lady or Perpetual Help
in Monterrey, Nuevo León, México.

Leaving behind the quantitative data, it is possible to see how the importance of everything related to the Virgin Mary is part of Mexican culture. Everyday language is a very good proof of that.

Expressions like "Holy Virgin" and "Holy Mother" are used to show surprise or amazement. If someone is distracted, people say that person is as if "the Virgin spoke to him."

So frequent are the references to the Virgin Mary or the idea that things depend on her intercession that even an open television program about the miracles of the Virgin of Guadalupe in daily life has been on the air for 12 years with more than 1400 episodes.⁽³⁾ The Midnight Mass on December 12 is broadcast live by the mass media and has a wide audience.

(3) <https://laverdadnoticias.com/espectaculos/La-Rosa-de-Guadalupe-Asi-fue-su-primer-capitulo-hace-mas-de-10-anos-20200827-0257.html>

For all the above it is possible to infer that the peoples of Mexico are widely devoted to the Virgin Mary. In this sense, the popular celebrations in each neighborhood, town or city in honor of her are a vital part of the annual cycle of Mexican cultures. By delving into the definition of intangible cultural heritage, it is also possible to reflect on the value of cultural practices linked to Marian celebrations such as processions, pilgrimages, family gatherings, novenas (consists of praying the same prayer for nine days in a row), dances, songs, etc.

Once explicated the importance for the communities, it is relevant to talk about the others aspects considered by the definition of ICH as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated. Among the objects and artifacts linked to the Marian celebrations, there are the images of the Virgin Mary, both paintings and sculptures, which in many cases are invaluable works of art. Other objects of great artistic value are usually candelabras, vases, banners, tablecloths, flags, banners and other instruments related to religious celebrations. Those artifacts produced between 1521 and 1900 are considered historical monuments and their conservation must be regulated by the National Institute of Anthropology and History (INAH) based on the Federal Law on this subject (Echeverría, 1972, art. 35). Of course, even recent ones are important for the simple fact of being fundamental to the safeguarding of an intangible cultural heritage practice.

In addition to all the objects that are involved with the eminently religious celebrations, it is also important to consider the musical instruments used by the musicians that harmonize the celebrations, the kitchen appliances that the cooks use to prepare the stews that are shared in the celebrations and even the toys that children and young people enjoy in popular festivals. All of them have a role that together generates the celebration.

The definition also speaks of cultural spaces linked to intangible heritage practices. Among them are Catholic churches, public squares, parks, houses, even rivers and lagoons, because in Mexico any space is good to celebrate. The Marian celebrations depart from the private space to the collective space and go back to the homes.

Sometimes the local police take care of the pilgrims and celebrators, but in many others it is not necessary since the entire community understands that the streets must be closed to vehicular traffic on holidays. Regarding churches, those built between 1521 and 1900 are protected by Federal Law due to their historical value and those built after 1901 can be considered as artistic monuments if their aesthetic or constructive qualities are relevant (Echeverría, 1972, art. 33). All the churches along with their esplanades that were built before 1992 are property of the Nation and are under the custody of the Federal Government.

Of all the elements related to the definition of intangible cultural heritage, the most relevant is knowledge. This knowledge implies first of all the transmission of legends and stories related to the miracles achieved through the intercession of the Virgin Mary. In each historical region it is possible to hear fascinating tales passed down from generation to generation about apparitions and miracles. But it goes further. It also includes the transmission of knowledge of how to carry out the celebrations. This know-how includes how to decorate, how to pray, how to sing, how to dance, how to cook, how to share, how to believe and how to enjoy the holidays.

Marian celebrations are passed down from generation to generation. You can see how grandparents teach their grandchildren about celebrations. They are events that bring the whole family together and that provide people with a great sense of identity, belonging and continuity. This is a very good reason to accept that Marian celebrations in Mexico are a fundamental part of the intangible cultural heritage of all Mexicans.



Picture taken by Humberto Raúl Ramírez Jiménez, 2020.

Image 2.

Domestic altar to Our Lady of the Assumption in
Tlanepantla, Estado de México, México

Our Lady of Guadalupe, Icon of Mexico

“From Heaven one beautiful morning the Guadalupana went down to Tepeyac”. That is the chorus of the most popular song in honor of Our Lady of Guadalupe. More than three-quarters of the inhabitants of Mexico know how to sing that song. That is not at all strange if you consider that Our Lady of Guadalupe is considered the queen and patron of all Mexico and is, in effect, the most widespread and deeply rooted devotion in the entire national territory.

Official history tells that from December 9 to 12, 1531, the Virgin Mary appeared to Saint Juan Diego Cuauhtlatotzin next to the Tepeyac hill, located north of Mexico City. Then she left her image painted in the clothes of St. Juan Diego (Chávez, 2010, p. 337). That image is the one which was venerated in the Tepeyac until now. It was the time of the beginning of evangelization and after the apparitions of the Virgin, who was called Guadalupe, many indigenous people from central Mexico agreed to be baptized.



Picture taken by Raúl Enrique Rivero Canto, 2013.

Image 3.

Interior of the National Basilica of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Mexico City, Mexico.

Over the centuries the presence of the Virgin of Guadalupe was fundamental for the construction of the identity of those born in New Spain and this strongly favored the process of Independence. Precisely, Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla at the beginning of the Independence movement in 1810 took as a flag the banner of the Virgin of Guadalupe that was in the Sanctuary of Jesús Nazareno in Atotonilco, Guanajuato.

José María Morelos y Pavón, hero of the Independence of Mexico, wrote the document called *Sentimientos de la Nación*. There he ordered in the article 19th that:

“Se establezca por Ley Constitucional la celebración del día 12 de diciembre en todos los pueblos, dedicado a la Patrona de nuestra Libertad, María Santísima de Guadalupe, encargando a todos los pueblos la devoción mensual” (Morelos, 2010, p. 113).(4)

In this way we see that the celebration of December 12, the day of Our Lady of Guadalupe, was not only the people's wish but it was an official event.

The importance of the Virgin of Guadalupe for Independent Mexico was so great that her image occupied the place of honor of the Chamber of Deputies according to the description of Madame Calderón de la Barca (1987, p. 53):

“La Cámara de Diputados no es de grandes proporciones, pero hermosa y de buen gusto. Frontero a la silla se encuentra la imagen, representada de cuerpo entero, de la Virgen de Guadalupe”.(5) There it remained until the separation of Church and State and the proclamation of the Secular State during the second half of the 19th century.

Our Lady of Guadalupe was chosen to be the patroness of the Mexican nation in the Porfirian era. As the popular song indicates, all of her was Mexican, she was a true icon of the idealized Mexicanness. The regime of President General Porfirio Díaz Mori needed symbols to create cohesion among the member peoples and thus consolidate the idea of a Nation State.(6) For this it had its bishops who could give the country a national patron: Our Lady of Guadalupe (Rivero

(4) Translation by the author: The Constitutional Law establishes the celebration of December 12 in all towns, dedicated to the Patron Saint of our Freedom, María Santísima de Guadalupe, entrusting all towns with the monthly devotion.

(5) Translation by the author: The Chamber of Deputies is not large, but beautiful and tasteful. In front of the main chair is the image, represented in full body, of the Virgin of Guadalupe.

(6) He was President of Mexico in two periods: 1877-1880 and 1884-1911.

In response to Don Porfirio's request, on May 31, 1895, the Archbishop of Mexico Prospero Maria de Alarcón published a letter that was read in all the churches on the holiday following its reception and sent to all the archbishops and bishops of Mexico. Thus they also spread it in their respective ecclesiastical jurisdictions. The letter indicated that on October 12 of that year the image of Our Lady of Guadalupe that was venerated in Tepeyac was to be crowned as Queen and Patron of Mexico.

That same day, October 12, 1895, inside all the cathedral and parish churches a pious act was to be performed consisting of the singing of the *Te Deum* followed by the *Salve Regina* and by a small procession with the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe. Therefore, all cathedral churches and parishes require an image of Our Lady of Guadalupe. In this way, in a single year, the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe reached the entire national territory, even in places where it was not known.

During the 20th century, despite religious persecution led by socialist and far-left governments during the first decades, the peoples of Mexico consolidated their devotion to Our Lady of Guadalupe. The increase in means of transport as well as the development of roads favored people to go on pilgrimage to the National Basilica in Mexico City.

In this way, the festivities of the first days of December become massive pilgrimages where Mexicans become a single people who unite with a single purpose: to pass in front of the sacred image of Our Lady of Guadalupe.⁽⁷⁾ It is estimated that more than ten million people make this December pilgrimage each year.⁽⁸⁾

Flower arrangements, fireworks, songs, dances, ornaments and many other elements make up this celebration. The young people are running dressed in uniforms that they prepare themselves in which they include the image of the Holy Virgin. Cars and trucks are also decorated with balloons of many colors, but mainly in the colors of the Mexican flag: green, white and red. Even the houses place flags of Mexico, as if it was the main national holiday and many buildings and shops are illuminated with the national colors.

(7) <https://www.vidanuevadigital.com/2019/12/13/en-mexico-mas-de-10-8-millones-de-fieles-visitaron-a-la-virgen-de-guadalupe-por-su-fiesta/>

(8) <https://www.informador.mx/mexico/La-Basilica-de-Guadalupe-espera-a-mas-de-10-millones-de-peregrinos-20191209-0110.html>



Picture taken by Raúl Enrique Rivero Canto, 2014.

Image 4.

Photograph of the Yucatan Pilgrimage.

Every year on July 12, more than ten thousand people from Yucatan visit the National Basilica of Our Lady of Guadalupe for one hour.

For the other 90 million Mexicans who cannot go to Tepeyac, the celebration moves to their homes. The streets are closed to be able to perform masses and rosaries. Many offices and markets suspend work that day to have a community celebration. Even many government offices stop working a couple of hours to have the celebration, despite the fact that the Mexican State is secular. Something similar happens in various schools and universities.

According to the ENCREER survey, 80% of Mexicans believe in the Virgin of Guadalupe. When doing the study by regions, it was observed that 89.1% of the inhabitants of the Center-West and the Center-North of Mexico believe in it as well as 83.4% of the inhabitants of Central Mexico. The lowest level of believers was found in the South Pacific region where it only reached 69.1%, a percentage that in itself remains high (RIFREM, 2017, p. 42-43).

The same survey indicates that 70.7% of Mexicans agree with the celebration of traditional festivals linked to religion in public schools. In the Central-North and Central-West regions the percentage rises to 77.1%. While in the Northwest, along the border with the United States, the percentage is the lowest with 66.4% acceptance of religious celebrations in public schools (RIFREM, 2017, p.51-53).

On the other hand, 81.3% of the participants in the survey carried out specifically for this study considered that for them the most important Marian celebration in Mexico is December 12 in the Tepeyac but the 15.6% considered that their local celebration in those days is the most important and emotive. 50% of those interviewed consider that the Marian devotion most loved by them is Our Lady of Guadalupe and they consider that it could be proposed to receive the title of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity.

In addition to the National Basilica in Mexico City where the original image of Our Lady of Guadalupe is preserved, there are numerous sanctuaries dedicated in her honor in all corners and regions of the Mexican geography. In Tijuana, Baja California, a few meters from the border wall that separates Mexico from the United States, is the Cathedral of Our Lady of Guadalupe. Thousands of families come there in December whose lives unfold on both sides of the border. The same thing happens in the Cathedral of Ciudad Juárez where those who return from El Paso, Texas with their families from Chihuahua.

Every major city in Mexico has a Guadalupe shrine to receive the faithful on December 12. Thus, those who do not travel to Mexico City or celebrate with their neighbors or colleagues can make a pilgrimage to a regional sanctuary. Some examples of this are the Basilica of Guadalupe in Monterrey, the Santuario de Guadalupe in Guadalajara, the Guadalupe temple of Betlemitas in Oaxaca, the church of Guadalupe on a hill east of San Cristóbal de Las Casas, the colorful Guadalupe shrine in Puebla, and the parochial temple of San Cristóbal in Mérida.

Also small indigenous towns like Acanceh, Yucatán have great celebrations in honor of Our Lady of Guadalupe. In this case, the Mayan town of Acanceh has more than a month of festivities where the aroma of flowers mixes with the smell of the powder of fireworks. The entire villa is decorated with multicolored Chinese paper flags. The ladies go to the temple adorned with their best jewels and the families gather around the table while eating succulent dishes.



Picture taken by Raúl Enrique Rivero Canto, 2013.

Image 5.
Celebration of December 12 at the San Cristóbal parish temple
in Merida, Yucatan, Mexico

What are the factors that allow the Guadalupean festivals to be preserved?

First of all, they are celebrations that the whole family attends, in such a way that the new generations learn the traditions. But it also favors that the faith of the peoples of Mexico in the Virgin of Guadalupe is even greater than their faith in the Catholic Church, because despite the fact that in Mexico there is a great religious plurality and many people change their religion, the Guadalupe celebrations survive.

Although the modernization of towns is one of the great enemies of ancestral traditions, that is not a major challenge in the case of the celebrations of Our Lady of Guadalupe since they have managed to adapt to the changes and conditions of each era. In addition, it is a national symbol that makes the vast majority of Mexicans proud. The image of Our Lady of Guadalupe can be seen outside hundreds of thousands of houses, shops, subway stations and even in the least expected corners.

A famous theme park on the Mexican Caribbean coast presents a spectacular show where it exposes the most representative of the cultures in Mexico.⁽⁹⁾ Without a doubt, one of the most emotional moments is when the story of Our Lady of Guadalupe is presented. Even the same park has built a chapel in her honor inside. A tradition that makes its people proud is part of the intangible cultural heritage that will surely remain for many years.

La Romería of the Virgin of Zapopan

During the XIII session of the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of UNESCO in 2018 *La Romería* of the Virgin of Zapopan was included in the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. It is the second religious holiday in Mexico included in the list after the indigenous festivals dedicated to the dead (Día de Muertos) that was included in 2008.⁽¹⁰⁾



(9) <https://www.xcaret.com/es/atracciones/xcaret-mexico-espectacular/>

(10) <https://ich.unesco.org/es/RL/la-romeria-de-zapopan-ciclo-ritual-de-la-llevada-de-la-virgen-01400>.

La Romería is a tradition that is almost 300 years old since it is considered that it began in 1734. Every year during the month of May, the Virgin of the Expectation of Zapopan is carried in procession through various parishes of the metropolitan area of Guadalajara, Jalisco and remains so until December 12, the day it is carried from the Metropolitan Cathedral of Guadalajara to its basilica in Zapopan, which is northwest of the Guadalajara metropolitan area.

The cultural importance of *La Romería* consists not only in the transfer of the Holy Virgin but also in the set of celebrations around her. Among them are the dances of the indigenous people and other gestures of community solidarity that turn the streets of Guadalajara into an authentic party of crowds. At least two million people attend each year.⁽¹¹⁾

It should be noted that according to the ENCREER survey, the Central-West region and the Central-North region have the highest participation in religious cults in Mexico. 57.8% of the inhabitants go to Mass or another celebration at least once a week (RIFREM, 2017, p. 31). Throughout the day, the Basilica in Zapopan has pilgrims inside who are praying before the ancient image. The basilica, cared for by the Franciscan friars, is insufficient to house the immense number of people who come every day.

Although this festival is of immense importance for the inhabitants of Western Mexico, it does not have great national relevance. According to the survey carried out for this study, only 9.3% consider that it is an important party for them and those answers came from the sample taken precisely in the Western region. Only 3.1% responded that for them it was the most important religious celebration in all of Mexico.

Curiously, this celebration has only been affected and attacked by local authorities due to poor management of urban space throughout the metropolitan area of Guadalajara. Construction of the subway damaged numerous temples and historic buildings and disrupted public roads. The biggest challenge that *La Romería* faces is being able to cross a metropolitan area with more than five million inhabitants.

It could be assumed that the inscription on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity would help to spread or preserve the celebration, but it seems that it has been something irrelevant for the local population (popularly called *tapatíos*). Furthermore, 71.9% of those interviewed for this study said they had no idea that *La Romería* was part of the list.

(11) <https://pulsoslp.com.mx/nacional/miles-en-romeria-en-honor-a-virgen-de-zapopan/1008107>

The safeguarding of *La Romería* absolutely requires that children and young people continue to participate so that it can be transmitted from generation to generation. That is why the educational system of the state of Jalisco must guarantee that October 12 is a non-working day at all educational levels from elementary schools to universities. To the best of their ability, employers must also allow their employees to have that day off to attend the celebrations because, unlike the Guadalupan case, in Zapopan you have to go to *La Romería* to be able to live the authentic experience.

It is important to note that *La Romería* is not the only religious practice of great cultural value that occurs in Jalisco. An example of this is the "Tendido de Cristos" in San Martín de Hidalgo, Jalisco; which has already been recognized as intangible cultural heritage of the state of Jalisco (Méndez, 2020, p. 3).

Other Marian shrines in Jalisco that have great celebrations and receive crowds are also very noteworthy. Among them are those of San Juan de Los Lagos, Talpa de Allende and Santa Anita. The most outstanding thing about these Jalisco religious practices is that those who do not actually practice them do so for beliefs and not for folklore (Rivero Canto, 2020, p. 53).



Picture taken by Raúl Enrique Rivero Canto, 2012.

Image 6.

Sometimes people advance on their knees to venerate Our Lady of Expectation of Zapopan in her basilica in Zapopan, Jalisco, Mexico.

Marian Festivities Throughout Mexico

In addition to the aforementioned celebrations of the Holy Virgin in Tepeyac (Mexico City) and in Guadalajara and Zapopan in Jalisco, there are thousands more. It is not bold to affirm that a quarter of the towns of Mexico have annual religious celebrations in honor of the Virgin Mary.

In some cases they take place in historical contexts of great patrimonial value such as the cases of Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria in Tlacotalpan, Veracruz or Nuestra Señora de la Soledad in Oaxaca, Oaxaca. In both cities, their historic centers have been declared Cultural Heritage of Humanity.



Image 7.

Exterior of the Basilica of Our Lady of Ocotlán in Ocotlán, Tlaxcala, Mexico.



Image 8.

Interior of the Basilica of Our Lady of Ocotlán in Ocotlán, Tlaxcala, Mexico.

Picture taken by Raúl Enrique Rivero Canto, 2016.

Other historic cities have celebrations of wide cultural value although they are not as well known nationally or internationally. These are the cases of the celebrations of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios in Tlanepantla, Estado de México; Our Lady of Izamal in Izamal, Yucatán; Our Lady of Ocotlán in Ocotlán, Tlaxcala; Our Lady of Health in Pátzcuaro, Michoacán; Our Lady of the Pueblito in Corregidora, Querétaro; Our Lady of Juquílá in Juquílá, Oaxaca and Our Lady of Patrocinio in Zacatecas, Zacatecas. In all these cases, they are devotions whose origin is based on a local legend that usually includes Marian appearances or miraculous cures.

Also relevant are some Marian images that are preserved in historical temples of which they are not the titular images but which enjoy wide veneration and their own festivities. A good example of this is the venerated image of Our Lady of Solitude that is located inside the Cathedral of Córdoba, Veracruz. Another similar case is that of Nuestra Señora del Rayo located in the temple of the Jesús María convent in the historic center of Guadalajara, Jalisco.

The state of Yucatan is a very good example to exemplify the complex and extended of the Marian celebrations. The best known case in that state is the one already mentioned of Izamal. The legend says that during the 16th century, when the Holy Virgin, the Immaculate Conception, passed through Izamal, she herself decided to stay there, becoming so heavy that no one could move her. In the 18th century it was a widely venerated image throughout the Peninsula and the supposed miracles were proclaimed by its devotees at all voices (Borges, 2015, p. 8). Both Mayans and Spaniards came to her to ask for the epidemics and plagues to stop.

In gratitude for the favors received, for the festivities of December 8, the liturgical solemnity of the Immaculate Conception, the monumental architectural complex of Izamal has been filled with the faithful throughout the centuries and to this day. According to the count made by the Franciscan friars in charge of the temple, during the days of the festival they go from 5,000 to 15,000 people to venerate the Holy Virgin of Izamal (González, 2008, p. 11).

Continuing with the example of Yucatán, it is possible to see how there are other Marian temples that have relevant celebrations such as those of Our Lady of Candelaria in Valladolid, Our Lady of the Star in Peto, Our Lady of the Assumption in Muna and Our Lady of the Assumption in Mama. In other cases, these are temples dedicated to other saints but in which there is a Marian image in whose honor the greatest celebrations of the neighborhood or town are held.

Examples of this are: Our Lady of Tetiz in the church of San Bernardino de Siena in Tetiz, Our Lady of Carmen in the church of San Juan Bautista in Motul, Our Lady of Candelaria in the church of San Pedro in Tekal de Venegas and Our Lady of the Assumption in the parish church of San Sebastián in Mérida. These celebrations bring together less than five thousand people but the enthusiasm of the attendees is so great that it feels like millions of people.



Picture taken by Raúl Enrique Rivero Canto, 2016.

Image 9.

Annual celebration of Our Lady of the Assumption in the parish church of San Sebastián Mártir in Mérida, Yucatán, Mexico.

Continuing in descending order, there are small Mayan towns that have festivals in honor of the Virgin Mary such as Dzityá and Komchén north of the Mérida metropolitan area. The crowds do not come there, but the "format" of the celebration remains: pilgrimages, processions, music, dance, food, decoration, fireworks, etc. What is being explained with the example of Yucatán is that the essence of the Marian celebrations remains regardless of the size of the attendance or even the amount of money invested.

At this point it is valid to ask again, what are the factors that allow the survival of these celebrations? Although the transmission of knowledge from generation to generation is fundamental, as already mentioned, it has also helped internal migration in Mexico.

When the people of the cities risk abandoning their ancestral practices to succumb to the temptation of a supposed modernity, the arrival of rural dwellers with deep roots in their traditions helps to reinforce and maintain urban cultural practices.

In the case of Yucatán, it is possible to observe certain situations with the arrival of the Mayan indigenous people to Mérida, the capital city. The festive ensemble made up of religious elements such as masses and processions as well as various leisure activities continues to be an element of group cohesion. 49.32% of the Mayans who live in the capital city return to their towns for the main festivals (Lizama, 2012, p. 77-78).

Perhaps one of the most paradigmatic cases of how social and migratory movements support the conservation of cultural practices in general and of Marian celebrations in particular is Playa del Carmen, Quintana Roo, the heart of the Riviera Maya. Less than 25 years ago, a small port in the Caribbean became a large tourist city in a matter of months. The chapel of Nuestra Señora del Carmen became part of the jurisdiction of the parish of the same name, built a few blocks away. Today, both the parish and the chapel are a point of reference for national and foreign tourists who visit Playa del Carmen either as part of their journey to the Riviera Maya or when starting their journey to the paradisiacal island of Cozumel (Téllez, 2010, p. 139).

The inhabitants who had just arrived in Playa del Carmen missed the old patron saint festivities of their places of origin while at the same time they ran into the small local festival that already existed. All together they worked to make it a great Marian celebration in honor of Our Lady of Carmen.

In a decade, that is to say between 2000 and 2010, the devotion to the patron saint of the city was consolidated among the population and her party is one of the few events that bring the population together (Rivero Canto, 2014 b, p. 229). In this way, a city that is 25 years old as such, has a celebration with characteristics of 250 years ago. This is only possible because it seems that most Mexicans have Marian celebrations in their DNA and wherever they go they will take them with them and make them possible.

Despite this, it is very likely that the sum of microhistories, ethnographies and specific case studies offers the same results as this work that studied everything as a whole.

Final Thoughts

More than conclusions, I would like to offer some final thoughts that allow us to link this work with subsequent ones. This is because the geographical scope of action of this work is very wide and it is necessary to stop at the study of very particular cases. Despite this, it is very likely that the sum of microhistories, ethnographies and specific case studies offers the same results as this work that studied everything as a whole.

It has been approached how the Marian celebrations correspond to a great extent to what is requested by the concept of intangible cultural heritage. Indeed, the legends and stories that give rise to the celebrations are intangible cultural heritage in themselves in the category of knowledge. But also knowing how to organize and carry out a celebration implies an invaluable set of knowledge that has been transmitted from generation to generation.

To all the above, we must add the artistic and cultural value of all the objects and artifacts linked to the celebrations such as flags, banners, flower arrangements, etc. Also the spaces where they take place that can be from the National Basilica to the smallest house in Mexico. Other intangible elements such as sounds, smells and tastes are also fundamental components of the celebrations. The case of the December 12 celebrations throughout Mexico and specifically in the Basilica of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Mexico City is very emblematic. In an unofficial way, the Virgin of Guadalupe is a symbol of Mexico and its celebration is a true national holiday. It does not have an official appointment that recognizes its value as intangible heritage, but it is possible to wonder if it is necessary.

When reviewing the case of *La Romería de Zapopan*, the only Marian celebration in Mexico that is inscribed on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, it was observed how the inscription does not seem to have a strong impact on its realization. This annual activity is carried out at the wish of the people, but International recognition will put pressure on the authorities to guarantee the permits and facilities that allow their safeguarding and continuity.

Given the anti-religious manifestations that have been observed by numerous governments around the world, it is relevant and necessary to have recognition such as that of Zapopan for various festivities that have intrinsic cultural value.

In the case of pilgrimages to the National Basilica of Guadalupe in Mexico City, recognition by federal authorities and their subsequent inscription on the representative list would be crucial to ensure that such celebrations continue to be carried out in an orderly and safe manner in a favorable legal framework.

The same could be said of numerous Marian celebrations held throughout Mexico. Perhaps legal recognition and governmental commitment should be proportional to the size of the events. In this sense, some celebrations may have international recognition, others national, others state and some more of a municipal nature. However, it should come as no surprise that small towns are better organized than an entire country.

The transmission of knowledge as well as the objects and artifacts necessary for the celebration occurs both diachronically thanks to the teaching from generation to generation and synchronously thanks to migrations. It remains to analyze how these celebrations have traveled to the United States, Canada and Europe as part of the "cultural baggage" that Mexicans carry with them when they migrate there. That is why it is possible to affirm that the Mexican-style Marian celebrations are a gift from Mexico to the whole world.

The main threats and challenges for Marian celebrations are modernization in the cities and clumsy government programs that interfere with the ancestral traditions of the towns. In response to this, maintaining pride in traditions is the most effective and contagious strategy to ensure their safeguarding.

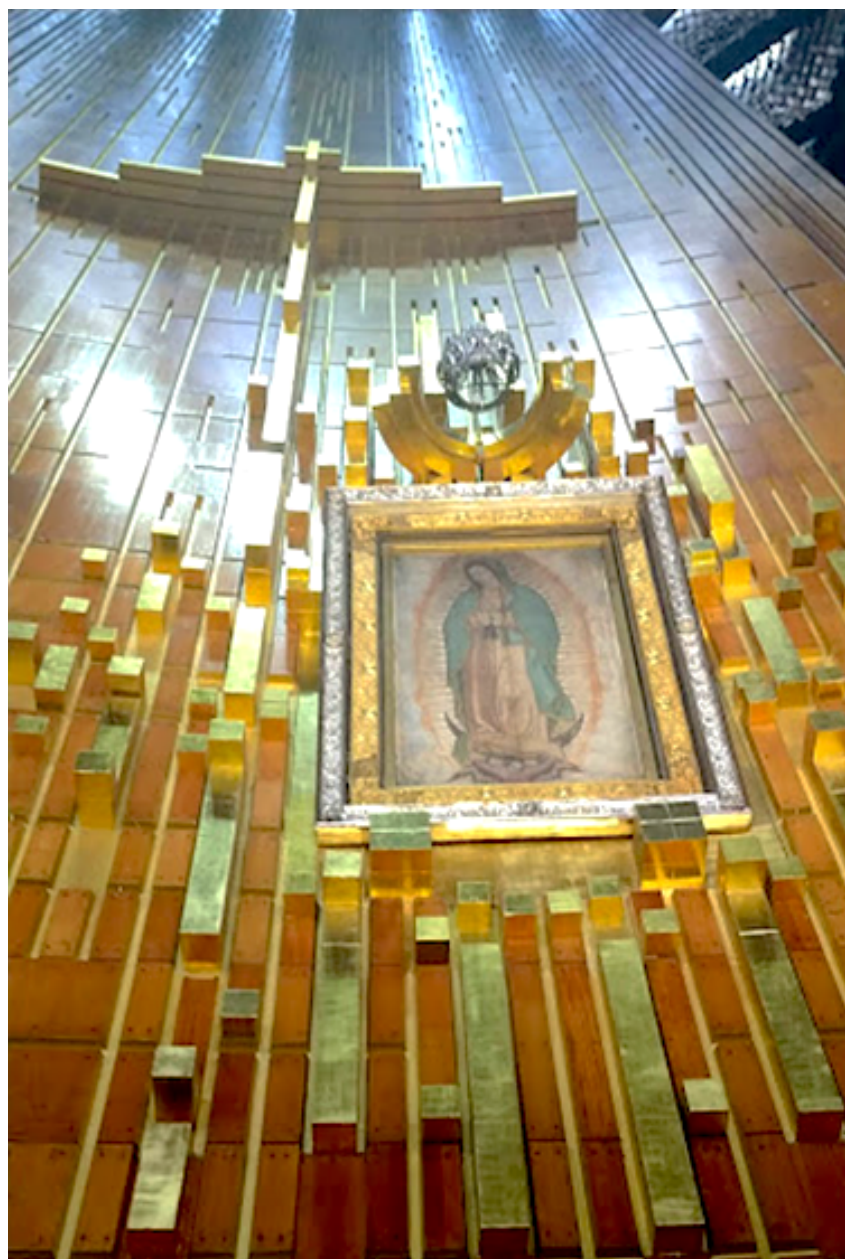
One important aspect is to consider the daily life as part of the ICH. It might seem that only large celebrations or mass activities are representative of the culture of a society. But also in the cultural activities and practices that are repeated from house to house is the essence of a people's culture. In the methodological aspect, this paper tries to offer that panorama.

Marian celebrations in Mexico are a fundamental part of the heritage produced by the mixture of two worlds more than 500 years ago. That is why they are part of the national identity. In other parts of the world, religious celebrations are more solemn, quiet, and mystical. On the contrary, Mexico has inherited the noise and hubbub of pre-Hispanic peoples. The main idea is to create an environment for all the senses: sounds for the ear, food for the taste, incense and flowers for the smell, ornaments for the sight and sculptures of the Virgin for the touch.

Marian celebrations are not a time of peace and quiet but a time of celebration and public joy. Its persistence is not only due to tradition or to the fact that through prayers the people try to find hope in the face of their poverty and suffering.

The social situation, the violence and the economic uncertainty are good reasons for pray, but the celebration is the time of thanksgiving and even more, is time to share, enjoy together and promote social cohesion.

In a world full of bad news, Marian celebrations offer Mexican people moments of joy, happiness, togetherness and social cohesion. In the figure of the Virgin Mary, the peoples and cultures of Mexico meet a loving mother who propels them in their triumphs and lifts them up in their sorrows. Mexicans think that she has not done something similar for any other nation and in gratitude Mexico always remains faithful.



Picture taken by Raúl Enrique Rivero Canto, 2016.

Image 10.
Original sacred image of Our Lady of Guadalupe in the National
Basilica in Mexico City, Mexico.



Bibliography

- Aguilar Ros, A. (2009, May-August). Cuerpo, memoria y experiencia La peregrinación a Talpa desde San Agustín, Jalisco. *Desacatos*, 30, 29-42.
- Borges Castillo, J. I. (2015). Novena de la Santísima Virgen de Ytzmal. Entre la pluma del criollo y las velas de la piedad popular. Mérida: Centro de Investigaciones Franciscanas del Sureste de México.
- Calderón De La Barca, F. E. (1987). La vida en México durante una residencia de dos años en ese país. México: Porrúa.
- Chávez, E. (2010). La verdad de Guadalupe. México: Ediciones Ruz.
- Durkheim, Emile (1993). Las formas elementales de la vida religiosa. Madrid: Alianza.
- Echeverría Álvarez, L. (1972). Ley Federal sobre Monumentos y Zonas Arqueológicas, Artísticas e Históricas. México: Diario Oficial de la Federación publicado el 6 de mayo de 1972.
- González C., T. (2008). El convento de San Antonio de Padua y la Imagen de Nuestra Señora de Izamal. Izamal: Orden de los Frailes Menores.
- INEGI (2010). Censo de Población y Vivienda 2010. México: Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía.
- Lizama Quijano, J. J. (2012). Del pueblo a la urbe. El perfil maya de la blanca Mérida. México: CIESAS.
- López Aguilar, F. & Fournier García, P. (2012). Peregrinaciones otomíes. Vínculos locales y regionales en el Valle del Mezquital. In Fournier, P.; Mondragón, C. y Wiesheu, W. (Coord.) Peregrinaciones ayer y hoy: arqueología y antropología de las religiones. México: El Colegio de México.
- Méndez Zárate, A. (2020, may). Introducción. *Estudios Jaliscienses*, 120, 3-4.
- Morelos y Pavón, J. M. (2010). Sentimientos de la Nación. México: CONACULTA.
- RIFREM (2017). Encuesta Nacional sobre Creencias y Prácticas Religiosas en México RIFREM 2016. Tijuana/Guadalajara: Red de Investigadores del Fenómeno Religioso en México.

Rivero Canto, R. E. (2014). Espacios sagrados, imágenes y devociones en la diócesis de Yucatán (1847-1910). Una historia inter persecutiones mundi et consolationes Dei. Thesis of Master in History. Mérida: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social.

Rivero Canto, R. E. (2014). Las imágenes sagradas y el proceso de diseño arquitectónico de los templos católicos contemporáneos en la península de Yucatán. In Checa-Artasu, M. M., López García, J. J. & Valerdi Nochebuena, M. C. (Coord.) Territorialidades y Arquitecturas de lo Sagrado en el México Contemporáneo. Aguascalientes: Universidad Autónoma de Aguascalientes.

Rivero Canto, R. E. (2020, may). La autenticidad del Tendido de Cristos. Estudios Jaliscienses, 120, 48-59.

Téllez, L. (2010). Una Iglesia de corazón misionero. Libro de nuestra historia. Cancún: Prelatura Cancún-Chetumal.

Turner, V. & Turner, E. (1978). Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture, Anthropological, Perspectives. New York: Columbia University Press.

UNESCO (2003). Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. París: UNESCO. <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000132540>.

ICOMOS
international council on monuments and sites

ICICH 
International Committee on Intangible Cultural Heritage



UNIVERSIDAD NACIONAL
AUTÓNOMA DE
MÉXICO

