

‘Enlightened’ Evangelization: Colonial Education in Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz’s *Loa for the Divine Narcissus*

Isabella Maganda Garcia Bernstein

Supervised by: Dr. Orlando Bentancor
Spanish and Latin American Cultures, Barnard College of Columbia University

Completed in fulfillment of the Laidlaw Scholars Leadership and Research Program

Laidlaw Undergraduate Research and Leadership Scholars Program
Barnard College Inaugural Cohort, 2022



BARNARD
BARNARD COLLEGE · COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Abstract

This project explores ecclesiastical education in colonial New Spain (XVI-XVIII), using Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz's *Loa for the Divine Narcissus*. Education was at the forefront of imperial dialogue, as the Spanish Empire sought to subdue and convert the indigenous population. While recent scholarship commonly studies letters and catechisms, it is also consequential to examine less traditional objects such as allegorical plays. Focusing on Sor Juana's text allows individuals to view a play as a cultural item of sociopolitical expression, providing readers with the opportunity to further understand the intricate relationship between Christian theological philosophy and colonial legislation. In this work, she advocated for non-violent imposition of hierarchies and purported that evangelization was inseparable from the dynamics of education. Her creole mentality, notion of religious syncretism and Enlightenment ideals shape her evangelical educational paradigm. By combining a literary and historical analysis with theories such as neoplatonism and syncretism, this work draws comparisons between Sor Juana's beliefs and those of her contemporaries. These beliefs reveal the nature of education as a vessel for colonization and assimilation that severely limited the visibility of indigenous religion and culture in Mexico.

Keywords: Creole, cultural filter, syncretism, Otherness, neoplatonism, assimilation, Enlightenment

Isabella Maganda Garcia Bernstein
imb2138@barnard.edu

For full research paper, please see the following:
<https://barnard.academia.edu/IsabellaMagandaGarciaBernstein>

Introduction

New Historical Analysis

This project explores the Roman Catholic Church's main role in colonial Mexican education. In this work, I use the Catholic Church and Catholicism interchangeably. I want to establish that the intention of this project is not the denunciation of Catholicism as a world religion but rather the demonstration of Catholicism as a sociopolitical instrument in the construction of an oligarchical nation.

Nearly all governments in our history have used religion to form a common narrative that unifies the citizenry. It is impossible to argue that a religion has fixed beliefs. Inherently, there are varied interpretations, therefore a faith like Catholicism can be manipulated to suit certain agendas. Throughout Europe, religion has been used to legitimize imperialism and has served as a political ideology.

However, we have seen that the practice is often not consistent with sacred scriptures. Hence, I believe it is necessary to differentiate the actions of the Church with the foundation of Catholicism itself. The Church, regardless of its position as the official voice of the faith, is an institution governed by a select privileged class. Thus, due to the reactive nature of governance, interpretations of scripture and canonical law change over time.

There is a need to critique the text without the biases of our time due to the temporality of schools of thought. I use the literary theory of New Historicism to read and examine *Loa for the Divine Narcissus* by Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz. New Historicism is the theory that each piece of literature is a result of the historical period. The theory suggests that the content of a text might also be analyzed in order to learn more about the expression of certain concepts and ideas during the era of authorship. In this way, the writing captures general sentiments that influence society, and therefore the author, at the time of publication.

Sor Juana wrote during the New Spanish Baroque period in the 17th century. The New Spanish Baroque followed the characteristics of the European baroque with an emphasis on rich ornamentation and color (in art and literature), both of which represented the Creole aristocracy (Gustlin and Gustlin). In the New World, this artistic movement in all its grandiosity was intrinsically related to the demonstration of Creole wealth. Accordingly, to our standards, their ideals can seem antiquated and prejudiced. In order to preserve the integrity of her work, I offer my perspective of Sor Juana with history in mind. In other words, I focus on the content that she produced during her life with the works of her contemporaries to avoid anachronism and my own 21st Century bias. It is important to recognize that the act of being progressive constantly changes and evolves over generations.

In order for us to understand Sor Juana's work, specifically *Loa for the Divine Narcissus*, it is necessary to bear in mind the religious and social circumstances and laws that defined the

New Spanish society in which the author lived. An understanding of the colonial environment permits us to analyze her writing, that has historical meaning, in general terms.

The Relationship between the Catholic Church and Spanish Crown

After the fall of Granada and the expulsion of the Moors in January of 1492, Pope Alexander VI published *Inter caetera*¹ that established the rights of the royal patronage system. The Spanish monarchs fully committed themselves to the Church's agenda, further complicating the already complex relationship between the ecclesiastical institution in Rome and the Crown. In exchange for the promise of evangelizing the indigenous people in the conquered lands, the Church gave them permission to exploit every aspect of the New World (Aizpuru 21). In this case, the Church acted as a state. With the *Inter caetera*, the monarchs were executors of the Christian mission supported by the Church. However, like all political structures during the Age of Discovery, the exact jurisdiction of the ruling parties was unclear. That is to say, the Church and the kingdom of Spain did not exist independently². Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabel of Castile appointed the clergy in their kingdoms to permanent positions with the permission of the Church. As we can see, the relationship between the two structures was intimate. The monarchy controlled the Church in Spain, and during the period of colonization, they had their own religious institution in the New World as well.

Religion had always been a matter of state, and Catholicism was no different. Spain used Catholicism as an ideological justification for the maintenance of royal and colonial power. A.P Thornton, a professor and scholar of British imperial history, describes this phenomenon: "The essence of empire is control. To control, whether of others or of oneself, everyone must bring a philosophy" (Thornton qtd. in Liss 469). A religious order during the colonization of New Spain was the Jesuits. Although the Jesuits imparted a lot of information directly from the Church, they introduced beliefs that were "essentially Christian, but specifically Spanish" (457). This occurrence relates to the concept of a "cultural filter," the nationalist influence that shapes the transmission and reception of an idea.

In the 16th Century, the kingdom of Spain gained the reputation as "the empire where the Sun never sets". Charles V said to his son, Philip II, "Universal Christianity united under Spanish hegemony and an obligation to defend the Church". Explicitly, Charles V declared his intentions for the empire, and Phillip II followed it with a particular zeal towards Spanish hegemony. He focused on the Castilization of the colonies and promoted Catholic unification.

¹ The pope declared to Spain and Portugal that they had the authority of God, writing the following: "And we make, appoint, and depute you and your said heirs and successors lords of them with full and free power, authority, and jurisdiction of every kind..." To see the complete version, consult the [National Library of Medicine](#).

² The connection between faith and government in Spain was similar to the structure in Mexico. In the Mexican governing structure, the monarchs were living gods, hence each policy/decision was religious and vice versa.

Demonstrating a feeling of proto-nationalism, Mexican colonial education was imbued with Catholic values, and Spanish teachers took great responsibility in expressing them. In the Spanish Empire, he spread a collective awareness of being Catholic and Spanish. No feature was mutually exclusive. In fact, a Spanish citizen had to be Catholic. In the beginning of Spanish colonization, Castilian was the language of the privileged. The monarchs first put merchants in charge of teaching Christian doctrines. However, the merchants, the trustees, had no interest in educating the indigenous people. Rather, they saw the Indians as property and wanted to eliminate the opportunity to gain privileges. The context changed when Carlos V empowered the friars to educate indigenous communities in Spanish (Jiménez 11). Now that the use of a common language, Castilian, became a priority and was associated with the evangelizing process, the linguistic issue possessed a national relevance.

The Catholic Church and Missions in New Spain

The 12 Apostles, franciscan monks, were the first figures to arrive in New Spain in 1524. Led by Martín de Valencia, the mendicants began to build missionary schools and formed parishes (Wasserman-Soler 699-701). They stole indigenous territories, destroying centuries of relics and other indigenous cultural elements as part of their spiritual conquest. The Franciscans, among other orders, looted numerous temples (teocallis) and built churches in their place (Gutiérrez 119). Each order upheld its own perspectives towards the indigenous communities. Therefore, there was a diversity of opinions during the spiritual conquest of New Spain. The recurring debate wavered between the belief that the New World was the battleground against the presence of the devil and Catholicism, and the idea of indigenous victimization. For example, the Jesuits believed that the indigenous people had been victims of satanic acts. Hence, they thought that evangelization was the solution.

Evangelization involved the meticulous construction of a social structure called 'reduction'. The reduction performed the tasks of "convincing, reorganizing and subjugating [the indigenous] in small villages under the guardianship" (Hanks 450). During the process, the colonial clergy removed the positions of the indigenous priests. Because the indigenous priests were the only people who could read and teach the codes, which contained the sacred rules, the elimination of all religious figures also marked the elimination of the indigenous religious dialogue. In addition, it was a systematic way of eliminating indigenous scholarship, generating a completely unique narrative, which was that of Catholic academic perspectives. Neoplatonism was a theory behind this need to foster singularity. Developed by Plotinus, the Spanish used it to seek a divine universal cause of human existence (Wildberg).

Education was more or less a national system, a religious institution tied to an agenda of imperialist governance and uniformity. Any educational method was intended to serve the interests of Spain (Jiménez 10). The operation of the missions involved literacy. Literacy did not always mean reading and writing but also the knowledge and strict observance of all Christian doctrines. The only literature intended for indigenous people was Christian. It is important to

clarify that literacy did not offer any freedom in this situation. The missions supported a two-pronged goal: "to perpetuate the government system in power and convert the indigenous population to Catholicism" (Jiménez 12).

We recognize that missions were a pillar of colonial society and the sole education system in Mexico. They focused on literacy as a way to maintain Spanish power and convert indigenous people to Catholicism. Within these institutions were disagreements regarding the language of conversion (Nahuatl or Castilian Spanish) and other pedagogical strategies. Views of indigenous people differed as well: they were either noble savages or possessed by the devil. The most stark cultural difference between the Spaniards and natives was monotheism versus polytheism. All of this occurring behind a backdrop of the Counter-Reformation and the rise of the Enlightenment, educational discourse grew increasingly prominent. Scholar and nun Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (~1648-1695) was a participant in this discourse and a critic of the current educational policies.

An Ideological Educational Clash: Catholic and Mexican Curricula

To grasp the true magnitude of the subversion of indigenous cultures, it is necessary to review the structures that had been established before the Spanish arrival. Unlike what the Spanish believed, the New World was neither a clean slate nor a corrupt land that needed salvation.

Indeed, the educational system of indigenous groups was more equitable and transcendental than that of colonizers. For example, the Mexicas already had a systematic way of educating all the inhabitants of their civilization. In this system, Mexica education was compulsory despite the social position (even for slaves.) It was based on theology, strengthening and executing all the legends of the gods. The teaching of these legends began at home with human values, i.e. humility, obedience and dedication to work. This moral teaching, which was called Huehuetlatolli, was the basic curriculum that everyone had to learn. Each section (calpullis) of the empire was divided according to the rules of social classes. The Calmecac was the school for nobility. The curriculum included reading, writing, theological and imperial history, geometry, diplomacy, astronomy, military and priesthood. In the schools, the tlatoani (teacher) taught future priests, academics, painters for the Mexican codes, governors and teachers "to speak well, to govern well, and to hear of righteousness" (Ahuja 23). The Telpochcalli served the common people (the macehualli). There, they taught history, religion, agriculture and skills to be a soldier, farmer or blacksmith. It is important to observe attitudes towards children in both institutions. A considerable aspect of the development of scholarship was the freedom to ask because the Aztecs believed in preparing their heirs, the children, for the future. They saw education as the transmission of a legacy that had a political significance in showing the values of the empire.

Similarly, Catholic missions used education to propagate the values of the Catholic-Spanish empire. The process took place with great zeal and passion, methodically selecting the subjects to construct a rigorous narrative that supported the ideology of the Church.

This zeal was recorded by the Mexican historian Joaquín García Icazbalceta. His files noted that no more than twelve men converted millions of children and adults. Surely, this file was exaggerated, but it still showed the dynamics of unequal power between Spanish teachers and indigenous "students".

Synopsis of *Loa for the Divine Narcissus*

"Loa for the Divine Narcissus" (1689) is an allegorical play by Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz that precedes the longer *auto-sacramental* "The Divine Narcissus". In this short introductory work, she constructs a hierarchical dynamic between Spaniards Zeal and Religion and indigenous America and Occident. Zeal and Religion witness the sacrificial celebration of the God of Seeds and condemn idol worship. They command that America and Occident convert to the "true doctrine." America and Occident refuse. Zeal then wants to kill America, which Religion prevents. However, she still questions the nature of indigenous religion and mandates conversion. The introduction ends with America and Occident converting to Catholicism as Religion provides a complete explanation of the mystery of the Eucharist.

Methodology

Throughout this project, I carry out a complete analysis of the Loa for the self-sacramental "The Divine Narcissus" with a special focus on its historical significance. The main methodology will take the form of literary analysis through detailed reading (Close Reading). The detailed reading will take place in two parts: a thematic evaluation using theories such as nationalism, neoliberalism, syncretism, neoplatonism and the execution of the New Spanish Baroque and a historical examination to contextualize the belief system of Sor Juana. The theories will guide us in the analysis, in how I discuss the characteristics of the characters in the work, i.e. how theories are presented through the characters in the work. In addition, I offer an interpretation of Sor Juana's perspective on the educational process through evangelization in the way in which she develops the plot. Although these theories did not exist at the time Sor Juana was writing, I use them to conceptualize imperialism and cultural colonization during a revision of New Spain in the 17th century and later centuries.

I explore nationalism, more specifically the use of religion as a national tool, in the second and fourth chapters. Religion, I argue, intrinsically connected the Church and the State, which strengthened the intricate process of colonization. In Catholicism, it was the notion of the kingdom of Christ. After the Reconquest, as I mentioned before, the Pope gave Spain the distinction of being a Catholic stronghold so it was the Spanish duty to take care of the kingdom of Christ on earth, which implied the protection and promulgation of Catholic traditions. Defining the requirements of being a member of the Spanish empire, these traditions generated a sense of classical nationalism that we can characterize as:

The political program that sees the creation and maintenance of a fully sovereign state owned by a given ethno-national group (“people” or “nation”) as a primary duty of each member of the group. Starting from the assumption that the appropriate (or “natural”) unit of culture is an ethno-nation, it claims that a primary duty of each member is to abide by one’s recognizably ethno-national culture in all cultural matters. (Miscevic)

Classical nationalism requires a universal culture, a deep dedication to the state and patriotism in every way. Generally, in this theory, the homogeneity of values is the most fundamental. Constant strength supporting homogeneity often becomes an attitude shared by all citizens of a state (Liss 316). As a continuation of this attitude, education is usually "a construction and raising of awareness of national identity" (Mar-Molinero 76). The collective consciousness in classical nationalism was Catholicism, a universal belief system. In addition to a collective consciousness, it is also necessary to examine linguistic nationalism, where a language (Castilian in this case) is prominent. It suggests recognition of a cultural hierarchy as well as a unifying effort. The Vulgate Bible mentions the concept of *labii unius*³. Taking inspiration from this concept, the humanist author Antonio de Nebrija wrote *Grammar of the Castilian language* in 1492 after the Reconquest of Granada. He stated that language was an instrument of empire, which we can interpret as a remark supporting nationalism. Finally, we need to examine the role of Sor Juana as a Catholic nun and Spanish citizen. How can we see the combination of these dominating influences in the work of the *Loa for the Divine Narcissus*?

Along with nationalism, cultural neoliberalism, a concept developed in the third chapter, is visible in the work of Sor Juana. The most central element is the "cultural filter." Mainly, I investigate Castilian Catholicism, a type of Catholicism imbued with Spanish values. This version of the faith was inherently Spanish so it served as the vehicle through which the natives received the message of Christ (Poole 340). The cultural filter defines neoliberalism because the concept itself is "an expression of the global perspective of Eurochristianism" (Green 1). Therefore, Castilian Catholicism is an expression of an amalgamation of Spanish cultural experiences and the practice of religion. Due to her surroundings, surely Sor Juana adopted this distinctly Spanish religious expression and expressed it in the work.

Neoliberalism also shows great capacity to execute power in situations where definitions of freedom were different. In other words, the neoliberal worldview has strict views on civil development and the way other people live their lives. According to neoliberalism, you have to have a certain level of universality of freedom. To gain this universality, Europeans, during the colonial period, militarized religion, or a belief system largely influenced by religion, to unify any population they sought to control. Here, more or less, the unifying effort was essentially colonialism. Moreover, neoliberalism, with its strict structure, is a political theology that was propagated during the Spanish colonization. It argues that Western law, governance and

³ A Latin phrase that translates to "one language." The term is in the verse Genesis 11:1 which explains the linguistic situation of the world before the Great Flood. It also articulates the idea that God was intended to unify all with one language.

sovereignty are incompatible with indigenous culture (Green 6). The goals of neoliberalism to promulgate liberal thought to all served as the justification for colonization. Liberation according to an illustrated narrative is the root of neoliberalism. During religious conversion (the conquering process), colonizers presented the false notion of choosing, that is, the freedom to choose to follow Christ. In reality, the only option was the ideology of the conquerors because only they knew true freedom.

Within neoliberalism, we find the social theory of syncretism. Syncretism "denotes the meeting, mixing and mixing of the socio-cultural components of different religious systems" (Smith 1). In the third chapter, I discuss the occurrences of syncretism throughout the work. First, I examine the idea of assimilation versus conversion that the theory presents. I investigate the impossibility of benign syncretism, paying special attention to the hierarchization inherent during colonization. The anthropologist, Kristin Norget, commented in her article "Decolonization and the politics of syncretism: The Catholic Church, Indigenous Theory and Cultural Autonomy in Oaxaca, Mexico" that "the equitable interaction of two cultural systems does not imply a usurpation of any of the cultures from which it arose" (Norget 87). He affirms that syncretism implies the equal interaction of two systems, which did not occur in the conquest of Mexico.

With regard to the interaction between the Spanish and the indigenous, I also explore the (im)possibility of collaboration in the colonization process. Although Catholics never had to convert, they still adapted catechisms to colonize. In particular, I speak of evangelization that sometimes took place in three languages: Spanish, Latin and Nahuatl. On the other hand, the indigenous people made their own interpretations of the catechisms, leaving a unique profile of a Catholicism not Spanish but indigenous (Gutiérrez 123). In fact, after experiencing conversion, the indigenous elite created religious practices that reflected indigenous traditions. Above all in the work, Sor Juana seems to build similarities in the Mexican and Catholic faith to facilitate evangelization.

When Sor Juana sought to find similarities between the two religions, she employed Neoplatonism to support the Catholic presence and strength in the world. Neoplatonism is the theory that there is a connection between all beings in the universe. It does not mean that there are no differences in the universe but that there is a strong and essential connection among all living beings:

Generally, according to this way of thinking, the world is conceived as substantially homogeneous, and problems about the mental faculties and methods of knowing them take precedence. Thus, if the world is homogenous, constituted by a sole material substance, and the same universal laws apply everywhere, then one might seek a mathematical algorithm to explain the behavior of the diverse phenomena or modes of this unitary matter, which are presented as distinct items to sensibility. (Benítez 78)

Neoplatonism explains that for everything, there is a unique divine cause: "The First," "The One" and "The Good." This existence of a divine being is characteristic of the Jewish-Christian tradition, which hints at the absolute unity that there is only one true god (Wildberg).

The theory also describes the nature of our consciousness that comes from a divine figure. It articulates the origin of the soul as a trait that distinguishes our universal humanity. In contrast, the Aristotelian scholastic tradition says the opposite: that all are based on difference and that because of the fundamental difference, a universal connection does not exist.

Sor Juana believed in Neoplatonism as a way to understand the universe intellectually. According to her, using the knowledge of the universe, we can understand God's desires. Inherently, with this belief, she affirmed a knowledge of the singular universe. To achieve this level of knowledge, he believed that everyone should discover the differences in the universe and follow the path of self-development. This development would involve the liberation of the soul because it is a 'spark' of divinity. Simple and almost severed from the body, the soul delights in this 'separation' from the body that allows it to achieve an intellectual flight, free from restraints (Benítez 90).

This project attempts to prove that Sor Juana wrote under the assumption that in order to reach a true understanding of the universe, the self-development described in Neoplatonic theory needs to be guided by the Spanish Catholics. In other words, she argued that she believed in a version of Neoplatonism that was not based on equality but difference and an effort to subjugate and unify. Following the neoplatonic theory:

A human being is therefore in the first instance not a social or political being, but a divine being, and life's purpose was seen not so much in the exercise and rehearsal of the traditional virtues that give meaning and quality to our interaction with others, but in seeking to 'bring back the god in us to the divine in the All'. (Wildberg)

I attempt to prove that Sor Juana's proposal regarding evangelization was that everyone in the world, despite their culture, wanted the same thing. She simply claimed that everyone believed in the same god, but there was only one way of worship.

The New Spanish Baroque (~1600-1750), the viceregal artistic movement of New Spain, completely redefined the ways of worship in Christianity. It focused on the magnificence of all divine creations so that each work of the time expressed the glory of God. The Pontificate and the Spanish monarchy encouraged worship in material form. Everyone had to 'admonish' or declare their faith, which was basically an authoritative mandate.

Due to the power of the Spanish aristocracy in the New World, particularly in New Spain, a Creole consciousness flourished (a pride of having the Spanish heritage) that came directly from the European baroque. The Creole mentality contributed to the great imperial project that can be described as "a king, a god and a language" (Suárez, Olid-Peña 33). The Creoles like Sor Juana were the subjects of the Crown that benefited from the imperial project and that sustained it even after the peninsular migratory stagnation. Although the New Spanish Baroque is not a

theory, per se, it was a cultural movement that influenced many texts and works of art. The Catholic religion played an indispensable role because it was a way of imposing authority. Authority as belonging to the New Spanish Baroque was fundamentally important because the Spanish Empire established its colonies, so universalism in all religious beliefs presupposed complete obedience and submission to the Crown. The art style in the New Spanish Baroque was defined by the Viceroyalty. The government was the main patron and the body on which everything depended.

The Viceroyalty formed a quasi-Hispanic monarchy in the New World that led the colonization process. Although the orders came from the Crown, the Viceroyalty was the executors. They supervised the linguistic transition from Spanish being used as a privileged language to the dominant language throughout New Spain. Additionally, they directed evangelization and religious homogenization as they related to the maintenance of the authority and universalism that supported the Spanish empire (Suarez, Olid Peña 33).

With these aforementioned theories, a historical examination is equally required. In this examination, I review Sor Juana's ecclesiastical contemporaries in the Catholic Church in the New World and in Europe, the systematic connection between the Church and the Spanish Crown, the social structures in the colony of New Spain and the accounts of the missions in theory and practice. Likewise, I compare the canonical actions and decisions during the Spanish colonization with the perspectives of Sor Juana, using catechisms, indigenous stories and second-hand historical accounts.

By focusing on a particular text, we gain a historical snapshot of the present time frame and educational philosophy that the Catholic Church perpetuated. All this provides a piece of the puzzle that can explain the diversity of educational beliefs and strategies about Spanish imperialism and colonization.

From the two analytical approaches when we read a text: intrinsic and extrinsic, this project takes an extrinsic approach. Analyzing the historical and social circumstances of the *Loa for the Divine Narcissus* it is essential to decipher its educational logic through evangelization. I therefore analyze her allegorical work in relation to her experiences. Her position as a Creole Catholic nun allows us to observe her rhetorical strategies and perspectives as she wrote. By placing Sor Juana within the Catholic institution of the seventeenth century, it is impossible to make conclusions about the work without considering the historical and social context.

While I analyze her work as a whole, I am less interested in the syntactic and didactic development of writing and even more the reasons behind the values contained in the text. The concept that a text can inform us about a historical situation and introduce ideas not explicitly mentioned is at the heart of this project. Although the intrinsic approach places more emphasis on the importance of a text than on the context, an extrinsic approach assumes a more comprehensive perspective in which only the text in context has meaning. Because my goal is to put Sor Juana in the religious canon of the time, i.e. of the New Spanish Baroque, the Enlightenment, the Counter-Reformation, etc., an extrinsic approach is indispensable when we

compare their ideas with those of the Church. She wrote as a woman, a Catholic nun and a subject of the Crown. Without considering these factors, this project has no ethos nor rationale.

Research Questions

- 1) How does Sor Juana display the creole mentality in New Spain in her discussions of sociopolitical and religious hierarchy?
- 2) How does Sor Juana showcase the concept of religious syncretism during cultural colonization?
- 3) How does Sor Juana express her points of view towards education, considering her perspectives towards evangelization and religious conversion? How is she in dialogue with other contemporary institutions?

Thesis

In *Loa for the Divine Narcissus*, Sor Juana demonstrates that evangelization is education. Employing the influences of the Enlightenment, despite not supporting the intellectual movement itself due to the recurring battle between the Catholic Church and humanism, she espoused the ideal of 'educational' evangelization. This process utilized education as a vessel for colonization as well as a weapon to silence indigenous communities and their legacy. This educational mindset allowed colonial standards to be disseminated and inherited.

The Criollo Mentality in expressing sociopolitical and religious hierarchy

chapter extensively truncated

The Creoles occupied a vital position in the administration of the Spanish Empire. Composed of the high-aristocratic stratum in New Spain, they held immense power. As part of the ruling class, the Creoles facilitated the day-to-day operations of imperial society. They began the ecclesiastical discourse for the colonies, served as educators and participated in higher ranks of the army. When Spanish immigration to New Spain stagnated, they kept control of the colonial government, from which developed their own Creole identity and became the leaders of the colonies. With this power, they spoke for everyone, and this Creole voice that supposedly represented the marginalized dominated the intellectual narrative not only in New Spain but also in the New World.

During the Baroque period (1600-1750), a "creole consciousness emerged in the viceregal centers from which the economic, political and cultural links with the imperial power were established" (Hernandez-Sainchez Barba, Vidal in Moraña 234). This awareness flourished in the clergy as many Creoles devoted their lives to the Catholic faith. The sociological reality of being a Creole and a member of the Church sometimes demonstrated a conflict of interest and

revealed a recurring controversy that arose throughout the colonial period. An ideological clash between secularity (political and economic) and the priorities of the Church to evangelize and homogenize under a 'true' religion constantly transpired.

Main points of analysis:

❖ **Connections with the Viceroyalty of New Spain**

–“*¡Viva España! ¡Su Rey viva!*” (2.201).

–“*En la coronada Villa / de Madrid, que es de la Fe / el Centro, y la Regia Silla / de sus Católicos Reyes*” (5.436-439)

- The viceroy as the representative of the monarch in the New World and “apostles” of the Church → the general *Criollo* duty to uphold the Crown and Church

❖ **Monotheism and Monarchy**

–“*Ministro de Dios soy, / que viendo que tus tiranías / han llegado ya a lo sumo, / cansado de ver que / vivas tantos años entre errores*” (2.146-150).

- The ideological leadership of the Catholic Church in building the Spanish Empire
- The Divine Right of Kings: unifying religious and political authority

❖ **Education and the State**

–“*Y así, estas armadas Huestes, / que rayos de acero vibran, / ministros son de Su enojo / e instrumento de Sus iras*” (2.152-155).

- Evangelization, the educational system in the colonial period, was oriented to fit the needs of the religiously imbued State.
- Religion as the principle/justification and Zeal as the actor: a description of the *Criollo*

❖ **Savior Complex and Ideas of Purity**

–“*Mas Su Humanidad bendita, / puesta incruenta en el Santo / Sacrificio de la Misa, / en cándidos accidentes, / se vale de las semillas / del trigo, el cual se convierte / en Su Carne y Sangre misma; y su Sangre, que en el Cáliz / está, es Sangre que ofrecida / en el Ara de la Cruz, / inocente, pura y limpia, / fue la Rendición del Mundo*” (4.354-367).

- The savage slot and perceptions of ideological barbarity/purity
- Sanctity of Catholicism: Conversion and Baptism

Religious Syncretism in Constructing Cultural Hierarchy

chapter extensively truncated

Religious syncretism is the amalgamation of various religious belief systems, "the meeting, mixing, and blending of socio-cultural components" of those religions (Smith 1). In general terms, religious syncretism was based on reconciling ideological differences between multiple religions with the idea that the groups involved would achieve a point of mutual understanding and allow a coexistence and mixture of a plethora of ideologies. However, this interpretation of religious syncretism is idealistic and often does not occur in world history when we address issues such as war and colonization, concepts completely antithetical to mutual and peaceful understanding. In this section, I argue that the religious syncretism of the colonial era was affected not by mutual understanding but by the colonial hierarchy. To reinforce the hierarchy, many conquerors, that is, the clergy, used the binary of good and bad in establishing the dynamic between perceived chaos and order (Checa 201).

Loa for the Divine Narcissus in its entirety is syncretic in the way that Sor Juana tried to create a resolute link between the indigenous faith and Catholicism. During her time, this action was revolutionary because it implied a different expression of hierarchy, one that suggested a kind of religious and sociocultural equality. However, it is necessary to consider that her perspective of the indigenous faith was filtered. That is, she did not represent religion in its original form but by the Catholic vision. In fact, Sor Juana wrote it as a permutation of Catholicism, a fusion with Catholic beliefs. Raising the issue of New Historicism, we should interpret his work as an effort by a Catholic nun to evangelize the indigenous people of New Spain while advocating the best treatment of the native inhabitants. Evidently, her interpretation of religious syncretism was strongly rooted in the supremacy of Catholicism (Gomez 58).

Throughout the work, she established the idea that the natives were proto-Christians. In other words, he tried to connect the religious practices of the Mexica faith with those of the Spanish Catholics. She seemed to declare that the Mexica religion was somehow shaped by Christianity before the Spanish arrival, using the influential theory of Neoplatonism (Hansen 465). In analyzing this set of beliefs, we should place syncretism in cultural frameworks. Anthropologist Kristin Norget explains:

During the colonial period, missionation and evangelization involved the imposition of a Eurocentric view upon the indigenous, but also the 'hybridization' of this view as the spiritual colonizers adapted Catholic religiosity to encompass non-Western populations, and indigenous people interpreted Christianity according to their own cultural frameworks. (Norget 80)

From this point of view, it is essential to ask the following questions: how can we define the concept of hybridization in the evangelizing process? What kind of interpretation took place during the imposition of the Eurocentric vision? How did European taxation and hybridization exist at the same time?

In the play, Zeal and Religion had a dialogue with the West and America. In the end, the indigenous characters admitted that they did not know enough about "the true faith." Essentially, even though Spanish characters convinced their counterparts that their own religion had some Christian elements, the interaction still created a sense of intellectual and social inferiority. In

this chapter, I investigate how religious syncretism invalidated indigenous cultures, refuting any effort for multiculturalism⁴ and cultural dialogue of pluralism⁵.

This chapter addresses the issue of authority enforcing syncretism. Sor Juana, wielding the pen, gave us the answer in her allegorical work. This Catholic and Creole author dictated the religious syncretism among her characters, directing and controlling the syncretic process. Despite how willing and pacifist the conversion seemed at the end of the work, it is unreasonable to argue that the conquerors would have allowed a true and egalitarian mixture of religions.



Figure 2. Neoplatonism is the idea that the soul is on a journey to religious and intellectual enlightenment. After conversion, individuals embarked on this journey of self-development. Colonizers used this notion of development to justify that the indigenous people needed guidance in achieving enlightenment.

⁴ Multiculturalism is a contemporary theory that advocates cultural plurality where marginalized and exploited people can express their identities without restrictions and condemns the assimilation to a dominant 'culture' (Song). For more information on political use, see [Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy](#).

⁵ Pluralism is "the existence of different political, economic or religious tendencies that can express themselves freely; a philosophical doctrine opposed to monism, which supposes the world formed by individuals and groups of individuals" (Moliner 1092).

Main points of analysis:

❖ Spanish governance over syncretism

–“*Ya he dicho que es Su infinita / Majestad, inmaterial; / mas Su Humanidad bendita, / puesta incruenta en el Santo / Sacrificio de la Misa, / en cándidos accidentes, / se vale de las semillas / del trigo, el cual se convierte / en Su Carne y Sangre misma.*” (4.354-362)

–“*Divino Narciso, porque / si aquesta infeliz tenía / un Ídolo, que adoraba, / de tan extrañas divisas, / en quien pretendió el demonio, / de la Sacra Eucaristía / fingir el alto Misterio, / sepa que también había / entre otros Gentiles, señas / de tan alta Maravilla.*” (5.425-434)

- Imposition of a Eurochristian worldview
 - Cultural misunderstandings during syncretic attempts
 - Sor Juana’s conception of blood, nature and heaven
- Lack of genuine and equitable religious/cultural mix
- Creation of Otherness in seeking similarity

❖ Neoplatonism as a philosophy for assimilation

–“*Diciendo que ya / Conocen las Indias / Al que es Verdadero / Dios de las Semillas*” (5.489-492)

- Forced assimilation due to the acknowledgement of a “universal” figure and truth

❖ Neoplatonism as the ideology behind Sor Juana’s religious syncretism

–“*Quien las fertiliza / Ofreced devotos, / Pues Le son debidas, / De los nuevos frutos / Todas las primicias. / Dad de vuestras venas / La sangre más fina, / Para que, mezclada, / A su culto sirva; / Y en pompa festiva. / Celebrad al gran Dios de las Semillas*” (1.18-28)

- Sor Juana’s idea of indigenous protochristianity: Catholic potential → neoplatonic guidance
- False equivalencies: perceived common traits of the “God of Seeds” and the Abrahamic God

The Process of Evangelization as the "Enlightened" Educational Method

chapter extensively truncated

The Enlightenment led to a significant transition in Europe from religious and intellectual conformity to the emergence of empirical discussions. This movement permeated all aspects of life, including religion and education. Rationality, curiosity and experimentation characterized the Age of Reason. Along with the colonization and religious wars of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, the Catholic Church struggled to maintain power, as they increasingly faced pressure to reform.

Undoubtedly, Sor Juana lived during a controversial time where some people began to question religious orthodoxy and the absolutist nature of the monarchy. During a time when there was much political tension, she enjoyed the scholastic discoveries. Although she received accusations of heresy, she encouraged incorporating the thoughts of the Enlightenment with the morals of the Catholic monarchy. Throughout her intellectual existence, she proposed that Spain and its colonies could have both. With this coexistence, she encouraged the search for Christian knowledge. She focused on the pedagogical aspect of faith, believing it would lead to religious enlightenment.

Avoiding any false pretenses, it is important to mention that she was not a formal follower of the Enlightenment. She never approved of the movement⁶, but alluded to methods of the Enlightenment in many of his works, one of them being the *Loa for the Divine Narcissus*. Her critical approach to ecclesiastical traditions made him a controversial figure. She wanted evangelization in New Spain to begin with productive dialogues between Gentiles and Spaniards. In addition, she valued rationality and recommended that the Church take advantage of it so that it could strengthen its legitimacy in the New World. This attitude was also present in evangelization. She believed that God gave the ability to use the senses for the world to practice the faith. To complicate it further, she postulated that enlightened evangelization leads them to participate effectively in New Spanish society.

⁶ The Enlightenment did not play a major role in Spain until the Bourbons in the 18th century.

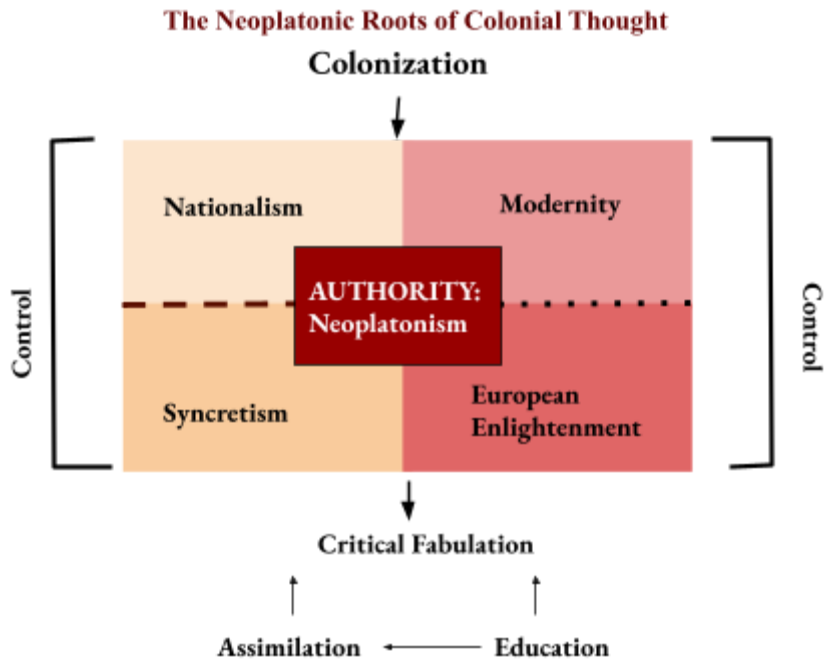


Figure 2. Neoplatonism informs thought on nationalism, syncretism, modernity and the Enlightenment. This philosophy demands an absolute unity and narrative to which society had to actively adhere.

Main points of analysis:

- ❖ **The Institution of Modernity to legitimize colonization**
 - Indigenous neophyte status: literary motifs of vision and blindness
 - Colonial establishment of Spaniards being the bearers of “legitimate” knowledge

- ❖ **Elenchus and psychagogia: unilateral questioning and “guidance”**
 - *“Y dime: aunque más me digas: / ¿será ese Dios, de materias / tan raras, tan exquisitas / como de sangre, que fue / en sacrificio ofrecida, / y semilla, que es sustento?”* (4.348-353).
 - *“Espera, que aquésta no es fuerza, sino caricia. ¿Qué Dios es ése que adoras?”* (4.247-249).
 - Infantilization and paternalism: view that indigenous people were wards of the Crown

- ❖ **An “intellectual” faith**

– “*Occidente poderoso, / América, bella y rica, / que vivís tan miserables / entre las riquezas mismas: / dejad el culto profano / a que el Demonio os incita. / Abrid los ojos! Seguid / la verdadera Doctrina / que mi amor os persuade*” (2.100-108).

- Enlightenment values of empiricism used to promote the Catholic agenda and legitimacy
- Belief that God provided the senses for intellectual and spiritual enlightenment

❖ **Pacifist colonization through reason**

– “*Si verás, como te laves / en la fuente cristalina / del Bautismo*” (4.381-383).

- Mental conversion: emphasis on the individual understanding of religion

Conclusions

There remains a certain liminality in the educational paradigm of Sor Juana. Two cultures collide and possibly one dominates. The other is expected to surrender. Instead, she believed that equal dialogue was possible with her Enlightenment methods, the most important being tolerance for rational discussion. Throughout the play, she tried to translate through indigenous and Spanish cultures in order to find similarities that could unite the two. This syncretic effort, still progressive and doubtful heretical for the period of time, resulted in the creation of false equivalences. Similar to the cultural filter of Roman Catholicism in Spain and its colonies, the hierarchical task of comparing two completely different cultures is performed by a cultural filter as well. One’s culture always serves as a basis for comparison. That being the case, the question of translation-evangelization-education remains. The three issues are mutual. No one really knows the true scope of this in Spanish colonial pedagogy, but its complexity is present in the Loa. In her pedagogy, Sor Juana sought an open discussion, believing that it could lead to academic enlightenment and self-satisfaction. With her desire for educational reform within the Spanish Church and government, she offered syncretic evangelization behind a neoplatonic colonial backdrop. Although she suggested a pacifist alternative to oppressive and violent pedagogical strategies, we begin to wonder if her educational vision is oppressive, but expressed in an apparently open and understanding way. On the other hand, considering its privileged social position and dedication to defending Neoplatonism as a universal ideology, one cannot help but observe the political nature of education. Throughout the work, we began to understand the role of evangelization as an effort to unify all people living in New Spain. To support him, Sor Juana wanted the indigenous people to undergo an internal transformation and the absolute approval of the Spanish Catholic authority. In the end, we see that her characters completely and loyally embraced Christianity.

Bringing the play into the present, we see the legacy of a system still governed by the hierarchy of the past. In our effort to increase the ethical representation of indigenous people in the academic sphere and beyond in Mexico, we need to challenge the current structure: how can we imagine a decolonized educational system in which value genuinely resides in an open discourse? Are we able to achieve this? And is the notion of enlightened education even possible?

Concluding Thoughts

- ❖ Evangelization to promote conformity and unity → **education’s political agenda**
- ❖ Collective memory and the erasure of indigenous cultures/narratives during colonization → **Critical fabulation in education**
- ❖ Power differentials in pedagogy → **hierarchical transmission and communication of information**
- ❖ Legitimacy in education and its legacy

Although Sor Juana suggested a pacifist alternative to oppressive and violent pedagogical strategies, we begin to ask ourselves if her educational vision might be oppressive, but expressive in a seemingly open and understanding way. In order to sustain this model, she wanted the indigenous people to undergo an internal transformation and absolute acceptance of the Spanish Catholic authority in New Spain.

Next Steps:

- ❖ Exploration into the interconnected extent of translation-evangelization-education in the development of colonial curricula
- ❖ Examination of inherent biases in syncretism historically and currently
- ❖ Broader questions: How can we imagine a decolonized educational system in which value genuinely resides in open discourse? Are we able to achieve this? Is the notion of enlightened education possible?

Works Cited

Primary Sources

- Athanasius I of Alexandria. *El Credo Niceno*. 325AD.
- Catholic Church. *Tercero catecismo y exposicion de la doctrina christiana por sermones para que los curas*. Rosa y Bouret, 1867, <https://library.si.edu/digital-library/book/tercerocatecism00cath>.
- Cortés, Hernán. *Cortés, First Letter*. July 1519, <https://www.historians.org/teaching-and-learning/teaching-resources-for-historians/teaching-and-learning-in-the-digital-age/the-history-of-the-americas/the-conquest-of-mexico/letters-from-hernan-cortes>.
- Cruz, Sor Juana Inés de la. *El Divino Narciso*. Primera edición, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México Escuela Nacional Colegio de Ciencias y Humanidades, 2020, https://gaceta.cch.unam.mx/sites/default/files/libros/2021-08/divinonarciso_interiores_final.pdf.
- . “Loa para el auto sacramental de “El Divino Narciso” (Por Alegorias).” *Sor Juana Ines de La Cruz Obra Selecta*, Biblioteca Ayacucho, pp. 313–29, <https://laresolana.files.wordpress.com/2018/04/11-2-sor-juana-divino-narciso.pdf>.
- . *Respuesta a Sor Filotea de la Cruz*. Freeditorial, 1691.
- “Genesis 1.” *Bible Gateway Genesis 1 :: NIV*, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, https://web.mit.edu/jywang/www/cef/Bible/NIV/NIV_Bible/GEN+1.html#:~:text=And%20God%20said%2C%20%22Let%20there,%2C%22%20and%20there%20was%20light.&text=God%20saw%20that%20the%20light,the%20light%20from%20the%20darkness.&text=God%20called%20the%20light%20%22day,morning%2D%2Dthe%20first%20day.

“Genesis, Chapters 1-3, The First Book of Moses: Called Genesis.” *Genesis -- Chapters 1-3*, University of Pennsylvania, <http://knarf.english.upenn.edu/EtAlia/genes1-3.html>.

Isabel I de Castilla. *Testamentaria de Isabel la Católica*. Edited by Marta García. English Translation by Caroline Wilson. Duoda, Women Research Center, University of Barcelona, 1504, <http://www.ub.edu/duoda/diferencia/html/en/primario16.html>

“John 8:32.” *Bible Hub*, Bible Hub, <https://biblehub.com/john/8-32.htm>.

Las Casas, Bartolome de. “Bartolomé de Las Casas, A Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies, 1542.” *Project Gutenberg Ebook: 2007*, The Project Gutenberg, 2007, pp. 9–16, <https://www.americanyawp.com/reader/the-new-world/bartolome-de-las-casas-describes-the-exploitation-of-indigenous-peoples-1542/>. Internet Archive.

Mariana, Juan de. “CHAP. II. Ferdinand of Castile and Leon, the most powerful King of Spain. Overthrows the Moors, takes several Towns, and ravages the Territories of the Infidels. Ramiro, King of Aragon, Wars on his Brother of Navarre.” *The General History of Spain*. London: Printed for Richard Sare at Grays-Inn-Gate in Holbourn, Francis Saunders in the New-Exchange in the Strand, and Thomas Bennet at the Half-Moon in St. Paul's Church-Yard. 1699. Early English Books Online Text Creation Partnership, 2011, <http://name.umdl.umich.edu/A51926.0001.001>

---. “CHAP. III. Great Preparations thro' Christendom for the Holy War. Valencia taken by Roderick de Bivar, Other Actions of his, suspected to be Fabulous. His Death, and that of Joseph, the Moorish Monarch.” London: Printed for Richard Sare at Grays-Inn-Gate in Holbourn, Francis Saunders in the New-Exchange in the Strand, and Thomas Bennet at the Half-Moon in St. Paul's Church-Yard. 1699. Early English Books Online Text Creation Partnership, 2011, <http://name.umdl.umich.edu/A51926.0001.001>

Nebrija, Antonio de. *Gramática de La Lengua Castellana*. Edited by Richard Pollard, Richard Pollard, 1492.

“Nicene Creed.” *Nicene Creed // Faith at Marquette // Marquette University*, <https://www.marquette.edu/faith/prayers-nicene.php>.

Palacios, Juan López de. *El Requerimiento*. Biblioteca Digital Ciudad Seva, 1512.

Pope Alexander VI. “The Pope Asserts Rights to Colonize, Convert, and Enslave - Timeline - Native Voices.” *U.S. National Library of Medicine*, National Institutes of Health, <https://www.nlm.nih.gov/nativevoices/timeline/171.html>.

Ricardo, Antonio. *Tercero cathecismo y exposición de la Doctrina Christiana, por sermones para que los cvrasy otros mini stros prediquen y enseñen a los Yndios y a las demás personas conforme a lo que en el Sancto Concilio Prouincial de Lima de proueyo*. www.loc.gov/item/2021666904/. Library of Congress, 2021666904.

Sahagún, Bernardino de. *General History of the Things of New Spain by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: The Florentine Codex*. 1577, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2021667837/>. Library of Congress, 2021667837.

Secondary Sources

Ahuja, Gloria Bravo. “La Colonia.” *Los Materiales Didácticos Para La Enseñanza Del Español a Los Indígenas Mexicanos*, 1st ed., El Colegio de México, 1977, pp. 21–55, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv5cg7v4.4?seq=1>.

Aizpuru, Pilar Gonzalbo. “Educación y convivencia en la Nueva España.” *Historia y Nación (Actas Del Congreso En Homenaje a Josefina Zoraida Vázquez): I. Historia de La Educación y Enseñanza de La Historia*, 1st ed., El Colegio de México, 1998, pp. 25–38, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv47w6st.6?seq=1>.

---. “Educación y orden colonial.” *Historia de La Educación En La Época Colonial: El Mundo Indígena*, 1st ed., El Colegio de México, 1990, pp. 235–46, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv47w4n0.16>.

---. “El mundo indígena y el establecimiento del sistema colonial.” *Historia de La Educación En La Época Colonial: El Mundo Indígena*, 1st ed., El Colegio de México, 1990, pp. 19–42, <http://www.jstor.com/stable/j.ctv47w4n0.6>.

- Aizpuru, Pilar Gonzalbo. y Seminario de Historia de la Educación de México. “La lectura de evangelización en la Nueva España.” *Historia de La Lectura En México*, vol. 2nd ed., no. El Colegio de México, 1997, pp. 9–48, <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv3dnrj8.3>.
- “Aztec Education: Learning at Home and School.” *History on the Net*, History on the Net, 14 June 2018, <https://www.historyonthenet.com/aztec-education-at-home-and-school>.
- Balsa, Miguel A. “¿Qué Dios es ese que adoras?: The Construction of Spectatorship in Sor Juana’s Loa for The Divine Narcissus.” *Latin American Theatre Review*, vol. 42, no. 1, Fall 2008, pp. 49–66, <https://doi.org/10.1353/ltr.2008.0047>.
- Benítez, Laura. “Sensibility and Understanding in the Epistemological Thought of Sor Juana Inés de La Cruz.” *Feminist History of Philosophy: The Recovery and Evaluation of Women’s Philosophical Thought*, Springer, Cham, 2019, pp. 75–96, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-18118-5_4.
- Bentancor, Orlando. “Baroque Sovereignty: Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora and the Creole Archive of Colonial Mexico by Anne More.” *Revista Hispánica Moderna*, vol. 69, no. 2, Dec. 2016, pp. 226–29.
- Berdan, Frances F. “Chapter 7 - Religion, Science, and the Arts.” *Aztec Archaeology and Ethnohistory*, Cambridge University Press, 2014, pp. 215–58, <https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/abs/aztec-archaeology-and-ethnohistory/religion-science-and-the-arts/4324374A9DC59BC669C8F45D502A72F0>.
- . “Chapter 8 - The Aztec World: An Integrated View.” *Aztec Archaeology and Ethnohistory*, Cambridge University Press, 2014, pp. 259–94, <https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/abs/aztec-archaeology-and-ethnohistory/aztec-world-an-integrated-view/43B62888EE7092D73C2FF2B8CD096364>.
- Bishop, Russell, and Ted Glynn. “Chapter 1: The Development of the Pattern of Dominance and Subordination.” *Culture Counts: Changing Power Relations in Education*, Dunmore Press, 1999, pp. 11–60.
- . “Chapter 4: Creating and Addressing Unequal Power Relationships in Classrooms.” *Culture Counts: Changing Power Relations in Education*, Dunmore Press, 1999, pp. 131–64.
- Bremmer, Jan N. “How Do We Explain the Quiet Demise of Graeco-Roman Religion? An Essay.” *Numen*, vol. 68, no. 2–3, Mar. 2021, pp. 230–71, <https://doi.org/10.1163/15685276-12341622>.
- Checa, Jorge. “El Divino Narciso y la redención del lenguaje.” *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica*, vol. 38, no. 1, 1990, pp. 197–217.
- “Cifrar.” *Real Academia Española*. <https://dle.rae.es/cifrar?m=form>
- Crewe, Ryan Dominic. “Bautizando el colonialismo: las políticas de conversión en México después de la conquista.” *Historia Mexicana*, vol. 68, no. 3 (271), Mar. 2019, pp. 943–1000.
- Cruz, Dominic. “Tropes: The Noble Savage.” *NC State University*, NC State University, 11 Feb. 2020, <https://go.distance.ncsu.edu/gd203/?p=42239>.
- Cuarón, Beatriz Garza. “Políticas lingüísticas hacia la Nueva España en el siglo XVII.” *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica*, vol. 39, no. 2, 1991, pp. 689–706.
- “Cultural Relativism.” *Cultural Relativism | Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs*, <https://www.carnegiecouncil.org/explore-engage/key-terms/cultural-relativism#:~:text=Cultural%20relativism%20is%20the%20view,structure%20relations%20within%20different%20societies>.
- “Definitions and Characteristics of Modernity.” *Modernitycharacteristics*, <https://www3.dbu.edu/mitchell/modernit.htm>.
- Díaz Infante, Fernando. *La educación de los aztecas : cómo se formó el carácter del pueblo mexicana*. Panorama Editorial, 1992.
- Díaz, Mónica. “Indigenous Nobility and Conventual Foundations.” *Indigenous Writings from the Convent: Negotiating Ethnic Autonomy in Colonial Mexico*, The University of Arizona Press, 2010, pp. 25–41.
- . “The Idea of Corpus Christi: Discursive Effects of Colonialism.” *Indigenous Writings from the Convent: Negotiating Ethnic Autonomy in Colonial Mexico*, The University of Arizona Press, 2010, pp. 42–62.

- . "Panegyric Sermons: Dialogic Spaces and Examples of Virtue." *Indigenous Writings from the Convent: Negotiating Ethnic Autonomy in Colonial Mexico*, The University of Arizona Press, 2010, pp. 110–34.
- . "Letters from the Convent: Struggles through the Written Word." *Indigenous Writings from the Convent: Negotiating Ethnic Autonomy in Colonial Mexico*, The University of Arizona Press, 2010, pp. 135–53.
- Duque, Félix. "La hibridación de culturas en El Divino Narciso." *Inventio*, vol. 4, no. 7, Apr. 2022, pp. 71–88.
- Egan, Caroline. "Lyric Intelligibility in Sor Juana's Nahuatl *Tocotines*." *Romance Notes*, vol. 58, no. 2, 2018, pp. 207–218, <https://doi.org/10.1353/rmc.2018.0021>
- Gaillemain, Bérénice. "Outils Pédagogiques Ou Armes Politiques ? : Mettre En Scène La Conversion Dans et Avec Les Catéchismes Mexicains (Xvie-Xixe Siècle)." *Archives de Sciences Sociales Des Religions*, vol. 63, no. 182, 2018, pp. 49–74.
- Galván, Felipe. *Reflexiones Alrededor de La Loa Para El Auto Sacramental de "El Divino Narciso."* 1996, pp. 71–78, https://edisciplinas.usp.br/pluginfile.php/5971520/mod_resource/content/1/Galvan%20reflexiones-alrededor-de-la-loa-para-el-auto-sacramental-de-el-divino-narciso.pdf.
- Gilman, Charlotte Perkins. "VIII: Education." *Our Androcentric Culture, or The Man Made World*, edited by Christopher Hapka and David Widger, The Project Gutenberg, 2013, https://www.gutenberg.org/files/3015-h/3015-h.htm#link2H_4_0009.
- Gomez, Nicole Lynn. *Nepantla as Her Place in the Middle: Multilingualism and Multiculturalism in the Writings of Sor Juana Inés de La Cruz*. University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Aug. 2016, https://trace.tennessee.edu/utk_graddiss/3917.
- Green, Roger Kurt. "Neoliberalism and Christianity." *Religions*, vol. 12, no. 9, Aug. 2021, pp. 1–25, <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel12090688>.
- Grossi, Verónica. "Political Meta-Allegory in El Divino Narciso by Sor Juana Inés de La Cruz." *Intertexts*, vol. 1, no. 1, Spring 1997, pp. 92–103, <https://doi.org/10.1353/itx.1997.0018>.
- . "Subversión del proyecto imperial de conquista y conversión de las Américas en la 'Loa para El divino Narciso,' de Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz." *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos*, vol. 28, no. 3, Primavera 2004, pp. 541–63.
- Gustlin, Deborah, and Zoe Gustlin. "9.5: Mexican Baroque (1640 – Mid 1700s)." *Libretexts*, NICE CXone Expert, 9 Mar. 2021, [https://human.libretexts.org/Bookshelves/Art/A_World_Perspective_of_Art_Appreciation_\(Gustlin_and_Gustlin\)/09%3A_The_Beginning_of_Colonization_\(1550_CE__1750_CE\)/9.05%3A_Mexican_Baroque_\(1640__mid_1700s\)](https://human.libretexts.org/Bookshelves/Art/A_World_Perspective_of_Art_Appreciation_(Gustlin_and_Gustlin)/09%3A_The_Beginning_of_Colonization_(1550_CE__1750_CE)/9.05%3A_Mexican_Baroque_(1640__mid_1700s)). Accessed 13 Aug. 2022.
- Gutiérrez, Verónica A., editor. "Indigenous Christianities: Ritual, Resilience, and Resistance Among the Nahuas in Sixteenth-Century Mexico." *Decolonial Christianities. New Approaches to Religion and Power*, Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 2019, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-24166-7_6.
- Haley, Sarah. "Intimate Historical Practice." *The Journal of African American History*, no. Winter 2021, 2021, pp. 104–08, <https://doi.org/10.1086/712011>.
- Hanks, William F. "Birth of a Language: The Formation and Spread of Colonial Yucatec Maya." *Journal of Anthropological Research*, vol. 68, no. 4, Winter 2012, pp. 449–71.
- Hansen, David T. "Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz and the Demands of Education." *Educational Theory*, vol. 68, no. 4–5, 2018, pp. 443–75.
- Hartman, Saidiya. "Venus in Two Acts." *Small Axe*, vol. 12, no. 2, June 2008, pp. 1–14.
- Heath, Shirley Brice. "Chapter 1: Language, Instrument of Empire." *Telling Tongues: Language Policy in Mexico, Colony to Nation*, Teachers College Press, 1972, pp. 1–14.
- . "Chapter 4: The Nation Between Old and New." *Telling Tongues: Language Policy in Mexico, Colony to Nation*, Teachers College Press, 1972, pp. 57–80.
- . "Chapter 5: Spanish and the Plan for Conformity." *Telling Tongues: Language Policy in Mexico, Colony to Nation*, Teachers College Press, 1972, pp. 81–98.
- . "Chapter 6: Bilingualism and National Unity." *Telling Tongues: Language Policy in Mexico, Colony to Nation*, Teachers College Press, 1972, pp. 99–122.
- History.com Editors. "Crusades." *A&E Television Networks*, 21 Jul. 2022, <https://www.history.com/topics/middle-ages/crusades>

- Iqbal, Syedah Maryam. "An Understanding to Intrinsic and Extrinsic Approaches to Literature." *Writcrit*, 15 Aug. 2016, <https://writcrit.wordpress.com/2016/07/13/an-understanding-to-intrinsic-and-extrinsic-approaches-to-literature/#:~:text=In%20comparison%20to%20intrinsic%20approach,the%20author%20and%20his%20life.>
- Jiménez, Robert T. "The History of Reading and the Uses of Literacy in Colonial Mexico." *University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign*, vol. Technical Report No. 494, Feb. 1990, pp. 1–24.
- Juárez, Carmen Dolores Carrillo. "La cultura barroca en la construcción de una identidad nacional: la Loa de El Divino Narciso y la representación de lo indígena en la pintura y la fiesta de las reliquias." *Études Romanes de Brino*, vol. 39, no. 2, 2018, pp. 91–101, <https://doi.org/10.5817/ERB2018-2-6>.
- Klee, Carol, y Andrew Lynch. "Capítulo 4: Contacto del español con lenguas indígenas en Hispanoamérica." *El español en contacto con otras lenguas*, Georgetown University Press, 2009.
- Kobayashi, José María. "Capítulo 2: El Mundo Mesoamericano Inmediatamente Anterior a La Conquista." *La Educación Como Conquista : Empresa Franciscana En México*, Primera edición, El Colegio de México, 1974, pp. 17–114. 76452925.
- . "Capítulo 4: La Educación En La Nueva España Del Siglo XVI." *La Educación Como Conquista : Empresa Franciscana En México*, Primera edición, El Colegio de México, 1974, pp. 171–407. 76452925.
- "La Biblia Reina-Valera Spanish Bible – Biblia Espanol Online." *Biblestudytools.com*, Bible Study Tools, <https://www.biblestudytools.com/rvr/>.
- "La República De Indios." *Telefonica Fundación*, Educared, <https://educared.fundaciontelefonica.com.pe/sites/virreinato-peru/indios.htm>.
- Larroyo, Francisco. "Introducción- Capítulo 2: El Método de La Historia de La Educación." *Historia Comparada de La Educación En México*, Editorial Porrúa, 1947, pp. 30–31. 48019451.
- . "Introducción- Capítulo 4: Importancia de Esta Disciplina." *Historia Comparada de La Educación En México*, Editorial Porrúa, 1947, pp. 36–38. 48019451.
- . "Segunda parte- Capítulo 2: La Educación Popular Indígena." *Historia Comparada de La Educación En México*, Editorial Porrúa, 1947, pp. 74–79. 48019451.
- . "Segunda parte- Capítulo 8: La Educación Publica Elemental a Fines Del Siglo XVII y Durante El Siglo XVIII." *Historia Comparada de La Educación En México*, Editorial Porrúa, 1947, pp. 127–34. 48019451.
- "Learn about the Celebration of the Feast of Corpus Christi, a Feast That Celebrates Jesus's Last Supper." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., Contunico © ZDF Enterprises GmbH, Mainz, <https://www.britannica.com/video/179904/Overview-Feast-of-Corpus-Christi>.
- Liss, Peggy K. "Jesuit Contributions to the Ideology of Spanish Empire in Mexico: Part I. The Spanish Imperial Ideology and the Establishment of the Jesuits within Mexican Society." *The Americas*, vol. 29, no. 3, Jan. 1973, pp. 314–33, <https://doi.org/10.2307/980056>.
- . *Jesuit Contributions to the Ideology of Spanish Empire in Mexico: Part II. The Jesuit System of Education and Jesuit Contributions to Ongoing Mexican Adhesion to Empire*. no. 4, Apr. 1973, pp. 449–70, <https://doi.org/10.2307/980120>.
- Lockhart, James. "Chapter 6: Religious Life." *The Nahuas after the conquest: a social and cultural history of the Indians of central Mexico, sixteenth through eighteenth centuries*, Stanford University Press, 1992, pp. 203–260. <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb00274.0001.001>
- . "Language." *The Nahuas after the conquest: a social and cultural history of the Indians of central Mexico, sixteenth through eighteenth centuries*, Stanford University Press, 1992, pp. 261–325. <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb00274.0001.001>
- . "Forms of Expression." *The Nahuas after the conquest: a social and cultural history of the Indians of central Mexico, sixteenth through eighteenth centuries*, Stanford University Press, 1992, pp. 374–426. <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb00274.0001.001>
- Maffie, James. "Aztec Philosophy." *Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, <https://iep.utm.edu/aztec-philosophy/#SH2a>.
- Manathunga, Catherine. "Transcultural and Postcolonial Explorations: Unsettling Education." *The International Education Journal*, vol. 14, no. 2, 2015, pp. 10–21.

- Mar-Molinero, Clare. "Language and Nationalism." *The Politics of Language in the Spanish-Speaking World From Colonization to Globalization*, 1st Edition, Taylor & Francis eBooks, 2000, pp. 2–16.
- . "The 'Castilianisation' Process: The Emergence of Spanish as Dominant Language." *The Politics of Language in the Spanish-Speaking World From Colonization to Globalization*, 1st Edition, Taylor & Francis eBooks, 2000, pp. 17–37.
- . "Language Rights, Language Policies and Language Planning." *The Politics of Language in the Spanish-Speaking World From Colonization to Globalization*, 1st Edition, Taylor & Francis eBooks, 2000, pp. 62–77.
- . "Bilingual Education, Literacy and the Role of Language in Education Systems." *The Politics of Language in the Spanish-Speaking World From Colonization to Globalization*, 1st Edition, Taylor & Francis eBooks, 2000, pp. 105–22.
- . "Latin American Educational Policies in the Struggle for Linguistic Rights." *The Politics of Language in the Spanish-Speaking World From Colonization to Globalization*, 1st Edition, Taylor & Francis eBooks, 2000, pp. 123–48.
- Marquina, Elio Vélez. "Sor Juana Inés de La Cruz y la nueva ortodoxia del saber: acerca de la educación femenina en el debate sobre la carta atenagórica." *Revista de Literatura*, vol. LXXVIII, no. 156, July 2016, pp. 623–35, <https://doi.org/doi: 10.3989/revliteratura.2016.02.026>.
- Maury, Debra. "Sor Juana Inés de La Cruz: una naturaleza de dominio." *Lucero*, vol. 1, no. 1, Spring 1990, pp. 65–76.
- McDonough, Kelly. "Indigenous Rememberings and Forgetting: Sixteenth-Century Nahua Letters and Petitions to the Spanish Crown." *Native American and Indigenous Studies*, vol. 5, no. 1, Spring 2018, pp. 69–99, <https://doi.org/10.5749/natiindistudj.5.1.0069>.
- Methods in the Humanities*. Harvard University, https://thesis.extension.harvard.edu/files/thesis/files/methods_in_the_humanities.pdf?m=1467388990.
- Mignolo, Walter. "Dispensable and Bare Lives: Coloniality and the Hidden Political/Economic Agenda of Modernity." *Human Architecture: Journal of the Sociology of Self-Knowledge*, vol. 7, no. 2, Spring 2009, pp. 69–88.
- Mignolo, Walter D. "Cambiando Las Éticas y Las Políticas Del Conocimiento: Lógica de La Colonialidad y Postcolonialidad Imperial." *Tabula Rasa: Revista de Humanidades*, vol. 3, Enero-diciembre 2005, pp. 47–72.
- . "On the Colonization of Amerindian Languages and Memories: Renaissance Theories of Writing and the Discontinuity of the Classical Tradition." *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 34, no. 2, Apr. 1992, pp. 301–30.
- Miranda, Paola Lizana. "La poética o retórica subalterna en la Loa El Divino Narciso de Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz." *Alpha Revista de Artes, Letras y Filosofía*, vol. 1, no. 48, 2019, pp. 37–53, <https://doi.org/10.32735/S0718-2201201900048615>.
- Miscevic, Nenad. "Nationalism." *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, edited by Edward N. Zalta, Fall 2020 Edition, 2020, <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2020/entries/nationalism/>.
- Moliner, María. "Gentil." *Diccionario de Uso Del Español*, Edición abreviada, vol. Primera reimpresión, Editorial Gredos, 2000, p. 673.
- . "Libertad." *Diccionario de Uso Del Español*, Edición abreviada, vol. Primera reimpresión, Editorial Gredos, 2000, p. 830.
- . "Nación." *Diccionario de Uso Del Español*, Edición abreviada, vol. Primera reimpresión, Editorial Gredos, 2000, p. 948.
- . "Naturaleza." *Diccionario de Uso Del Español*, Edición abreviada, vol. Primera reimpresión, Editorial Gredos, 2000, pp. 951–52.
- . "Pluralismo." *Diccionario de Uso Del Español*, Edición abreviada, vol. Primera reimpresión, Editorial Gredos, 2000, p. 1092.
- . "Transculturación." *Diccionario de Uso Del Español*, Edición abreviada, vol. Primera reimpresión, Editorial Gredos, 2000, p. 1378.
- . "Unidad." *Diccionario de Uso Del Español*, Edición abreviada, vol. Primera reimpresión, Editorial Gredos, 2000, p. 1404.
- . "Universalismo." *Diccionario de Uso Del Español*, Edición abreviada, vol. Primera reimpresión, Editorial Gredos, 2000, p. 1406.
- Moraña, Mabel. "Barroco y conciencia criolla en Hispanoamérica." *Revista de Crítica Literaria Latinoamericana*, vol. 14, no. 28, 1988, pp. 299–251, <https://doi.org/10.2307/4530399>.

- . “Poder, Raza y Lengua: La Construcción Étnica Del Otro En Los Villancicos de Sor Juana.” *Colonial Latin American Review*, vol. 4, no. 2, 1995, pp. 139–54, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10609169508569866>.
- Murillo, Verónica Gallegos. “En náhuatl y en castellano: el dios cristiano en los discursos franciscanos de evangelización.” *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl*, vol. 41, 2010, pp. 297–316.
- “New Historicism.” *Poetry Foundation*, Poetry Foundation, <https://www.poetryfoundation.org/learn/glossary-terms/new-historicism>.
- New World Encyclopedia contributors. *Baroque Period*. New World Encyclopedia, 1 Jan. 2022, https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/p/index.php?title=Baroque_period&oldid=1062432.
- New World Encyclopedia contributors. “Great Chain of Being.” *New World Encyclopedia*, 12 July 2017, https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/p/index.php?title=Great_Chain_of_Being&oldid=1005515.
- Nicholson, H. B. “Fray Bernardino de Sahagun: A Spanish Missionary in New Spain, 1529-1590.” *Representing Aztec Ritual : Performance, Text, and Image in the Work of Sahagún*, edited by Eloise Quiñones Keber, University Press of Colorado, 2002, p. 46. 2002006405.
- Norget, Kristin. “Decolonization and the Politics of Syncretism: The Catholic Church, Indigenous Theology and Cultural Autonomy in Oaxaca, Mexico.” *International Education*, vol. 37, no. 1, Fall 2007, pp. 78–96.
- Palmieri, Enrique Marini. “Notas a la Loa del Divino Narciso, auto sacramental de Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz.” *Revista de Literatura*, vol. LXXI, no. 141, pp. 207–32.
- Parada, Esperanza López. “Poder y traducción coloniales: el nombre de dios en lengua de indios.” *Revista Chilena de Literatura*, vol. Noviembre 2013, no. 85, Nov. 2013, pp. 129–56.
- Poska, Allyson M. *Regulating the People: The Catholic Reformation in Seventeenth-century Spain*. Brill, 1998.
- Poole, Stafford. “Some Observations on Mission Methods and Native Reactions in Sixteenth-Century New Spain.” *The Americas*, vol. 50, no. 3, Jan. 1994, pp. 337–49, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1007164>.
- Purdue Writing Lab. “New Historicism, Cultural Studies // Purdue Writing Lab.” *Purdue Online Writing Lab College of Liberal Arts*, Purdue University, https://owl.purdue.edu/owl/subject_specific_writing/writing_in_literature/literary_theory_and_schools_of_criticism/new_historicism_cultural_studies.html.
- Rama, Ángel. *La Ciudad Letrada*. Arca, 1998.
- Ramirez, Sofia. *Las Trampas de la Fe*. 2001, p. 18.
- Reff, Daniel T. “In the Shadow of the Saints: Jesuit Missionaries and their New World Narratives.” *Romance Philology*, vol. 53, no. 1, Fall 1999, pp. 165–81.
- Ricard, Robert. “The Catechism.” *The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico: An Essay On the Apostolate and the Evangelizing Methods of the Mendicant Orders In New Spain, 1523-1572*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966, pp. 96–108, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb02786>.
- Rice, Robin Ann. “Réplica a: ‘una aproximación a Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz: educación femenina en Nueva España’ de Virginia Aspe Armella.” *Revista Panamericana de Pedagogía*, vol. RPP, no. 22, Nov. 2015, pp. 97–100, <https://doi.org/doi:10.21555/rpp.v0i22.1722>.
- Ripoll, Juan Estarellas. “Conclusion.” *Cultural Foundations of Mexico : A Study of the Educational Aims, Institutions, and Practices of the Spanish Colonization in Sixteenth Century Central New Spain*, Harvard University, Graduate School of Education, 1956, pp. 289–309.
- . “Education and Social Work.” *Cultural Foundations of Mexico : A Study of the Educational Aims, Institutions, and Practices of the Spanish Colonization in Sixteenth Century Central New Spain*, Harvard University, Graduate School of Education, 1956, pp. 98–122.
- Rohner, Stephanie. “La historia antigua de México de Francisco Javier Clavigero y la educación indígena en Nueva España.” *Hispanic Review*, Spring 2020, pp. 133–55.
- Rose, Heath, and John Bosco Conama. “Linguistic Imperialism: Still a Valid Construct in Relation to Language Policy for Irish Sign Language.” *Language Policy*, vol. 17, 2018, pp. 385–404, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10993-017-9446-2>.
- Sabat de Rivers, Georgina. “Apología de América y del mundo azteca en tres loas de Sor Juana.” *En busca de Sor Juana*, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 2005, https://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/en-busca-de-sor-juana--0/html/90b43fd8-179b-45cb-bfb2-b0e91d9dad06_67.html#:~:text=Apolog%C3%ADa%20de%20Am%C3%A9rica%20y%20del%20mundo%20azteca%20en%20tres%20loas%20de%20Sor%20Juana&text=Ya%20depon%C3%ADan%20el%20escudo

- %20Motelchihuitzin,aquellos%20conquistadores%20que%20lanzan%20fuego.&text=%5B...%5D,iba%20por%20ella%20para%20bautizarla.
- Schwaller, John F. "The Expansion of Nahuatl as a Lingua Franca among Priests in Sixteenth-Century Mexico." *Ethnohistory*, vol. 59, no. 4, Fall 2012, pp. 675–90, <https://doi.org/DOI.10.1215/00141801-1642707>.
- Sherry, Bennett. *Religious Syncretism in Colonial Mexico City*. World History Project.
- Solano, Yamilet. "Acercamiento a un discurso pedagógico-religioso del siglo XVI: la cartilla para enseñar a leer, de Fray Pedro de Gante." *Revista de Filología y Lingüística*, vol. 14, no. 2, 1988, pp. 157–66.
- Shaw, Will. "Sor Juana (1648-1695)." *Project Vox*, Duke University Libraries, <https://projectvox.org/sor-juana-1648-1695/>.
- Smith, T Lynn. "Three Specimens of Religious Syncretism in Latin America." *International Review of Modern Sociology*, vol. 4, no.1, 1974, pp. 1-18.
- Snyder, Sharon L.. "Modernity". *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 20 May. 2016, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/modernity>.
- Song, Sarah. "Multiculturalism." *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, edited by Edward N. Zalta, Fall 2020, <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2020/entries/multiculturalism/>.
- Soustelle, Jacques. "II: Society and the State at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century." *Daily Life of the Aztec on the Eve of the Spanish Conquest*, Stanford University Press, 1970, pp. 36–94. 77110282.
- . "III: The World, Man and Time." *Daily Life of the Aztec on the Eve of the Spanish Conquest*, Stanford University Press, 1970, pp. 95–119. 77110282.
- . "VII: Civilised Life." *Daily Life of the Aztec on the Eve of the Spanish Conquest*, Stanford University Press, 1970, pp. 135–53. 77110282.
- "Spanish Viceroyalty [AD 1542/1769-1821]: ." *Digital Commons @CSUMB*, California State University Monterey Bay, https://digitalcommons.csUMB.edu/hornbeck_span/.
- Suarez, Juan Luis, and Estefanía Olid-Peña. "Hispanic Baroque: A Model for the Study of Cultural Complexity in the Atlantic World." *South Atlantic Review*, vol. 72, no. 1, 2007, pp. 31–47.
- Tanck de Estrada, Dorothy. "La educación en los pueblos." *Pueblos de Indios y Educación En El México Colonial, 1750 - 1821*, 1st ed., El Colegio de México, 1999, pp. 337–448, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv3f8qv0.10?seq=1>.
- Tavárez, David. "Nahua Intellectuals, Franciscan Scholars, and the 'Devotio Moderna' in Colonial Mexico." *The Americas*, vol. 70, no. 2, Oct. 2013, pp. 203–35.
- Taylor, William B. "Placing the Cross in Colonial Mexico." *The Americas*, vol. 69, no. 2, Oct. 2012, pp. 145–78.
- The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, and Melissa Petruzzello. *Inquisition*. Encyclopedia Britannica, <https://www.britannica.com/event/Counter-Reformation/Inquisition>.
- The Editors of the Encyclopaedia Britannica. *Universalism*. Encyclopedia Britannica, 5 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Universalism>.
- "The Lernean Hydra." Edited by Gregory R Crane, *Hercules' Second Labor: The Lernean Hydra*, Perseus Digital Library, <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu>.
- Townsend, Camilla. "Sor Juana's Nahuatl." *Le Verger*, vol. 8, Sept. 2015, pp. 1–11.
- "Transubstantiation." *Merriam-Webster*, Merriam-Webster, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/transubstantiation>.
- Turner, Victor. "Liminality and Communitas." *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*, Cornell University Press, 1977 [1969], pp. 94-130.
- Vicente, Alonso Zamora, y Victor García de la Concha. "Historia." *Real Academia Española*, Real Academia Española, <https://www.rae.es/la-institucion/historia>.
- Wasserman-Soler, Daniel I. "Lengua de los indios, lengua española: Religious Conversion and the Languages of New Spain, ca. 1520–1585." *Church History*, vol. 85, no. 4, Dec. 2016, pp. 690–723, <https://doi.org/doi:10.1017/S0009640716000755>.

- White, Matthew. "The Enlightenment." *British Library Board*, vol. Discovering Literature: Restoration & 18th century, 21 June 2018, <https://www.bl.uk/restoration-18th-century-literature/articles/the-enlightenment>.
- Wildberg, Christian. "Neoplatonism." *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, edited by Edward N. Zalta, Winter 2021, <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2021/entries/neoplatonism/>.
- Zanelli, Carmela. "La loa de El divino Narciso de Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz y la doble recuperación de la cultura indígena mexicana." *Biblioteca Virtual Universal*, 2010, pp. 1–15.
-

Notes:

- 1) This project was conceptualized and executed on the Lenni-Lenape lands. I recognize unreservedly that I live and write on their stolen lands. In light of the mission of this project, we now and always need to promote indigenous voices in all spheres of our society. We have an obligation to speak out against the suffering caused by colonization.
- 2) Research for this project included sources in French, Spanish, English, Latin and Nahuatl. Due to the nature of translation, its accuracy must be questioned. We should always bear in mind the dangers of bad translations and misinterpretations.
- 3) Many thanks to Redwood Library and Athenaeum (in Newport, Rhode Island), specifically librarian Michelle Farias, for her archival assistance.