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# DIASPORIC NATIONALISM AND CUBAN LANDSCAPE

## Cuban Immigrants at a Catholic Shrine in Miami

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*Diasporas always leave a trail of collective memory about another place and time and create new maps of desire and attachment.*[1]

FIDEL CASTRO'S REVOLUTIONARY ARMY victoriously entered Havana on January 8, 1959, and thereby transformed the cultural landscape of Miami. In 1960, only 29,500 Cubans lived in Miami, where they constituted only 3 percent of the local population. Jews had migrated earlier, and they had some public power. Yet the region was still largely Southern and Protestant in character. By 1990, however, more than 561,000 Cubans had arrived, and they made up almost 30 percent of the local residents.[2]

The Cubans who have so abruptly and radically altered the cultural landscape of Miami have viewed themselves above all as members of an exiled community, citizens of a dispersed nation. Yet collective identity becomes especially problematic for exiles. Most immigrants experience disorientation, and most retain fondness for their native land. For exiles, however, those feelings are intensified. As the geographer Yi-Fu Tuan has suggested, "To be forcibly evicted from one's home and neighborhood is to be stripped of a sheathing, which in its familiarity protects the human being from the bewilderments of the outside world." The diaspora's sense of meaning and identity is threatened because it has lost contact with the natal landscape, which is "personal and tribal history made visible."[3]

As political exiles, Cubans have experienced the expected disorientation and shown a singleminded passion for their homeland. As Cuban Americans boast, and some non-Latino blacks and "Anglos" complain, the diaspora tenaciously holds to the Cuban past and continually plans its future. In voting, most ask first about the candidate's stance toward Castro. Musicians and singers who have visited Cuba have been banned from performing in the city. Even those who are not as consumed with these issues scan the news for signs of instability in Castro's government or for stories about the latest *balsero*, or rafter, found bobbing in the Straits of Florida. Spanish-language radio stations hold contests to guess the date that Castro will fall; and paramilitary groups, as well as associations of business and education leaders, plan for the future in a democratic and capitalist Cuba. According to recent surveys, less than one-quarter of exiles say they definitely would return to Cuba to live if democracy and capitalism were restored. But even those who might not return to a "liberated" homeland still repeat the expression commonly heard at Christmas Eve

family gatherings: "La próxima Nochebuena nos comeremos el lechoncito en Cuba!" (Next Christmas Eve, we shall eat the traditional roast pork dinner in Cuba).[4]

This attachment to homeland, or nationalism, has a distinctive character for exiles in general and Cubans in particular. For them, "nation" cannot refer to a state or territory: Castro's socialist government is seen as the main problem, and the displaced live outside their homeland's political boundaries. Yet exiles in Miami continue to refer to themselves as part of the Cuban "nation." Nation, in this context, becomes an imaginative construct, even more than is usually the case. The exile group's identity is created; dynamic, not fixed. Relying on memories of the past and hopes for the future, exiles define themselves. In the process, they deterritorialize the nation. For them, nation becomes a supralocal or transregional cultural form, an imagined moral community formed by the diaspora and the oppressed who remain in the homeland.[5]

Diasporic nationalism, then, comes to mean attachment to the traditions and geography of the homeland, but with a twist. Cuban exiles are attached to the utopia of memory and desire, not to the dystopia of the contemporary socialist state. On the one hand, diasporic nationalism entails "geopiety," or an attachment to the natal landscape. This includes feelings for the natural terrain, the built environment, and the mental map of neighborhood, town, province, and country. Diasporic nationalism also involves attachment to the imagined contours of the liberated homeland as well as affection for the remembered traditions. In this case, it means passionate concern for democracy, capitalism, and various components of Cuban culture, including its music, fashion, architecture, language, and food. Some of these cultural components remain only slightly altered in contemporary Cuba; others exist now only in the exilic imagination.[6]

As part of the imaginative process of creating collective identity, diasporas often shape their new environment in the image of the old. Most Cuban exiles, like other immigrants, have lived in cities; so it is in urban spaces—alleys, streets, stores, apartments, and parks—that the imaginative processes linked with diasporic nationalism have taken place. In Miami, where most Cuban immigrants live, exiles have transformed the built environment. Cuban restaurants and businesses dot the landscape, and streets and parks named after Cuban leaders define space in the predominantly Cuban neighborhoods that spread out in a V-shaped pattern from the port of Miami. One small park in Little Havana that fills with older men playing dominoes, smoking cigars, and discussing politics is named after Antonio Maceo, a hero of the Cuban war for independence. Two blocks east of that park is a monument that has the emotional power for Cuban Americans that the Vietnam War Memorial holds for other Americans. The cylindrical stone monument remembers the men of Brigade 2506 who died during the failed Bay of Pigs invasion.[7]

At the same time, exiles also have drawn new mental maps. They imaginatively have mapped the history and geography of the homeland onto the new urban landscape. For instance, prerevolutionary Cuba had been divided into six provinces and 126 municipalities or townships. In Miami, local organizations called Cuban Municipalities in Exile preserve and intensify old regional and local affiliations. There are 110 officially recognized *municipios en el exilio*. Twenty of them have permanent buildings. Two of the larger ones, Havana and Santiago de Cuba, list almost a thousand members and hold monthly meetings. Most have a few hundred members and meet a few times each year. In their official headquarters, or in rented halls or restaurants, those who hail from the same Cuban township regularly are invited to congregate to sip Cuban coffee and converse about Cuban politics.[8]

Religion has played an important role in the process of transforming the cultural landscape and creating collective identity. In this chapter I explore the role of religion in the construction of "national" identity among Cuban immigrants in their new urban setting. For reasons that will become clear, I focus on devotion to Our Lady of Charity, the patroness of Cuba, at the shrine erected in her honor in Miami. I suggest—and this is my main point—that exiles struggle over the meaning of symbols, but almost all Cuban American visitors to the shrine see it above all as a place to express diasporic nationalism. There, exiles map the landscape and [illegible] of the homeland onto the new urban environment through architecture and ritual. Through symbols at the shrine, the diaspora imaginatively constructs its collective identity and transports itself to the Cuba of memory and desire.[9]

I divide this chapter into four sections. I first describe my method and sources and then offer a brief history of devotion to Our Lady of Charity, in Cuba and Miami. Next I consider some of the ways that the meanings of symbols are *contested.* Finally, I explore the *shared* meaning of the architecture and ritual.

## METHODS AND SOURCES

I use a combination of historical and ethnographic methods. I have analyzed contemporary and archival written sources. As a means of tracing changes over time, I also have reviewed statistical information on the religious life of Cubans before and after Castro's revolution. I have studied the exile community's material culture as well—architecture, yard shrines, murals, holy cards, and statues.

To understand the contemporary situation, I relied on observation and interviews. Most important, I conducted 304 structured interviews in which shrine visitors answered twenty questions on a questionnaire. I conducted research at all days and times. I stood outside the steps near one of the three exits. As pilgrims left, I told them that I was writing a book about devotion to the Virgin at the shrine, and I asked if they had time to answer some questions. This method did not ensure a random sample, of course, even though it yielded responses from a diverse group in terms of gender, region, and age. But it did provide rich detail about how some visitors understood devotion at the shrine. Most of those who spoke to me were middle-aged, and slightly more women than men visited the shrine. Yet often, especially on weekends, extended families would arrive together, kneel at the altar, buy a souvenir, take group photographs, stroll the grounds, and pile back into the minivan for the ride home.

Half of the twenty questions that visitors answered were open-ended. I asked, for example, not only about their arrival date and native region, but also about their impressions of the mural and the reasons for their devotion. Most of the questionnaires were self-administered, but occasionally those who were infirm, aged, or illiterate asked me to read the questions to them. In either case, I stood beside them as they answered. This allowed me to clarify ambiguities in the questions and encouraged them to explain their answers. It also led to a very high response rate. As we went along, I often asked them for elaboration or clarification, and often they volunteered more than I requested, sometimes telling long, and usually sad, stories about their life in Cuba and their exile in America. After they answered the standard questions, I asked visitors if they had time to talk further. Many did. Although I encountered the members of the Confraternity of Our Lady of Charity often, I spoke with most pilgrims once, and the conversations lasted approximately thirty minutes. Some were shorter, as devotees rushed home to make dinner, scurried to gather relatives, or hurried

back to the office. Other conversations lasted much longer, even several hours. Except when pilgrims requested otherwise, the interviews were in Spanish. Even when some visitors would begin in English, they would return to their native tongue to express a deeply held belief—and, I learned, many Cuban pilgrims had deeply held religious beliefs.[10]

## OUR LADY OF CHARITY AND THE SHRINE

Prerevolutionary Cuba was a relatively unchurched nation, especially in rural areas. In 1954, a few years before Castro's revolution, Cuba had the lowest percentage of nominal Catholics and practicing Catholics in Latin America. There were relatively few priests. In a 1957 survey of four hundred rural heads of families, only half identified themselves as Catholics. The vast majority (88.8 percent) never attended services, and only 4 percent attended three or more times a year. In fact, only slightly more than half (53.5 percent) had ever seen a priest.[11]

All this is not to say, of course, that Cubans were not religious. They simply were not linked closely with formal religious institutions. It was the church and the priests with whom many were not familiar; they felt quite comfortable with the Christian God and the Catholic saints, many even with the African *orishas* of Santería. Folk Catholicism was vigorous. The home and the streets were the preferred places of worship. As in other regions of North and South America, religious festivals played a significant part in devotional life. Many of the older exiles I interviewed told me that they had rarely gone to mass: they lived too far away from the churches. But they reported attending the primary public celebrations—on Good Friday, on the Epiphany, and on the feast days of the three main objects of popular veneration: Saint Barbara, Saint Lazarus, and Our Lady of Charity. They also recalled fondly the religion of the home. One sixty-four-year-old man from a rural township who had rarely gone to church as a child told me, trembling with emotion, that his strong devotion to Our Lady of Charity began with the family and in the home. Each night before bedtime, as his mother had instructed, he knelt to kiss the feet of the statue enshrined in their living room.

Cuban devotion to Our Lady of Charity has a long history, and especially since the nineteenth century she has been linked with national identity. "Cuba and the Virgin are the same thing," explained one shrine visitor. This middle-aged woman, who was born in Havana and arrived in Miami in 1960, expressed a common feeling among immigrants, laity and clergy. One exiled Cuban priest, for instance, suggested that "to look at [the image of] the Virgin of Charity is to think about Cuba, because she has been inexorably linked with our nationality and our history." The connection goes back to the beginning of the seventeenth century, when, according to popular legend, three laborers paddling in a small boat found the statue of the Virgin floating in the sea off the eastern coast of the island. This image later was enshrined in Cobre, a town in the easternmost province, Oriente. For two centuries, devotion was intense in that region, and over time it spread westward to the five other provinces of Cuba.[12]

It was during the late-nineteenth-century wars for independence from Spain that the Virgin became almost inseparable from the land and nation. A number of the soldiers who fought for independence (*los mambises*) adopted her as their patroness. Some carried her image with them into battle; others wore it on their shirts. Still others simply asked her to intercede for them and their nation. Because of her participation in the fight for freedom, the people still refer to her as *la Virgen Mambisa*.[13]

The nationalistic elements of devotion to Our Lady of Charity escalated still further after independence was won in 1902. Indeed, it was the veterans of the wars for independence who successfully petitioned the pope in 1915 to name her the patroness of Cuba, and the Virgin's link with national identity and political resistance reemerged clearly just after the socialist revolution. In 1961, when government officials tried to undermine Havana's traditional procession on the feast day of Our Lady of Charity, thousands of devotees defiantly filled the streets near the church. The spontaneous religious procession developed into political protest, and violence broke out, with one young leader of the protest being shot. The government, sensing the Virgin's significance and the concomitant political threat, prohibited religious processions. One hundred and thirty-two priests were arrested and expelled from the island a week later. Many of the exiled priests landed in Miami, and the Virgin emigrated as well. Although the original statue remains in Cobre, a replica was secretly transported from Havana to Miami on her feast day in 1961. The Virgin, now an exile herself, finally found a new home in Miami when the shrine was dedicated twelve years later.[14]

Exile has preserved and intensified devotion to Our Lady of Charity. The number of pilgrims to the shrine in Miami has risen over the years. By the 1990s, the urban shrine, the sixth-largest Catholic pilgrimage site in the United States, attracted hundreds of thousands of visitors annually. The large number who make the journey, the vast majority of whom are Cuban, attest to its importance to the diaspora.[15]

The shrine, which was dedicated December 2, 1973, rests on an acre of land on the shore of Biscayne Bay, a short distance south of the skyscrapers of downtown Miami. It is hidden from the view of motorists driving to and from the downtown area; only a small sign by the road, in Spanish, announces its location. As you turn down the winding road that leads from the main street, you pass a parish church and youth center. To the right is the parking lot of a Catholic hospital. Two rows of palm trees and a small sign, again in Spanish, mark the entrance. The wide brick path between the palms leads to the steps of the conical shrine. As you face the shrine, picnic tables and a convent/administrative building sit to the left. A few hundred yards to the right is the hospital. Behind the shrine, the cobalt blue of Biscayne Bay stretches toward the horizon. The shrine itself, with a white base and bronze cap, stands ninety feet high and eighty feet wide. Its verticality is emphasized not only by the cross on its peak but also because its foundation rests fourteen feet above sea level. Inside, hovering in front of the mural, the statue of Our Lady of Charity is raised on a pedestal at the center of the altar.

Several priests and nuns, almost all of Cuban descent, help Agustín A. Román, auxiliary bishop of Miami, oversee the shrine's activities. Román, the director of the shrine, was a moving force in building the edifice, and he remains one of the most beloved leaders of the exile community. One woman in her forties repeated what many others had told me: "He's a saint."

The members of the confraternity, and the other visitors, come at all times; but there are three main public rituals. First, there are weekday masses. On Monday, Wednesday, and Friday evenings masses are scheduled, in turn, for each of the 126 Cuban municipalities or townships. Also, once a year the former residents of each of the six Cuban provinces are invited to return for a *romería*, a festival in which residents from a particular region journey to the local shrine. On the day of the *romería*, exiles from the same Cuban province eat, drink, chat, and worship together. The day, usually a Sunday, begins just after noon with

lunch and ends with a rosary and procession around the shrine in the early evening. Finally, on September 8, thousands of exiles also take part in the annual feast day activities. They last all day and into the night. The most important part of those activities is the rosary and mass. Before Hurricane Andrew damaged the structure in 1992, this event usually was held in Miami Marine Stadium, only a short distance from the shrine. Those in the outdoor stadium, which overlooks the downtown skyline, say the rosary first. Later, as darkness falls, the mass begins. A flotilla of boats, all privately owned by exiles, escort the boat carrying the icon on her journey by water from the shrine. At the climax of the mass, that boat motors slowly to the side of the stage by the water's edge. Then several men balancing on the bow reverently lift the Virgin to others standing on the stage. They place the image near the right front of the stage. When the mass concludes, the same men carry the icon up the steep aisles of the stadium so that everyone can get a closer look. Finally, the clergy, choir, and lay readers file off the stage, led by the Virgin. The statue is then placed on the back of a flatbed truck in the parking lot. Devotees crowd close, encircling the unpretentious vehicle, to get another glimpse and to gather the fallen flowers as souvenirs. The truck, with the image secured by several male members of the confraternity, drives the three and a half miles over Rickenbacker Causeway and down a main street to the shrine. Most pilgrims go home as the Virgin leaves the stadium parking lot, but some follow her back to the shrine and remain for an hour or more, praying, singing, and talking.[16]

## CONTESTED MEANINGS

I highlight the shared nationalistic significance of the symbols connected with the shrine; but first it is important to acknowledge that their meaning is, to some degree, contested. There are, for instance, differences in interpretation and attitude between the Cuban American clergy and laity. Even though the exile community feels more positively toward the clergy—and especially Bishop Román—than prerevolutionary Cubans did, "religion as practiced" is partly in tension with "religion as prescribed."[17]

When I asked Bishop Román about the main problem facing the Cuban Catholic community in Miami, he said that it was "evangelization." He elaborated by drawing three concentric circles on note paper. The smallest circle at the center, he explained, represented the minority of exiles who are devoted members of the "liturgical community" and attend mass regularly at their parish. The next-larger circle represented those who were nominal Catholics, the majority of Cuban Americans. The final circle, farthest from the center, represented those who were not officially Catholic. Bishop Román's concern was with the second group, the nominal Catholics who were not active and orthodox members of their parishes.[18]

I thought that I understood, until he explained further: The real challenge, he said, was to eliminate the "confusions." He suggested, "Those evangelizing the Cubans need to realize that one zone in need of purification is that in which the influence of Santería is significant." "Deficiencies in evangelization" have allowed the *orishas* of Santería to be confused with the saints of Catholicism. The number of officially initiated adherents is, he argued, rather small. But many, he claimed, dabble: "What is rather numerous is the amount of people belonging to the baptized multitudes of our Church who sporadically visit the *santero* or minister of that religion looking for good luck, health, protection, or wanting to know the future."[19]

The shrine, the clergy believe, provides the means of "purifying" nominal Cuban Catholicism of the residue of Santería. In the bishop's words, it offers a "pedagogical opportunity." He admitted, indeed, that "the shrine of Our Lady of Charity has been designed with this pedagogical idea in mind." Cubans, who were never as fully integrated into the liturgical community as the clergy would have liked, have had an intense devotion to Our Lady of Charity. So the clergy hoped to use the Virgin to reach the unchurched masses, especially but not exclusively those influenced by Santería. Once they got their attention, they could begin to "catechize," as another Cuban American exiled priest told me.[20]

That catechetical concern is clear in the clergy's attempts to distinguish Our Lady of Charity from Ochún, the Yoruba goddess of the river, with whom she sometimes is "confused." Both are affiliated with water, yellow, and love. Santería initiates, especially devotees of Ochún, still sometimes come to the Miami shrine, even though clerical and lay officials occasionally ask them to leave. One prominent member of the confraternity told me that when they encounter initiates at the shrine, usually dressed in white and throwing pennies, they "chase them off." Yet those Santería followers still find much that is familiar and affirming at the shrine. It is, after all, by the water. Like Ochún, the Virgin is associated with fertility and love, and prayer cards on the souvenir table in the back petition her for a safe and successful pregnancy. Finally, yellow rosebushes and painted yellow stones encircle the left side of the shrine's exterior. For those who know the references, all these elements link the Virgin and the *orisha*. Yet the clergy do their best to separate the two. In these and other ways, Catholic clergy and some laity struggle over the meaning of symbols.[21]

There also is significant diversity among those in the pews: Cuban lay followers struggle among themselves over the meaning of symbols. Gender, class, and race differentiate devotees of Our Lady of Charity, and age seems to be one of the most decisive distinguishing factors. Most studies of urban immigrants have found intergenerational differences in the practice of religion. Cubans seem typical in this regard. The intensity of devotion to Our Lady of Charity declines slightly among those who were born in exile or who came here as young children, those under forty years of age. There seems to be a still more precipitous drop in devotion for those under twenty. One devotee, who arrived at age thirty-three in 1963, put it this way when discussing those who had been born in America or had arrived as young children: "The young people do not believe as we do because they don't know the Virgin of Charity as the patroness of Cuba."[22]

Age was not the only factor dividing Cuban American pilgrims, and nationalistic sentiment was not the only element in their devotion. Respondents of all ages indicated, for instance, that "personal devotions" were more important to them than any scheduled rituals connected with the shrine. Most of the shrine visitors I spoke with suggested that the Virgin provided some sort of spiritual reward: they used words such as "peace," "strength," "confidence," "faith," and "hope." Some of my informants claimed that the Virgin provided material comforts of one sort or another. Pilgrims offered various instrumental prayers, which seek a response about a particular problem. One lower-class woman who arrived from Havana in 1991 did not elaborate but said only that Our Lady "grants me miracles." Many others were more specific. A twenty-eight-year-old woman claimed that the Virgin heals her children when they are sick. Some claimed that the Virgin helped them financially.[23]

Instrumental prayers to the Virgin often are linked with vows that specify the reciprocal action the pledger will take in the event of a favorable outcome, and many shrine visitors come to express gratitude or fulfill a vow. That is what drew one middle-aged man born in

Oriente, who traveled all the way from Los Angeles. I first encountered his daughter, aged twenty-four, in the parking lot that Monday afternoon. After talking with her for twenty minutes or so, I was puzzled. She confessed to a complete lack of piety, but that made her presence at the shrine inexplicable. It turned out that she was waiting, not very patiently, by the rental car for her father to emerge. When he did, I asked him the usual questions. But this was no ordinary interview. He was fighting back tears the whole time. I asked if he had come to fulfill a vow. "Yes, I had some kind of problem with her," he said, pointing to his daughter, who by now had turned on the car radio to pass the time as she waited in the white convertible. His eyes filled with tears again, and he indicated that he had to stop the interview. Whatever the problem, the Virgin had resolved it, and now this man had expressed his gratitude and kept his promise. Tomorrow they would fly back to Southern California.[24]

## SHARED MEANING: DIASPORIC NATIONALISM

As with this Cuban American from California, devotees' petitions often concerned not only their fate and that of their family but also that of their homeland. The pilgrim from Los Angeles, for example, also forcefully expressed his attachment to his native country. He, like most visitors, reported that his devotion to the patroness of Cuba had increased in exile, and he summarized the significance of that devotion this way: "It is that which maintains my hope to see my country free, and to return to it is very important." The nationalistic significance of the symbols was central for him and the other pilgrims. This is the shared meaning of the symbols. Through artifacts and rituals at the shrine, the diaspora maps the history and geography of the homeland onto the landscape of Miami and imaginatively constructs the moral community that constitutes the "true" Cuban nation.[25]

## ARCHITECTURE

Exiles express personal attachment to their homeland and create collective identity in and through the natural landscape and built environment of the shrine. Some of the nationalistic elements are clear and available to most Cuban American visitors. A Cuban flag—in red, blue, and white—has been painted on stones on the left exterior of the shrine. At the rear are busts of José Martí, the leader of the fight for independence from Spain, and Félix Varela, one of the most important Cuban religious leaders.[26]

Both figures also appear on the huge mural, called *La historia de Cuba en una mirada,* which is painted in brown and covers the area behind the altar. The central place in that painting by Teok Carrasco is reserved for the Virgin herself and the rowboat with the three laborers. The shrine's statue of the small dark-haired Virgin, with her cloak of white, is elevated on a pedestal just below the much larger painted image and immediately in front of the boat. From the traditional Cuban chairs that fill the shrine's interior, the statue appears to be standing in the painted boat, so that through *trompe l'oeil* the recovery of the statue at sea is vividly and three-dimensionally recreated.[27]

Martí is joined on the mural by other Cuban military, cultural, and political leaders. His portrait, which is the largest, rests immediately to the right of the painted Virgin. Just below him is Jesus Rabí, major general of the war for independence, who also presided at the important veterans' reunion in Cobre in 1915, when the former soldiers decided to petition the pope. Above and to the right of Martí is another general of the war for independence, Máximo Gómez. In the top right-hand corner, the painter placed the author of the Cuban national anthem, Pedro Figueredo. At the zenith of the mural, two angels

ascend to heaven through clouds, wrapped in the Cuban flag. There is nothing subtle about all this, and few Cuban American visitors to the shrine fail to notice the links established between the Virgin and Cuban soil.[28]

There are less explicit but still powerful expressions of attachment to homeland embedded in the shrine's natural and built environment. The shrine stands only yards from the bay, and water recalls both the geography of their island nation and the legend of their patroness. The shrine also was designed so that the statue of the Virgin would stand in a direct line with Cuba. Many of the visitors told me they noticed these more subtle messages.[29]

Bishop Román explained to me and his people other symbolic dimensions of the building. The cornerstone beneath the altar contains sand from the different Cuban provinces that was mixed with water found in a raft on which fifteen people died before they could find American shores. The triangular shape of the building's exterior recreates the contours of the Virgin's cloak, so that the shrine is an architectural expression of a popular Cuban prayer: "*Virgen Santísima, cúbrenos bajo tu manto*" (Most Holy Virgin, cover us with your mantle). The shrine, then, offers protection to the exiles who gather under her cloak. The Virgin's enveloping care is extended to all Cubans, as another architectural feature signifies. The six evenly spaced buttresses that run down the exterior walls of the conical shrine represent the six Cuban provinces.[30]

A few pilgrims noted the symbolic significance of the six columns and the building's shape. One woman, who was born in Cuba in 1937 and has lived in Miami since 1966, repeated the bishop's interpretation: "It is the mantle of the Virgin which protects her sons." Other visitors remained unaware of these meanings, although they still reported in large numbers that they liked both the site and the building. Some even found other, unintended, significance there. One sixty-six-year-old man, for example, used an analogy that no one else mentioned. "For me," he said, "the shrine is like the Statue of Liberty." A woman from Oriente, the province of the original shrine, offered another distinctive interpretation: "It is symbolic. Since we are not able to have a temple on a mountain as in Cobre, the architecture of the shrine is like a symbol of elevation." Like other visitors, she linked the architecture with the landscape of her homeland.[31]

## RITUAL

The meanings and feelings evoked by the architectural space arise, in part, from the practices associated with it, and Cuban exiles also form their national identity as they map the natal landscape onto the new urban environment through ritual. The nationalistic significance is clear in the three primary collective rituals connected with the shrine—*las peregrinaciones*, the weekday masses for the townships; the annual *romerías*, which are organized around provincial rather than municipal affiliation; and *la festividad*, the annual festival on the Virgin's feast day, September 8.[32]

Because space is limited, I discuss only the latter here. The pilgrims I interviewed indicated that the annual festival was the most important collective act of devotion, even though many managed to attend only "occasionally." The festival, and especially the mass, is important for the exile community because it allows for the fullest expression of their diasporic nationalism.

The festival's location has changed over the years, but the ceremony and its nationalist significance have not. For example, consider the 1991 festival. As the clergy reminded the audience, it was the eve of the five-hundredth anniversary of the "evangelization" of the

New World. More important to those in the stands, the date also marked the thirtieth anniversary of the Virgin's arrival in Miami. At the same time, the recent transformation of communist nations in Eastern Europe added a millennialist fervor to the proceedings, and many in the crowd and on the stage seemed to believe that democracy and capitalism soon would be restored in Cuba. At various times that night, clergy repeated the familiar prediction that the exiles would "spend next Christmas in Havana."[33]

The usual large and animated crowd filled the stadium on the bay. All 6,536 seats were filled. The head of security for the stadium estimated that the crowd actually numbered 10,000. As far as I could tell, there were few, if any, Anglos there, and as I walked among the participants, I heard no English spoken. This also was true during the other, smaller events at the shrine. I had thought that the festival might draw a wider audience, maybe even some visitors from outside the local Cuban community, but this seems not to have been the case. It was a Spanish-speaking crowd; and, as their passionate responses to the patriotic messages of the evening indicated, it was overwhelmingly Cuban.[34]

The nationalistic significance of the evening's rituals was as obvious as that of the shrine's mural. This theme was expressed clearly on the program I was handed as I entered the stadium. On the top left of the printed page was the phrase "Virgen de la Caridad"; on the right was a petition, "Salva a Cuba!!" (Save Cuba). At the center of the blue program cover was an image of the Virgin. Below her, five *balseros* floated on the sea in a makeshift raft, their arms raised to the Virgin. The message seemed to be that as the Virgin had brought the exiles safely to American shores, she also can help those who remain in Cuba. Most important—and this theme was emphasized throughout the evening—she could help "liberate" Cuba from communism. As one woman told a local reporter before activities began, "The Virgin is the patroness of Cuba, and above all we want to petition her to make Cuba free."[35]

Exiles expressed their attachment to homeland in other ways. Several of the songs and prayers—including "Plegaria a la Virgen de la Caridad," "Caridad del Cobre," and "Virgen Mambisa"—recalled the Virgin's historical connection with Cuban land and history and repeated the call for the liberation of contemporary Cuba. Later, after the Virgin's image had been lifted from the boat and onto the stage, some in the crowd waved Cuban flags, and all stood to sing the Cuban national anthem.

During the evening's activities, which were broadcast to Cuba by federally funded Radio Martí, the clergy led the participants in several chants—all of which expressed nationalist sentiment. Perhaps most surprising (at least to me), Father Luis Pérez, a Cuban American parish priest, stopped in the middle of the rosary to urge all to chant "Our Lady of Charity, Save Cuba." At his prompting, the crowd jubilantly shouted it three times. Then, like a cheerleader at a sporting event or a keynote speaker at a political convention, the priest asked the crowd over and over, "What do we want?" "Save Cuba!" was the loud reply each time. The same sort of chants erupted, again encouraged by the clergy, during the sermon. The speaker, another exiled Cuban priest, skillfully stirred the crowd with a poetic and passionate homily filled with patriotic references, interrupting his remarks several times so that he, and most of the participants, could chant "Cuba será libre" (Cuba will be free). He ended his sermon, to the most thunderous applause of the evening, with a prayer to the Virgin: "Our Lady of Charity, save Cuba and bring liberty."

This collective ritual and the natural and built environment of the shrine have both a vertical and a horizontal dimension; and the latter is especially important for the exiles' con-

struction of national identity. On the one hand, the rituals and architecture create a vertical opposition between superior and inferior and lift the Cuban community to another, transcendent dimension. The Virgin, for all her accessibility to devotees, still resides in a realm beyond this world. She can approach us, and we can approach her. Some movement, however, is necessary to establish contact; and the shrine and the devotions held within it provide that, as they also elicit the accompanying emotions—humility, gratitude, and reverence.[36]

More important for visitors to the shrine, the symbolic spaces and practices also have a horizontal dimension. They highlight, and finally overcome, opposition between here and there, us and them. In this sense, exiles are propelled horizontally, not vertically. They move out, not up. The shrine's rituals and architecture unite the Virgin's devotees in Miami with other Cubans, in exile and on the island, creating an imagined moral community and generating feelings of nostalgia, hopefulness, and commonalty. The symbols bridge the water that separates exiles from their homeland and transport the diaspora to the Cuba of memory and desire. By appropriating the Cuban flag at the shrine, narrating Cuban history in the mural, placing Cuban sand in the cornerstone, organizing devotions by Cuban regional affiliation, and ritually aligning the Cuban patroness with their cause, the displaced community simultaneously reclaims Havana and re-maps Miami. Although Cuban American pilgrims struggle to some extent over the meaning of rituals and artifacts, the symbols' shared nationalistic significance allows exiles to imaginatively construct their collective identity as they map the history and geography of their homeland onto the new urban landscape.

## NOTES

I gratefully acknowledge the support of the National Endowment for the Humanities. A number of scholars offered helpful comments on earlier drafts, including Ruth Behar, Matthew Glass, Robert Levine, Robert Orsi, and Yi-Fu Tuan. Of course, it is not their fault if errors remain.

1. Carol Breckenridge and Arjun Appadurai, "On Moving Targets," *Public Culture* 2 (1989): i.

2. By the term "Miami" I refer to the greater metropolitan area, or Dade County. Thomas D. Boswell and James R. Curtis, "The Hispanization of Metropolitan Miami," in *South Florida: Winds of Change*, ed. Thomas D. Boswell, prepared for the annual conference of the Association of American Geographers (Miami, 1991), 140–61.

3. Yi-Fu Tuan, *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1974), 99; Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977), 157.

4. Two surveys in 1992 reported on Cubans' attitudes about returning to their homeland. The first was conducted by pollsters with Bendixen and Associates for a local Spanish-language television station (WLTV). The second was designed by sociologist Juan Clark of Miami Dade Community College and conducted under the auspices of the Archdiocese of Miami. The first survey found that 24 percent said they would return to a free Cuba. The second reported that 45 percent were unsure, and only 10 percent said they definitely would do so. "Poll: Optimism Dips over Quick Castro Fall," *Miami Herald*, May 5, 1992, B1–2; "Sumario de la encuesta de la reflexion Cubana en la Diaspora," *Ideal* 261 (1992): 4–5. The expression about Christmas dinner was mentioned by my consultants and is discussed briefly in María Cristina Herrera, "The Cuban Ecclesiastical Enclave in Miami: A Critical Profile," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 9 (Spring 1990): 212.

5. As far as I can tell, the term "diaspora nationalism" was coined by Ernest Gellner. See Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1983), 101–109. My understanding of nation and nationalism has been shaped by that work and several others. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London and New York: Verso, 1983); Liisa Malkki, *Purity and Exile: Violence, Memory, and National Cosmology among Hutu Refugees in Tanzania* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995). Several articles in a

special issue of *Cultural Anthropology* also were useful, including Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson, "Beyond 'Culture': Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference," *Cultural Anthropology* 7 (February 1992): 6–23; Liisa Malkki, "National Geographic: The Rooting of Peoples and the Territorialization of National Identity among Scholars and Refugees," *Cultural Anthropology* 7 (February 1992): 24–44.

6. Breckenridge and Appadurai, "On Moving Targets," i. My understanding of attachment to homeland has been shaped by the writings of cultural geographers. The geographer John Kirkland Wright coined the term "geopiety" to describe the religious dimension of this attachment. See John K. Wright, "Notes on Early American Geopiety," in *Human Nature in Geography: Fourteen Papers, 1925–65* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), 250–85. Others have modified and applied the concept. See, for instance, Yi-Fu Tuan, "Geopiety: A Theme in Man's Attachment to Nature and Place," in *Geographies of the Mind: Essays on Historical Geosophy*, ed. David Lowenthal and Martyn J. Bowden (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), 11–39; and Tuan, *Space and Place*, 149–60.

7. Thomas D. Boswell and James R. Curtis, *The Cuban-American Experience: Culture, Images, and Perspectives* (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Allanheld, 1983), 89–96. On immigrants' experiences in American cities, see John Bodnar, *The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), and Bayrd Still, ed., *Urban America: A History with Documents* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1974), 116–26, 194–203, 392–405. On the role of ethnicity in shaping the American landscape, see Michael P. Conzen, "Ethnicity on the Land," in *The Making of the American Landscape*, ed. Michael P. Conzen (Boston and London: Unwin Hyman, 1990), 221–48. Latino Catholics have received some attention in recent years. Only one history of the Latino church in the United States has been published, but two new book series help fill some gaps. Half of one of those volumes focuses on Cuban American Catholics, but for the most part Cubans remain understudied. The book series on Latino religion are the Notre Dame History of Hispanic Catholics in the U.S. Series, which is associated with the University of Notre Dame Press, and the Program for the Analysis of Religion among Latinos (PARAL) Studies Series, which is sponsored by the Bildner Center for Western Hemispheric Studies at the Graduate School and University Center of the City University of New York. The former has published three books, and the latter, four. Two edited volumes in these series offer useful perspectives on the larger issues that arise in the study of Latino religion: see Anthony M. Stevens-Arroyo and Gilbert R. Cadena, eds., *Old Masks, New Faces: Religion and Latino Identities*, Program for the Analysis of Religion among Latinos (New York: Bildner Center for Western Hemispheric Studies, 1995); and Jay P. Dolan and Allan Figueroa Deck, S.J., eds., *Hispanic Catholic Culture in the U.S.: Issues and Concerns*, Notre Dame History of Hispanic Catholics in the U.S. Series (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994). The contribution on Cubans in the Notre Dame series was written by a Cubanist who was trained in sociology, Lisandro Pérez, not a specialist in Roman Catholicism or U.S. religion. Lisandro Pérez, "Cuban Catholics in the United States," in Jay P. Dolan and Jaime R. Vidal, eds., *Puerto Rican and Cuban Catholics in the U.S., 1900–1965* (Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 1994), 147–207. The only book-length study of Latino Catholics devotes less than three pages to Cubans: Moises Sandoval, *On the Move: A History of the Hispanic Church in the United States* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1990), 87, 106–108. Some useful information about Cuban American Catholicism appears in Michael J. McNally, *Catholicism in South Florida, 1868–1968* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1982), 127–66. On immigrants' transformation of the Miami social landscape, see Alejandro Portes and Alex Stepick, *City on the Edge: The Transformation of Miami* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993).

8. Recent information on the municipalities in exile has been published in Boswell and Curtis, "Hispanization of Miami," 54.

9. For a fuller account, see Thomas A. Tweed, *Our Lady of the Exile: Diasporic Religion at a Cuban Catholic Shrine in Miami* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

10. I had help with some of the interviews. My research assistants included two Cuban American students at the University of Miami, Ivonne Hernandez and David Sosa. Two other Cuban American assistants, Emilia Aguilera and Ada Orlando, helped in countless ways. In a related project, one of my students, Roxanna Sosa, conducted interviews with yard shrine owners. I am grateful for their aid.

11. The comparison with other Latin American countries and a summary of the 1957 survey are found in Margaret Crahan, *Religion and Revolution: Cuba and Nicaragua*, Working Paper No. 174, Latin American Program, Wilson Center (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1987), 4. For a historical overview of Cuban Catholicism that includes primary sources, see Ismael Testé, *Historia Eclesias-*

*tica de Cuba*, 3 vols. (Burgos, Spain: Editorial El Monte Carmelo, 1969). See also Conferencia Episcopal Cubana, *Encuentro nacional eclesial cubano* (Havana: Conferencia Episcopal Cubana, 1987), 33–49. A solid overview of Cuban religion before 1959 appears as the first two chapters in John M. Kirk, *Between God and the Party: Religion and Politics in Revolutionary Cuba* (Tampa: University of South Florida Press, 1989), 3–62. At least ten dissertations on religion in Cuba were written between 1945 and 1991, but only two focused on Catholicism. The others analyze Protestantism or Santería. See Jesse J. Dossick, *Cuba, Cubans, and Cuban-Americans, 1902–1991: A Bibliography* (Miami: University of Miami North-South Center, 1992), 80–81.

12. On national Virgins, see Victor Turner and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978). On the history of Cuban devotion to Our Lady of Charity, see Testé, *Historia Eclesiastica*, vol. 3, 346–411, and José Tremols, *Historia de la devoción de la Virgen de la Caridad* (Miami: Album de America, [1962?]). See also Delia Díaz de Villar, "Historia de la devoción a la Virgen de la Caridad," in *Ermita de la Caridad*, n.p., n.d. [Miami: La Ermita de la Caridad], 12–20; and Olga Portuondo Zúñiga, *La Virgen de la Caridad del Cobre: Símbolo de cubanía* (Santiago de Cuba: Editorial oriente, 1995). For evidence of the continuing influence of Our Lady of Charity in the homeland, see the recent pastoral letter from the bishops: Conferencia Episcopal Cubana, *Encuentro nacional eclesial cubano*, 43–45, 265–66. The testimony of Juan Moreno, one of the three laborers who claimed to have found the statue in the sea, has survived. Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, legajo 363. This document was rediscovered by Leví Marreo and published in his *Cuba: Economía y sociedad: El Siglo XVII*, vol. 5 (Madrid: Editorial Playor, 1976), 92–93. Interview #83, August 1, 1991, female, age 51, born Havana, arrived 1960. Eduardo Boza-Masvidal, "Una imagen que es un símbolo," in *Ermita de la Caridad*, 9–10.

13. One interesting sign of the increased nationalistic significance of the Virgin after the war for independence comes from two novenas to Our Lady of Charity published in Havana in 1880 and 1950. The second, published after she had officially become patroness, reprinted exactly the novena of 1880, but the editors affixed a thirty-one-page historical overview that emphasized her ties with the veterans and her link with the nation. Compare the two: *Novena a la Virgen santisima de la Caridad del Cobre* (Havana: Pedro Martinez, 1880) and *Nuestra Señora de la Caridad del Cobre, Patrona de Cuba: Historia, Devocion, Novena* (Havana: Liga de Damas de Acción Católica Cubana Consejo Nacional, 1950). Other Virgins, so important in Latin American cultures, have played a similar role. Our Lady of Guadalupe, for instance, has been associated with rebellions and revolutions. See David Carrasco, *Religions of Mesoamerica: Cosmovisions and Ceremonial Centers* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1990), 135–38.

14. The letter to the pope has been reprinted in several works. See "Petición de los veteranos de la independencia de Cuba," in *Ermita de la Caridad*, 42–43. Juan Clark, *Religious Repression in Cuba* (Miami: University of Miami North-South Center, 1986), 10–12. Augustín A. Román, "The Popular Piety of the Cuban People," master's thesis, Barry University, 1976, 81.

15. A German geographer has discussed the shrine in a survey of Catholic pilgrimage places in the United States. On the number of annual visitors and other matters, see Gisbert Rinschede, "Catholic Pilgrimage Places in the United States," in *Pilgrimage in the United States, Geographia Religionum*, Band 5 (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1990), 69, 82–83. The number of visitors in 1992, as estimated by the confraternity, was 750,000: T.N., confraternity member, interview with the author, Miami, Florida, June 23, 1992. Of course, without further study it is difficult to assess the accuracy of these figures. There can be no doubt, however, that the shrine attracts large numbers of visitors and that it is a crucial pilgrimage site for Cuban Americans.

16. The feast-day masses have been held at various sites since 1991: Bayfront Park (1992), Dinner Key Auditorium (1993), and Hialeah Racetrack (1994–97). Wherever they are held, the ceremonies are very similar.

17. William A. Christian, Jr., made the distinction between "religion as practiced" and "religion as prescribed." See William A. Christian, Jr., *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 178. For reasons I have noted above, Cuban Americans do talk about the "humanity" of the clergy, but they display somewhat less "anti-clericalism" than the subjects of other studies of "popular" Catholicism in Europe. Compare Ruth Behar, *Santa María del Monte: The Presence of the Past in a Spanish Village* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986); Eric R. Wolf, ed., *Religion, Power, and Protest in Local Communities: The North Shore of the Mediterranean* (Berlin and New York: Mouton, 1984); and Ellen Badone, ed., *Religious Orthodoxy and Popular Faith in European Society* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).

18. Agustín A. Román, interview with the author, July 15, 1991, Shrine of Our Lady of Charity, Miami.

19. Román, "Popular Piety," 48, 46, 47, 78. On Santería, see Lydia Cabrera, *El Monte* (Miami: Ediciones Universal, 1975); George Brandon, *Santeria from Africa to the New World: The Dead Sell Memories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993); David Hilary Brown, "Garden in the Machine: Afro-Cuban Sacred Art and Performance in Urban New Jersey and New York," 2 vols., Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1989; and Joseph M. Murphy, *Santería: An African Religion in America* (Boston: Beacon, 1988). There are no full-length studies yet, but on Santería in Miami, see Stephan Palmié, "Afro-Cuban Religion in Exile: Santería in South Florida," *Journal of Caribbean Studies* 5 (Fall 1986): 171–79, and Diana González Kirby and Sara Maria Sánchez, "Santería: From Africa to Miami via Cuba—Five Hundred Years of Worship," *Tequesta* 48 (1988): 36–48.

20. Román, "Popular Piety," 57, 98. Father Romeo Rivas, interview with the author, February 3, 1992, Shrine of Our Lady of Charity, Miami. The concern to "purify" Cuban Catholicism of the influences of Santería is evident in periodicals published by the Archdiocese of Miami for Spanish-speaking laity and clergy. For example, see Eduardo Boza Masvidal, "Conservemos la pureza de nuestra fe," *Cuba Diáspora* (1978): 13–14. One priest, Juan J. Sosa, has addressed the issue many times. For an example, see Juan J. Sosa, "Devociones Populares: Santa Barbara and San Lazaro," *Cuba Diáspora* (1976): 101–103.

21. Román, "Popular Piety," 41. Murphy, *Santería*, 42–43, 67. T.N., interview with the author, June 23, 1992, Miami. *Verdades de la fe Cristiana*, pamphlet (Miami: Ermita de la Caridad, n.d.).

22. Interview #104, February 4, 1992, female, age 22, born U.S.; Interview #136, March 3, 1992, female, age 60, born Hoguín, arrived 1965; Interview #43, March 1, 1992, female, age 17, born Cuba [municipality not given], arrived 1980; and Interview #44, March 1, 1992, female, age 16, born Spain, arrived 1991; Interview #1, January 26, 1992, female, age 63, born Guanajay, arrived 1949; Interview #114, February 15, 1992, female, age 62, born Havana, arrived 1963.

23. William A. Christian, Jr., *Person and God in a Spanish Valley* (New York and London: Seminar Press, 1972), 118–19. Interview #89, January 18, 1992, male, age 24, born Havana, arrived 1991; Interview #115, February 15, 1992, female, age 28, born Colombia, arrived 1980; Interview #20, February 3, 1992, male, age 33, born Havana, arrived 1967.

24. Interview #17 (the daughter), February 3, 1992, female, age 24, born U.S.; Interview #18 (the father), February 3, 1992, male, age 48, born Cienfuegos, arrived 1961. As William A. Christian, Jr., has noted, the vow is the prototypical prayer of Mediterranean Roman Catholicism. Christian, *Person and God*, 119.

25. Interview #18; Interview #20; Interview #1. Note that half of those who answered the question indicated that their devotion to Our Lady of Charity had increased in exile. Only two said that it had declined.

26. José Martí apparently had some devotion to Our Lady of Charity, since he wrote a poem in her honor. That poem has been reprinted: "Un Poema de Martí a la Virgen," *Cuba Diáspora* (1978): 77–78. He also approved of worshipping "God-*Patria*." But as one biographer has argued, he was very suspicious of religious institutions and their tendency to assume secular control. He had strong "anti-clerical" impulses. For these reasons, it is not clear how Martí would have felt about being enshrined. John Kirk, *José Martí Mentor of the Cuban Nation* (Tampa: University Presses of Florida, 1983), 119–25. Varela, on the other hand, probably would have been pleased. Some of Varela's philosophical and religious writings have been translated into English. See Felipe J. Estévez, ed., *Félix Varela: Letters to Elpidio* (New York: Paulist Press, 1989).

27. The title of the mural in English is "The History of Cuba in a Glance." For a description of the contents and history of the mural, see the pamphlet published by the shrine, *El mural de la Ermita* (Miami: Ermita de la Caridad, n.d.). For the artist's account, see Teok Carrasco, "Descripción del Mural," in *Ermita de la Caridad*, 38–41.

28. Interview #84, July 31, 1991, female, age 48, born Havana, arrived 1955.

29. When asked if the site had any special significance for them, a quarter of those who answered mentioned that it was situated by the sea. Others noted that the site had some link with Cuba, and a surprising number of informants even mentioned that the shrine was situated in a line with their homeland. The majority of visitors who answered the question found some nationalistic significance in the site itself.

30. Agustín A. Román, "La Virgen de la Caridad en Miami," in *Ermita de la Caridad*, 6–8.

31. Interview #48, March 1, 1992, female, age 52, born municipality of Trinidad (Cuba), arrived 1971; Interview #109, February 11, 1992, female, age 55, born Guanajay, arrived 1966; Interview #69, January 3, 1992, male, age 66, born Santiago de las

Vegas, arrived 1962; Interview #137, March 3, 1992, female, age 51, born Puerto Padre, arrived 1960.

32. I refer here to the "architectonics" of the building, as anthropologist James W. Fernandez has used the term in his study of religion among the Fang in Equatorial Africa. James W. Fernandez, *Bwiti: An Ethnography of the Religious Imagination in Africa* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 377, 408–12. Rinschede has reported that "around 10% of all pilgrimage places are visited exclusively by one specific ethnic group only." Besides the shrines in Miami and Doylestown, he mentions four others, two associated with Ukrainian Americans, one with Hungarian Americans, and one with Mexican Americans. Rinschede, "Catholic Pilgrimage Places," 91.

33. For an analysis of later festivals, see Tweed, *Our Lady of the Exile*, 116–18, 125–31.

34. "Miles aclaman a la Caridad del Cobre," *El Nuevo Herald*, September 8, 1991. See also "La aparición de 'la Virgen mambisa' a los cubanos," *El Nuevo Herald*, September 8, 1991; "La Ermita de la Caridad: el sexto santuario más importante de EU," *El Nuevo Herald*, September 8, 1991; and "Exilio reafirma fe en la Caridad," *Diario Las Americas*, September 10, 1991.

35. "Virgen de la Caridad: Salva Cuba!" Program for the Festival of Our Lady of Charity, September 7, 1991 (Miami: La Officina de Liturgia y Vida Espiritual de la Arquidiócesis de Miami, 1991). "Miles aclaman a la Caridad del Cobre," 1B.

36. My analysis of the vertical and horizontal dimensions of the shrine's architecture and ritual has been informed, in part, by Fernandez's discussion of the architectonics of the *Bwiti* chapel and Catherine Bell's treatment of the spatial dimensions of ritualization. Fernandez, *Bwiti*, 371–412. Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 125.