

Early Images of Our Lady of Guadalupe in the Philippines¹

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Abstract: The devotion to Our Lady of Guadalupe in the Philippines is visualized in two different images: the image of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Spain, and that in Mexico. This article describes various images of Our Lady of Guadalupe from the Spanish Period of the Philippines, in anticipation of the 500th anniversary of the apparition of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Mexico.

Keywords: *Ayate*, Our Lady of Guadalupe of Extremadura, Our Lady of Guadalupe of Mexico, *vírgenes negras*

Introduction

The devotion to Our Lady of Guadalupe in the Philippines is visualized in two different images. The image of Our Lady of Guadalupe in the eponymous town in the Extremadura region of Spain is a statue that dates from the end of the twelfth century. The figure of Our Lady is seated, although the vestments on her depict her as standing. She holds the Christ

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¹ This article is dedicated to the memory of Resil B. Mojares, who joined our Creator and his Mother on the day this author was writing about Our Lady of Guadalupe in Cebu (Sept. 5, 2026). Daghang salamat gyud, Resil.

Child on her left elbow, while a scepter or baton is held on her right. Both Mother and Child are black-complexioned, in the tradition of the *Virgenes Negras* of the Medieval Period. On the other hand, the image of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Mexico appeared on a rough textile cloak, the *ayate*, in front of the Bishop of Mexico in 1531. The Virgin is depicted standing and by herself, with her hands coming together in prayer. She has been described as a young Israeli maiden, and faintly visibly three months pregnant. Technically, the image on the *ayate* is not a painting, a mystery that has confounded experts to the present day. In this article, various images of Our Lady of Guadalupe from the Spanish Period of the Philippines will be described. It has been prepared in anticipation of the 500th anniversary of the apparition of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Mexico (2031).

The image of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Spain

According to a sixteenth century legend, this image was carved by Saint Luke the Evangelist and inspired by Our Lady who was then still alive. The image found its way through Asia Minor to Sevilla, and then further west to the mountains of Cáceres in the Extremadura region of Spain. Due to fear of invaders from North Africa, the image was buried by the banks of a river called Guadalupe (whose name in Arabic means, ‘hidden river’). According to church historians, this first part of the image’s narrative has little historical basis. On the contrary, the discovery sometime in the second half of the thirteenth century by a shepherd named Gil Cordero has more stable footing. The discovery was accompanied by a series of miracles, which led to the establishment of a church in the early fourteenth century. The administration of this church was handed over to the Jeronimites, who served here from 1389 until their final exclaustation in 1835. After a period of decadence, there was a build-up of devotion, and Our Lady of Guadalupe was declared Principal Patron of Extremadura on March 20, 1907; and then canonically crowned on October 12, 1928, during which she received the title *Reina de la Hispanidad*. The Franciscans were assigned to Guadalupe in 1908, where they minister to the present day. Her liturgical fiesta is celebrated on Sept. 6; while celebrations continue until Sept. 8 (Birthday of Our Lady), *Día de Extremadura*.²

The image has been tested to be of cedar; it is 59 centimeters high (Fig. 1). Stylistically, with its frontal and hierarchical gaze, the image is Romanesque from the end of the twelfth century, with allusions to an early Gothic. Its face is black,

² The basic narrative and dates are taken from the first section of Sebastián García, O.F.M., and Felipe Trenado, O.F.M., *Guadalupe: historia, devoción y arte* (Sevilla: Editorial Católica Española, 1978), pp. 19-300.



Fig. 1. Our Lady of Guadalupe, Guadalupe, Cáceres, Extremadura, Spain.
<https://www.salvemariaregina.info/SalveMariaRegina/SMR-213/Guadalupe.html>.
 Accessed Aug. 31, 2026.

not brown, and thus pertains to the type of Marian images known as the *Virgenes Negras*, carved by local artisans with a popular sensibility. It is seated like a queen (not standing, as supposed by others) on a simple bench, but has been outfitted with supports to accommodate the elaborate gowns and capes placed on it. The image is carved with a simple bell-shaped tunic. The image is hollow at the back (typical of the Romanesque), and has undergone multiple interventions throughout the centuries. There are traces of a simple crown carved on the forehead, but these were obscured in preparation for the 1928 coronation. The image of the Child dates from the same time as his Mother. His right hand was replaced by one of silver in the second half of the fifteenth century.³

The image of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Mexico

The story of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Mexico is accessible through many sources. The earliest narrative, *Nican Mopohua*, was written in Nahuatl by Antonio Valeriano, a learned Aztec, a little before or after Juan Diego's death between 1540 and 1545, and therefore is one of the crucial primary sources for our study. Accordingly, only the details relevant to this article will be included here. On the 12th of December 1531, the Blessed Virgin Mary appeared to a handful of people in the house of the bishop of Mexico, Fray Juan de Zumárraga. The Lady left her imprint on the *ayate*, or cloak, of a native Mexican, Juan Diego, just as he had opened his cloak to reveal the fresh roses gathered from Tepeyac Hill.⁴ The

³ Joaquín Montes Bardo, O.F.M., "La imagen de Santa María de Guadalupe," in García and Trenado, *Guadalupe*, pp. 303-326.

⁴ Though most popular accounts refer to Juan Diego's cloak as a *tilma*, Valeriano used the term *ayate*. He distinguished the *tilma*, a white cotton blanket worn by Aztec leaders and noblemen, from the *ayate*, which was a rough blanket or cloak of maguey worn by commoners. Francis Anson

flowers—impossible to find at that time of year—were picked by Juan as instructed by the beautiful young lady to convince the bishop that she wished a chapel to be built on Tepeyac. On her first apparition on the hill on the 9th of December, she had introduced herself to the Indian as ‘The Perfect Ever-Virgin Mary, Mother of the Most True God.’ She had also appeared to Juan’s sick uncle, Juan Bernardino, and cured him at exactly the same time that she accosted Juan when he tried



Fig. 2. Our Lady of Guadalupe, Mexico.
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Our_Lady_of_Guadalupe. Accessed Aug. 30, 2026.

to skirt Tepeyac to get a priest for his relative. To Bernardino, she called herself ‘The Perfect Virgin Holy Mary of Guadalupe.’ Although it is commonly believed that ‘Guadalupe’ may have been a corruption of a Nahuatl name such as Quauhtlacuēuh (‘She who comes from the light flying like the eagle’), others theorize that Bernardino, who had been schooled by the Spaniards for 10 years, may have indeed heard ‘Guadalupe.’

The image on the *ayate* has been described by experts as that of “an Israelite girl of the first century, about 15 years of age dressed in festive attire, and apparently three months pregnant.”⁵ Other details that are now familiar to us were added at a later date: “rays, flowers, gilded stars, a moon, an angel, a girdle, and clouds, were all ornaments that did not belong to the original image.”⁶ (Fig. 2)

clarifies that “the term *ayate*, therefore, is the most appropriate word to refer to the cloth on which the image of Our Lady of Guadalupe was impressed.” Francis Anson, *Guadalupe. What Her Eyes Say* (translated from Spanish, *Guadalupe: Lo que dicen los ojos*, Madrid: Ediciones Rialp, S.A., 1988; Manila: Sinag-tala Publishers, Inc., 1994), p. 81.

⁵ Anson, p. 95.

⁶ Anson, p. 86.

The image of Our Lady of Guadalupe in the former Augustinian Monastery of Guadalupe, Makati City, Metro Manila

The first ‘house’ of the Augustinians in the Philippines was accepted by the Augustinian Chapter on May 3, 1572. This was to be the site of what is now popularly known as ‘San Agustin Church’ in Intramuros, Manila. The second ‘house’ in the Manila area was established on March 7, 1601, on top of a hill in a barrio of what was then San Pedro de Makati (present-day Makati City). Upon its foundation, it was known as the Convent of Our Lady of Grace in the Hills. However, on November 30, 1603, its patroness was changed to Our Lady of Guadalupe, ‘in memory of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de España.’ Among the several ‘devout and religious persons’ who requested the change were Captain Don Pedro Navarrete, a native of Extremadura, and his wife Doña Agustina Morales, citizens of Manila. A ‘very similar image was copied from the one venerated in Extremadura’ and was thence enshrined in the Augustinian church; eventually, the locality was known as Guadalupe—the name by which it is still known today.⁷

Apart from this early image’s being a copy of that in Extremadura, little else is known about its appearance. From a miracle reported about this image in 1637 (in a series dating from 1617 to 1645) we know that it was gifted with dresses. In the said year, a *vestido* of the Virgin was placed over the head of a sick infant, who was instantly cured and began suckling at his mother’s breast.⁸ When British troops set up their headquarters in the monastery, an Irish Catholic soldier brought this image for safekeeping to the Augustinian convent in Pasig, and brought it back at the end of hostilities in 1768. This statue, or its successor, was lost during the earthquake of 1880 that destroyed the church.

From 1885 to 1890, the monastery housed the Escuela de Artes y Oficios (School of Arts and Trades) established by the Augustinians for the education of orphan boys. Here they were taught drawing, painting, engraving, and sculpture by Melchor and Gaspar Sampedro. These Spanish brothers also crafted an image of Our Lady of Guadalupe—described as “a work of great artistic merit”—while working on the retablos of the church. Unfortunately, this image was lost when the monastery complex with all its treasures was put to the torch as Filipino forces led by General Pio del Pilar resisted advancing American troops during the Philippine-American War on March 15, 1899. According to another story, some Filipino soldiers ran away with the image of Our Lady of Guadalupe but to this day it has not resurfaced.

⁷ Fr. Pedro G. Galende, O.S.A., *Angels in Stone. Architecture of Augustinian Churches in the Philippines* (Metro Manila: G. A. Formoso Publishing, 1987), pp. 34-39.

⁸ Gaspar de San Agustín, O.S.A., *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas/ Conquest of the Philippine Islands 1565-1615*. Introduction by Pedro G. Galende, O.S.A. Translated from Spanish to English by Luis Antonio Mañeru (Manila: San Agustín Museum, 1998), pp. 1064-1069.

It cannot be ascertained whether the image that was lost in 1899 was a replica of either that of Extremadura or Mexico. However, a novena in Spanish and Tagalog written by the Augustinians and published during the Spanish period was preceded not just by a history of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe of Mexico but also of Our Lady by that name as she was venerated in Manila. The novena began on December 4, to culminate on her fiesta on December 12.⁹

Curiously, a picture from the Ongpin Album (dated 1919) now in the Intramuros Administration is labeled: “Bronze Virgin from front of Guadalupe church; now in the Convent of Consolation” (Fig. 3).¹⁰ Although the photograph is quite dark, certain details of the image of Our Lady, molded or carved in low relief, can be noted. The image seems to be of Our Lady dressed in a long tunic, with her head tilted towards the right, and both hands held in prayer. Noticeably, there is no indication of the Child; an angel with open arms appears at the feet of Our Lady. These indicate that this image carries the Mexican Guadalupe iconography. There are no rays emerging



Fig. 3. Author's rendition of Our Lady of Guadalupe, from the Ongpin Album [1919].

⁹ The information on the late 19th century image of Our Lady of Guadalupe was taken from: Anon., *La Virgen Maria venerada en sus imágenes filipinas* (Manila: Imprenta de Santos y Bernal, 1904, pp.26-29;

Fr. Rodolfo M. Arreza, O.S.A., *The Guadalupe Shrine* (Metro Manila: Rodolfo M. Arreza Publishing, 1991), pp. 14-15; Fr. Pedro G. Galende, O.S.A., *Angels in Stone. Architecture of Augustinian Churches in the Philippines* (Metro Manila: G. A. Formoso Publishing, 1987), pp. 37, 39-40; Fr. Policarpo F. Hernández, O.S.A., *The Augustinians in the Philippines* (Makati: Colegio de San Agustin, 1998), p. 17; and Fr. Valentín Marín y Morales, O.P., *Essay of a Synthesis of the Works Accomplished by the Spanish Religious Corporations in the Philippines*, Vol. II, (1901), ed. Fr. Angel Aparicio, O.P. (Manila: UST Publishing House, UST Miguel de Benavides Library, and UnionBank of the Philippines, 2022), p. 37.

¹⁰ [Manila 1919: The Ongpin Album.] Intramuros Administration, Intramuros, Manila, p. 121.

from her back; but these could have been broken off as the relief was mounted on a ceramic tile wall. It still has to be determined if this relief survived the war, and if it can be found in La Consolacion College (founded in 1902), located along Mendiola Street in San Miguel, Manila.

The image of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Cebu

This image is said to have been found in a cave in the mountains of what is now called Guadalupe, a district of Cebu City. The statue was brought to a site near a river, where a chapel was built of light materials. The earliest mention of the place known as Guadalupe dates from 1751, when it was listed as a *visita* (mission



Fig. 4. Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, Cebu. From *La Virgen Maria venerada en sus imágenes filipinas* (Manila: Imprenta de Santos y Bernal, 1904),

station) of San Nicolas, then a pueblo separate from Cebu City.¹¹ When the chapel was burned during the Philippine-American War, the image was brought to the church of San Nicolas de Tolentino in the eponymous district. (Quite a historical irony, because back in Luzon, the image of San Nicolas de Tolentino was taken from its shrine along the Pasig and housed in the church in Guadalupe.) Her fiesta is celebrated on December 12, preceded by a novena.

This image is a wooden statue about a meter high. The earliest photograph of it appeared in the 1904 book, *La Virgen Maria venerada en sus imágenes Filipinas* (Fig. 4); it was taken in San Nicolas. Our Lady is dressed in a tunic painted with floral motifs; the tip of a right shoe peers from the hem,

¹¹ For a deeper and more meaningful essay on Our Lady of Guadalupe in Cebu, see Resil B. Mojares, "Stalking the Virgin," in *Waiting for Mariang Makiling. Essays in Philippine Cultural History* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2002), pp. 140-170.

which loosely spreads on the floor. A cloak covers the back of her head, and the right end of it is drawn diagonally across the front to hang from the left elbow; the lower edges of the cloak flutter from a slight breeze (Fig. 5). The hornlike ends of crescent moon sprout from the base (Fig. 6). A nimbus of rays—oddly recalling the shape of a Russian *matryushka* doll—is fitted around her erect body: it is the only visual link to a likeness of Our Lady of Guadalupe of Mexico. Most striking are her hands that come together in front, in an attitude of praise or prayer, but do not touch each other—recalling the similar pose of perhaps the most ancient Filipino Marian image: Nuestra Señora de Guia, venerated in Ermita, Manila (see Fig. 7). This image was canonically crowned in 2006.¹²



Fig. 5. Side view of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, Cebu, showing the billowing cape. Photo courtesy of Fr. Brian Brigoli, Cebu City



Fig. 6. Canonical coronation of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, Cebu, 2006. Photo courtesy of Fr. Brian Brigoli, Cebu City.

¹² Michael de los Reyes, *Coronadas. Pontifically Crowned Marian Images in the Philippines 1907-2021* (Makati City: RPD Publications, 2021), pp. 110-113.



Fig. 7. Photo of Nuestra Señora de Guia from *Excelsior*, 1919; courtesy of Michael de los Reyes.

The image of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Vigan, Ilocos Sur

In the museum housed in the Archbishop's residence in Vigan, Ilocos Sur, is a beautiful gold and silver tabernacle. Its rocaïlle motifs date it stylistically from the last quarter of the 18th century. It is only brought out to form part of the elaborate *monumento* for the Holy Thursday ritual in Vigan cathedral. The central panel shows Jesus the Good Shepherd, a theme rarely encountered in Philippine art. The right panel shows St. Paul the Apostle with his sword—an allusion to the dedication of the cathedral to the Conversion of St. Paul. The left panel shows Our Lady of Guadalupe of Mexico (Figs. 8,9). She was the patroness of the now vanished district of Guadalupe. One of the earliest references to this place is in 1760, when the outskirts of Vigan were divided into four barrios: Santo Domingo,

San Vicente, Santa Catalina, and Guadalupe. This latter place re-emerged later as Caoayan, whose parish was separated from Vigan in 1825.¹³



Fig. 8. Late 18th century tabernacle, Vigan. RTJ 1990



Fig. 9. Detail of the tabernacle, showing Our Lady of Guadalupe of Mexico. RTJ 1990.

¹³ Luciano P.R. Santiago and Frederick Scharpf, S.V.D. "The Filipino Vicars General of Nueva Segovia in the Eighteenth Century," *The Ilocos Review* 15 (1983), pp. 76-77. 73-83.

The image of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Pagsanjan, Laguna

The parish dedicated to Our Lady of Guadalupe in Pagsanjan, Laguna, was erected on November 12, 1687. Although an Archconfraternity for the Blessed Sacrament was established by the mestizos in 1807, and another Confraternity for Our Father Jesus founded by the natives, there is hardly any historic information on the devotion to Our Lady of Guadalupe.¹⁴ The church was bombed during the Second World War, and virtually nothing remained of its contents. The parish is now the Diocesan Shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe, and the patroness' feastday is celebrated on December 12.

The image of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Loboc, Bohol

Loboc was one of the earliest centers of Christianity in Bohol, having been the site of Jesuit establishment since the 1590s. Its principal patron was Saint Peter the Apostle. The Jesuits were replaced by the Augustinian Recollects (OAR), who ministered here from 1768 to 1898. In 1843, during the time of Father Francisco Vásquez de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, OAR (1838-1855), the town was ravaged by an epidemic. Fray Francisco, a native of Santa María de Guadalupe, Cáceres, in the Extremadura region of Spain, requested an image of his town's patroness from Manila, which arrived that same year. The scourge abated after the image had been taken in procession around the town, and Our Lady of Guadalupe was elected secondary patroness of Loboc.¹⁵

The wooden statue of Our Lady presides over the main niche of the central retablo in Loboc church. She and the Child are completely black; Our Lady's cheeks are a bit plump, and she wears a wig. The background of her niche is elaborately carved and gilded filigree on wood, one of the best examples of its craft (Fig. 10). One of the paintings on the ceiling of the church depicts the catastrophic flood of November 26, 1876. The raging waters stopped at the level of the pedestal of Our Lady of Guadalupe, who is shown providing solace to the people clutching onto their rooftops as their houses are washed away (Fig. 11).

¹⁴ Fr. Felix de Huerta, *Estado Geográfico, Topográfico, Estadístico, Histórico-Religioso, de la Santa y Apostólica Provincia de S. Gregorio Magno, de Religiosos Menores Descalzos de la Regular y Mas Estrecha Observancia de N.S.P.S. Francisco, en las Islas Filipinas* (Binondo: Imprenta de M. Sánchez y C.a, 1865), p. 161.

¹⁵ Emmanuel Luis A. Romanillos, *History of Bohol (1521-1937) Essays, Notes, and Sources* (Manila: National Historical Commission of the Philippines, 2022), pp. 233-234.

Fig. 10. Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Loboc, Bohol. RTJ 1997



Fig. 11. The 1876 flood that ravaged Loboc, as depicted on the ceiling in 1927 by Canuto Avila. RTJ 1997



The image of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Sevilla, Bohol

The parish in Sevilla, Bohol, was erected on October 22, 1872. As it was separated from its mother parish in Loboc, it took for its patroness Our Lady of Guadalupe de Extremadura, the secondary patroness of its *matriz*.¹⁶ The parish was administered until 1898 by the Augustinian Recollects. In November 1901, both church and convento were burned to the ground by American troops.¹⁷ Survivors crossed the Loboc River to where the present town was relocated.¹⁸

The image of the patroness on the central retablo is a sculptural representation of the Mexican icon: dressed in flowing robes, with both hands in prayer, and the Child absent (Fig. 12). On the other hand, what locals refer to as the original image stands on a table in front of the central altar. This wooden statue is recognizably a representation of the Guadalupe Extremadura version: dark-skinned, erect, holding the Christ Child in front of her. She is dressed in the Immaculate Conception colors of blue and white (Fig. 13). The base represents clouds that are double-outlined in the Oriental manner (Fig. 14). Painted on the ceiling over the sanctuary is another dark-skinned likeness of Our Lady of Guadalupe of Extremadura.

A bell dated 1880 hangs in the bell tower. Dedicated to the Virgen de Guadalupe, it bears a rare cast metal image of the Virgin depicted according to the Extremadura model: standing erect, crowned and draped as a queen, and holding a rather sprightly Christ Child on her left arm. Curiously, the right hand seems to be holding an angel or another small figure; some parts have broken off, making the identification of this figure impossible for the moment (Fig. 15).

¹⁶ Pbro. D. Felipe Redondo y Sendino, *Breve Reseña de lo que fue y de lo que es la Diócesis de Cebu en las Islas Filipinas* (originally published 1886), trans. Azucena L. Pace (Cebu City: University of San Carlos Press, 2014), pp. 156-157.

¹⁷ *Catálogo de las Reclamaciones que por Daños y Perjuicios inferidos a la Iglesia Católica de Filipinas presenta al Gobierno de los Estados Unidos de América el Arzobispado de Manila y los Obispos Sufragáneos* (Manila: Imp. de “El Mercantil”, 1903), p. 89.

¹⁸ Regalado Trota Jose, *Visita Iglesia Bohol* (Manila: National Commission for Culture and the Arts, 2001), p. 91.



Fig. 12.



Fig. 13.



Fig.14.



Fig. 15.

A Detail from the Mexican Image of Our Lady of Guadalupe on a 1749 engraving

The open-handed angel at the bottom of the Mexican Guadalupe portrait was copied and appeared on the same location, at the bottom of the *Double portrait of Our Lady of the Rose and Our Lady of Peace and Good Voyage* (Figs. 16 and 17). This engraving by Filipino artists Lorenzo Atlas and Phelipe Sevilla faced the title page of Pedro Murillo Velarde's *Historia de la Provincia de Philipinas* (Manila, 1749).

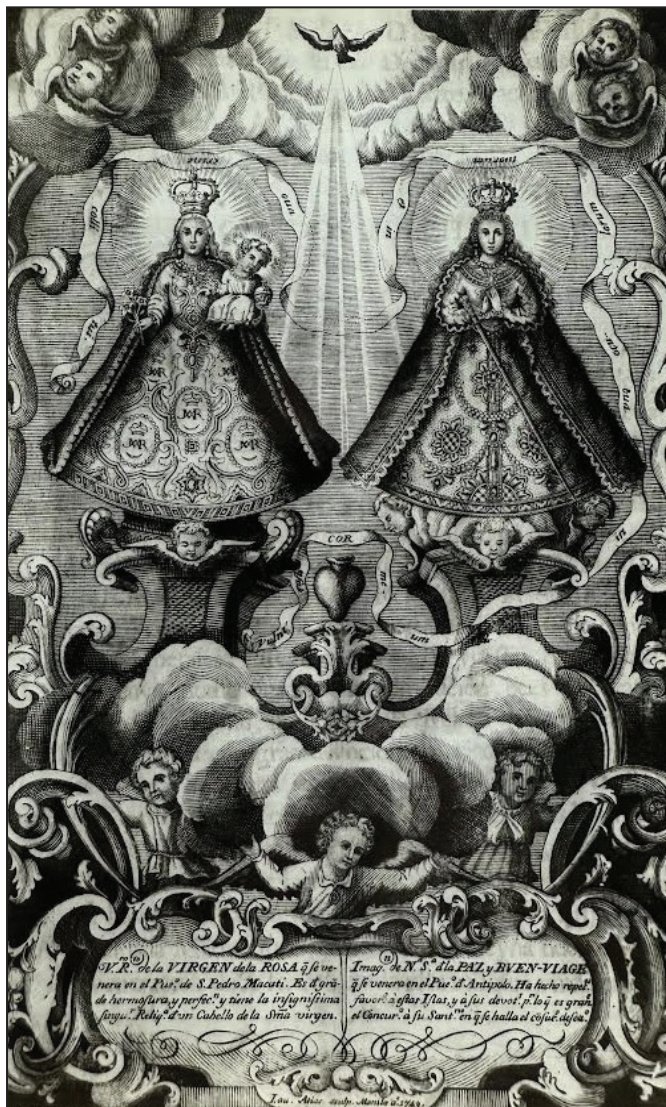


Fig.16.



Fig. 17.

Other references to, or churches under the patronage of Our Lady of Guadalupe

Indang, Cavite

An old, framed picture of Our Lady of Guadalupe, about a half *vara* in height and a third wide, was among the items inventoried in the sanctuary area of the church of Indang, Cavite, during the turnover from the Jesuits to the diocese.¹⁹

Our Lady of Guadalupe, Surigao (actually Agusan del Sur)

This is probably the same Guadalupe listed as one of the new foundations for Manobos, Mandayas, and Mangulangas established around the year 1879 (under the Jesuits), as a visita four leagues north of Talacogon, the parish center (itself founded in 1851, under the Augustinian Recollects) now in present-day Agusan del Sur. The parish of Our Lady of Guadalupe was established in 2015; its feastday is December 12.²⁰

Valladolid, Negros Occidental

¹⁹ Ynventto de todos los bienes pertenecientes a la Yglesia, y Cassa de este Pueblo de Yndan. Año de 1768. Archdiocesan Archives of Manila: Inventarios, 14A1, 1810-1905D. A *vara* was a unit of measurement equivalent to about a yard.

²⁰ *La Virgen Maria*, p. 158; the editors were understandably mistaken to locate this church under Surigao, which was the province adjoining Agusan to the east. Redondo y Sendino, *Breve Reseña*, p. 203. *The 2024-2025 Catholic Directory of the Philippines* (Quezon City: Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Philippines and Claretian Communications Foundation, Inc., 2024), p. 44.

The parish was erected in 1852 under the patronage of Our Lady of Guadalupe; its feastday is on December 12. Throughout the Spanish period, the parish was administered by the Augustinian Recollects.²¹

Conclusion

This article has presented some of the Spanish-period representations of Our Lady of Guadalupe, from both the Spanish and Mexican versions. Most of the versions shown are of Our Lady of Guadalupe of Mexico, although the two from Bohol are of the Extremadura model. Interestingly, the angel of the Mexican version was included in a representation of two other Marian images issued in 1749.**PS**

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²¹ *La Virgen Maria*, p. 160. *The 2024-2025 Catholic Directory of the Philippines*, p. 14. Modesto P. Sa-onoy, *A History of Negros Occidental*, 2nd ed. (Bacolod: The Author, 2003), p. 101. Licio Ruiz de Sta. Eulalia, *Sinopsis histórica de la Provincia de San Nicolas de Tolentino de las Islas Filipinas de la Orden de Agustinos Descalzos*, Vol. II (Manila: Tip. Pont. de la Univ. de Santo Tomás, 1925), p. 174.

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