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Chapter 86

TRANSATLANTIC RENAISSANCE AND BAROQUE ARCHITECTURE IN SPAIN AND LATIN AMERICA

Jesús Escobar and Michael Schreffler

Under Isabella of Castile (r. 1474–1506) and Ferdinand of Aragon (r. 1474–1516), the Spanish monarchy entered a phase of consolidation and unparalleled political might. The two centuries that followed their reign saw the construction of the empire of the Spanish Habsburgs, a vast network of towns centered in Castile and extending into Europe, the Americas, Africa, and Asia. Throughout those realms an array of buildings types and urban spaces provided the setting for a range of human activities and at the same time promoted the ideals of a global empire.

This chapter examines one sector of that built environment – religious architecture – in two interconnected parts of the empire: the Iberian Peninsula and Spanish America. A precedent for this study's subject and scope is George Kubler's 1959 survey of architecture in Spain and its American dominions, which emphasized the evolution of form and style in these territories over a period of three hundred years.¹ Kubler's model of architectural history as a sequence of stylistic transformations is attractive in its coherence, but advances in the field's historiography oblige us to revisit the subject. Among those advances is a greater recognition of the roles of architecture and space in imperial governance.² Indeed, royal palaces and municipal plazas proclaimed the crown's authority in far-reaching places where the monarchs themselves might never set foot. But those works of architecture arose alongside churches, convents, and monasteries whose highly adorned exteriors and interiors were no less effective than their civil counterparts in giving shape and form to ideals of governance. This effect comes to the fore in an examination of the most conspicuous sacred structures in the Spanish world: cathedrals.

The seats of bishops in Spain and Latin America, cathedrals symbolized the prestige of ecclesiastical governance and the largesse of royal patronage. Built over long periods of time, they also demonstrate the persistence of the sacredness of space even in the face of political change. A revealing example is the Cathedral of Seville, the largest Gothic structure in Spain and – with its famed Giralda bell tower – the city's most famous monument. Sitting atop the remains of a hypostyle mosque, the cathedral was rebuilt as a five-by-nine bay structure surrounded by chapels with a monumental choir in the nave beginning in the 1430s with extensive additions in the sixteenth century (W-Fig. 86.1). In the northwest corner, the Sagrario Church, begun in 1617, occupies one extreme of the former mosque's courtyard, which retains parts of its original walls as well as orange trees and fountain.

Other kinds of stylistic complexity are seen in a 1671 engraving of the cathedral's west elevation (Fig. 86.1). At left, the planar, seven-bay wall of the Sagrario abuts a deeply recessed central portal flanked by two lateral entryways. Held aloft by buttresses, a rose window adorns the upper story. The organization of façade elements and the handling of piers and vaults on the interior are in a Late Gothic style, and the central placement of the choir further signals continuity with earlier practices in Spain even as it contrasts with the former openness of the mosque. Other parts of the cathedral reveal the emergence of a classical style, or what was called a *lo romano* in contemporary parlance. Indeed, the main sacristy is one of the first fully realized classical spaces in Renaissance Spain and signals the modernity and imperial ambitions of the Holy Roman Emperor and first Habsburg king of Spain, Charles V (r. 1516–56). Begun in 1530 by Diego Riaño (d. 1534), the main sacristy combines fluted and foliated column shafts with rich capitals that carry an ornamental frieze. Above, Riaño employs perspectival illusion in the shallow vaults filled with sculpture and supporting a hemispherical dome.

The stylistic complexity of the Cathedral of Seville is the result of changes in tastes and building technologies over the long period of its construction. Its replacement of a mosque, however, also hints at a more widespread practice, for similar transformations of sacred, non-Christian space would also occur in Spanish America. In Cuzco, Peru, the former capital of the Inca Empire, the town's cathedral was built in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries on the foundations of an Inca period structure (see Fig. 86.12 for the site condition). In other parts of the New World, cathedrals were constructed from scratch. An example is seen in the Cathedral of Santo Domingo in today's Dominican Republic (Fig. 86.2). Built in the first half of the sixteenth century (c. 1512–46), it consists of a nave eight bays in length entered through a monumental portal on the west end and culminating on the east with a polygonal apse. Lined with columns, the nave is flanked by side aisles and fourteen lateral chapels. Secondary portals on the north and south walls set up a cruciform disposition of interior space that echoes the Cathedral of Seville. This similarity may derive from the involvement of Alonso Rodríguez, the former maestro mayor of the Cathedral of Seville, in the plans for Santo Domingo.

The similarities in the plans of the cathedrals of Santo Domingo and Seville demonstrate the transatlantic movement of building types and architectural forms and, thus, of the ritual

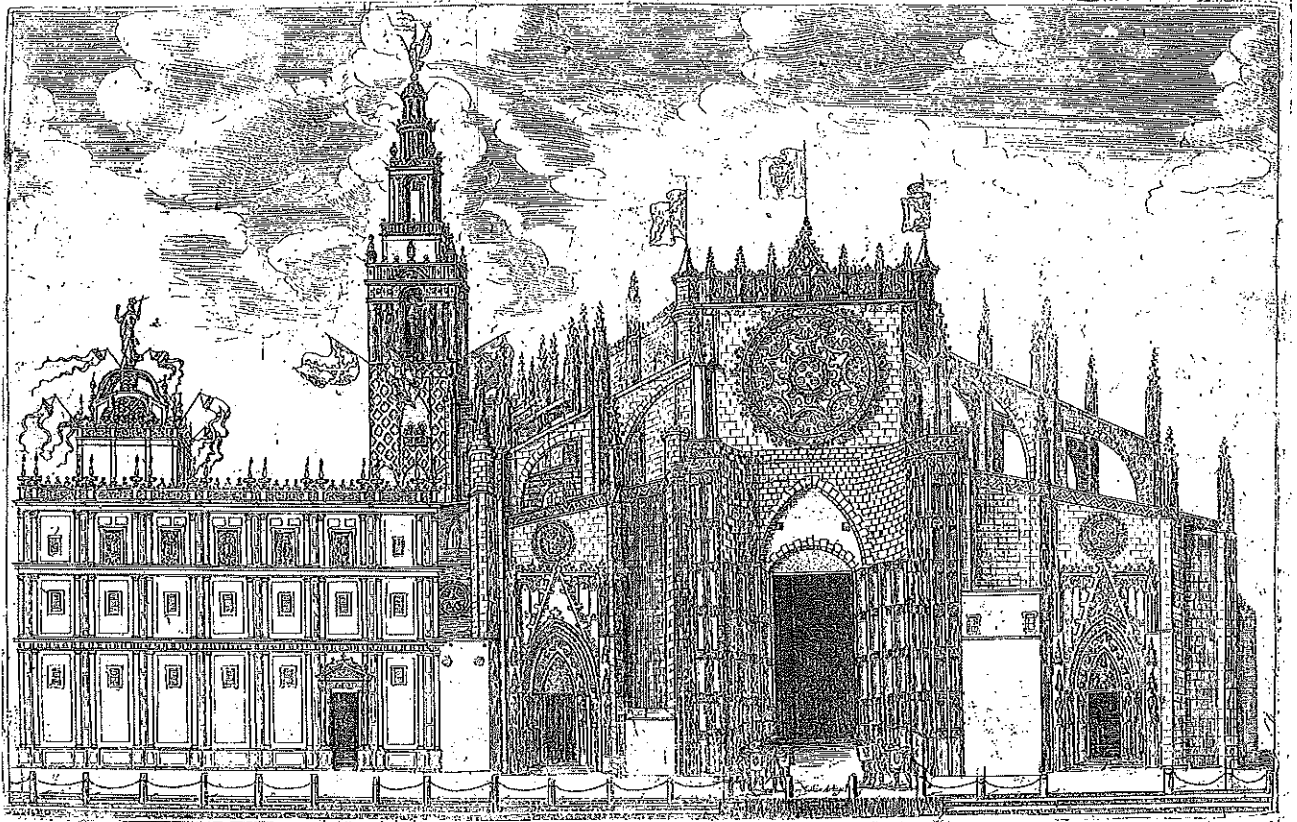


Fig. 86.1 Mathias Arteaga, *View of the west façade of the Cathedral of Seville with Sagrario Church and Giralda Tower*, 1671, etching. From Fernando de la Torre Farfán, *Fiestas de la S. Iglesia Metropolitana, y Patriarcal de Sevilla* (Seville, 1671). (Photo: Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C.)

practices that took place in such spaces. The buildings' ornamentation, too, attests to the movement of skills and tastes from the Old to the New Worlds by their designers and donors. In both churches, Gothic and *romano* elements stand side by side. Santo Domingo's north portal (c. 1520–30), with its ogee arch frame, demonstrates a taste for Late Gothic forms that were favored during the reign of Isabella and Ferdinand. The west portal, however, dates to the 1540s and employs different forms. Its two massive piers support a stepped cornice and stand alongside niches flanked by pilasters on the ground story and engaged fluted columns on the upper story (W-Fig. 86.2). The entrance to the nave is through two doorways topped with rounded windows and separated by a pilaster-pier. An engaged fluted column supports rounded arches over the twin doorways. The whole façade is covered with sculpted forms including allegorical, religious, and political symbols. The largest and most prominent of these symbols is the imperial crest of Charles V, which appears atop the central column near the center of the façade and which gives visible and material form to the *Patronato Real de Indias* (Royal Patronage of the Indies). Through this institution, granted in the sixteenth century through papal bulls issued by Alexander VI and Julius II, the monarchy exercised full control of the church in its American kingdoms. In this way, the political symbolism of cathedrals in

the Americas and in parts of the Iberian Peninsula differed from that of their counterparts in places like Rome.

The Patronato Real also granted the monarchy control over the Church's governance of Granada in the decades following its conquest in 1492. The completion of a Royal Chapel and final resting place for Isabella and Ferdinand in 1517 was the impetus for the construction of that city's greatest Christian monument, the Cathedral of Granada, on a site adjacent to the city's former congregational mosque (W-Fig. 86.3). Its foundations date to around 1521–3, making it contemporary with the Cathedral of Santo Domingo. Early designs by Enrique Egas (c. 1455–1534) were substantially altered by Diego de Siloé (c. 1495–1563), who supervised its construction until his death. The building was not completed until the 1660s, with a remarkable continuity in all matters save the façade by Alonso Cano (1601–77), which broke completely with Siloé's intentions to front the building with a more antiquarian triumphal arch. The innovative plan combines two centralized units: a basilica-like nave and a *girola*, or rotunda with ambulatory and radiating chapels.

The classical forms at Granada, like those at Seville and Santo Domingo, conflate church and state as unifying forces in the expansion of Spain's early modern empire. That conflation emerges as a leitmotif in the survey of religious architecture that follows here. Our analysis is transatlantic in scope and is

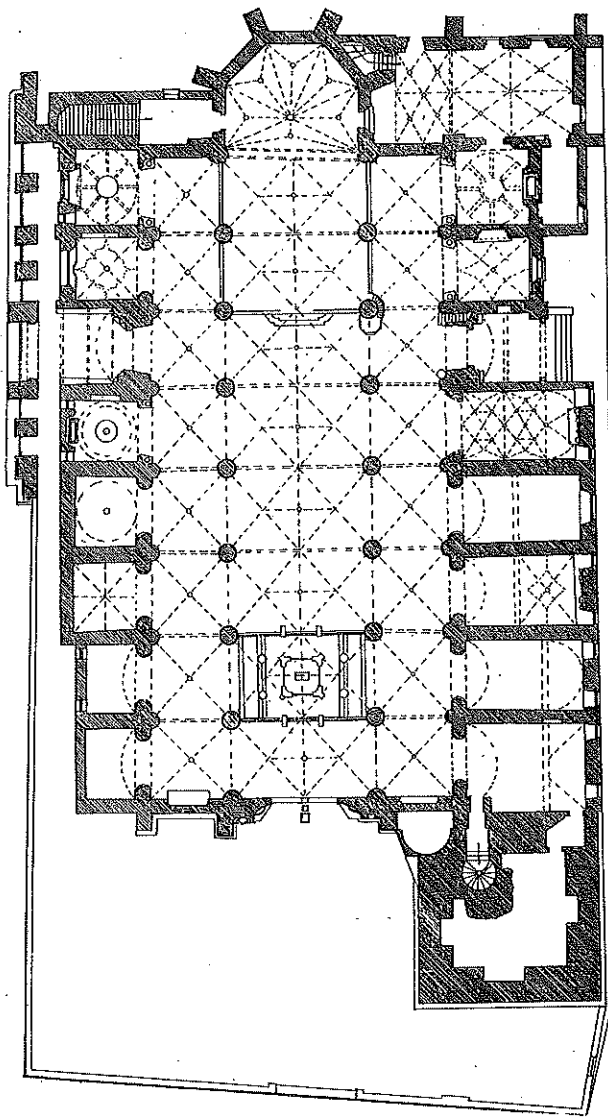


Fig. 86.2 Cathedral of Santo Domingo, c. 1512–46. (Drawing: Erwin Walter Palm, *Los monumentos arquitectónicos de la Española* [Trujillo: Universidad de Santo Domingo, 1955])

further informed by other recent historiographic advances. These include the recognition of the agency of non-European peoples and local conditions in cultural production throughout the empire,³ as well as a keener awareness of the ways in which scholarly views of early modern Spanish culture as provincial and irrational prejudiced past research.⁴ This chapter highlights those issues in its examination of architectural monuments across broad sweeps of geography and time and uses five themes to provide points of access to this vast subject. We begin with a consideration of the transatlantic spread of monastic architecture and responses to the Council of Trent in the sixteenth century, before moving on to a discussion of seventeenth-century church façades and interiors, and then finally examine the broader urban context for religious buildings in the early decades of the eighteenth century.

MONASTIC ARCHITECTURE IN A TRANSATLANTIC SETTING, CIRCA 1500

The architecture of religious orders occupied great parcels of land in late medieval Spain. Often located on the edges of major towns and cities, monastic complexes bordered the hinterland on which they depended for sustenance and financial gain. Peripheral locations also allowed for significant building, often realized by accretion as elite patrons sought to leave their mark on these highly visible monuments. In the course of the fifteenth century, a common monastic church type emerged that would have a lasting legacy in the Renaissance period, both in Spain and its transatlantic colonies. In plan, these buildings have a single nave with or without lateral chapels, a crossing, and a sanctuary. In elevation, the crossing is often distinguished by a dome encased in a box-like shell (*cimborio*) and topped by a lantern. Invariably, the sanctuary includes at least one altarpiece, whose richness in ornament contrasts with the often austere exterior architecture of the church.

The monastery church type was pervasive and can be found in a commission as significant as S. Juan de los Reyes in Toledo, begun in 1476 for the Franciscan Order. The building's patron was none other than Queen Isabella, who was directly involved in the reform of religious houses early in her reign, and it is the work of the architect Juan Guas (c. 1430–96), a member of a family of builders with origins in the Low Countries. For the church interior, Guas designed a single nave with lateral wall chapels and an upper-level choir tribune at its western end, which George Kubler considered an invention of the architect.⁵

S. Juan de los Reyes was meant to function as a monastery, with church, cloister, and surrounding quarters, including a royal library. But it was also intended as the burial place for the Catholic kings, thereby providing the impetus for the building's rich ornament. The interior vaults, frieze, and sanctuary are embellished in Late Gothic forms executed in pale limestone with gilded accents. In the sanctuary, eagles representing St. John guard over a series of royal escutcheons, and intertwined *fasci* and yokes – emblems of Ferdinand and Isabella, respectively – further adorn the walls. This symbolic décor befits the site that was intended to receive the royal burial tombs. The wide repertory from which Spanish artists drew inspiration for the decorative program reveals itself further in the remarkable cloister of S. Juan de los Reyes. The lower cloister includes High Gothic sculpture, whereas in the upper cloister Flamboyant arches enclose a walkway with an Islamic-inspired ornamental wooden ceiling called *artesonado* (W-Fig. 86.4). The polychrome ceiling, now seen in a reconstruction, includes calligraphic renderings of the letters “F” and “Y,” as well as the king's and queen's symbols of the *fasci* and yoke. Additionally, the ceiling intertwines the arms of the various kingdoms that make up the realm, including the pomegranate (*granada*) to symbolize the Muslim kingdom conquered by the monarchs in 1492 and the city in which they would eventually be buried.

Isabella's preference for a Gothic style at Toledo reflected a contemporary understanding of royal magnificence among the nobility of Northern Europe with which Spain had deep economic, political, and familial ties. In early sixteenth-century

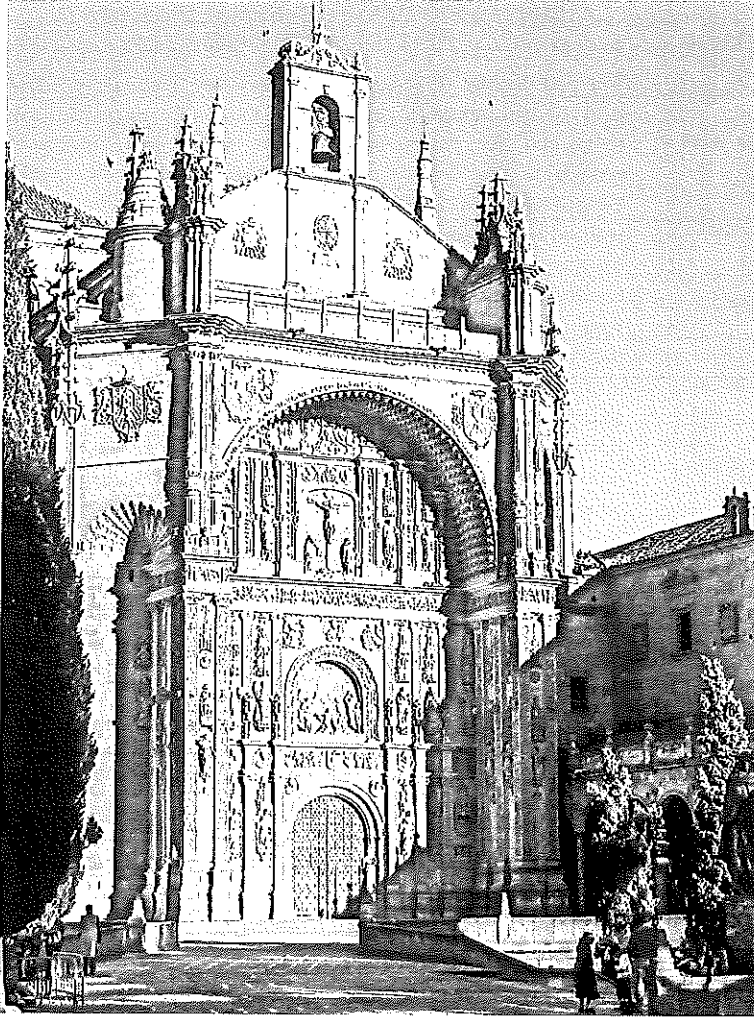


Fig. 86.3 Juan de Álava, Church of S. Esteban, Salamanca, 1524–40, west façade with sculpture by various artists. (Photo: Jesús Escobar)

Rome, the Catholic kings sponsored the building of a martyrrium to St. Peter in a wholly different style for the main courtyard of the Spanish-controlled Franciscan Church of S. Pietro in Montorio. Known as the Tempietto (c. 1502–10) (Fig. 75.2), the martyrrium designed by Donato Bramante (1444–1514) is widely considered the first manifestation of a new classical style founded on the grandeur of Roman imperial antiquity. The nascent style evolved at a slower pace in Spain but found its way into religious architecture early in the sixteenth century, as was the case with the reform of the Dominican Monastery of S. Esteban in Salamanca. The effort began with work on the monastery church in 1524, a project funded by Juan Álvarez de Toledo (1488–1557), a Dominican who was a descendant of the dukes of Alba and went on to serve as bishop of Córdoba and later as a cardinal in Rome. Along the exterior walls, buttresses topped with spires frame the clerestory window openings in a design by the architect and master stonemason Juan de Álava (d. 1537) that remains rooted in Gothic tradition.

Realized between 1524 and 1540, the façade of S. Esteban is a monumental triumphal arch, with canted ends and a deeply

recessed portal enlivened with relief sculpture and all topped by a pediment with belfry (Fig. 86.3). Arranged in three tiers, the portal has been likened to a *retablo* (retable), a multi-tiered, multi-media altarpiece with origins in Spanish medieval art.⁶ The overall disposition of architectural elements echoes the sculptural program of Gothic portals, and yet their proportional arrangement reveals the *romano* style in Spanish architecture in the 1520s. Examples of the hybrid forms on the façade are the pilaster-jambs richly carved with Renaissance *grotteschi*. These elements frame gothicizing statues of prominent Dominicans under finial canopies on the canted wings of the façade and also articulate the proportional system of the lower two tiers of the central portal (W-Fig. 86.5). Completing the experiment, Álava uses baluster columns with Corinthian capitals, popularized in the contemporary architectural treatise published in Toledo in 1526 by Diego de Sagredo, *Medidas del Romano* (Measurements of the Roman Style), to adorn the uppermost portal tier. The fusion of styles is explained in part by the long span of time over which the sculptural decoration of the façade was completed. For the patrons of this building, both Álvarez de Toledo and the

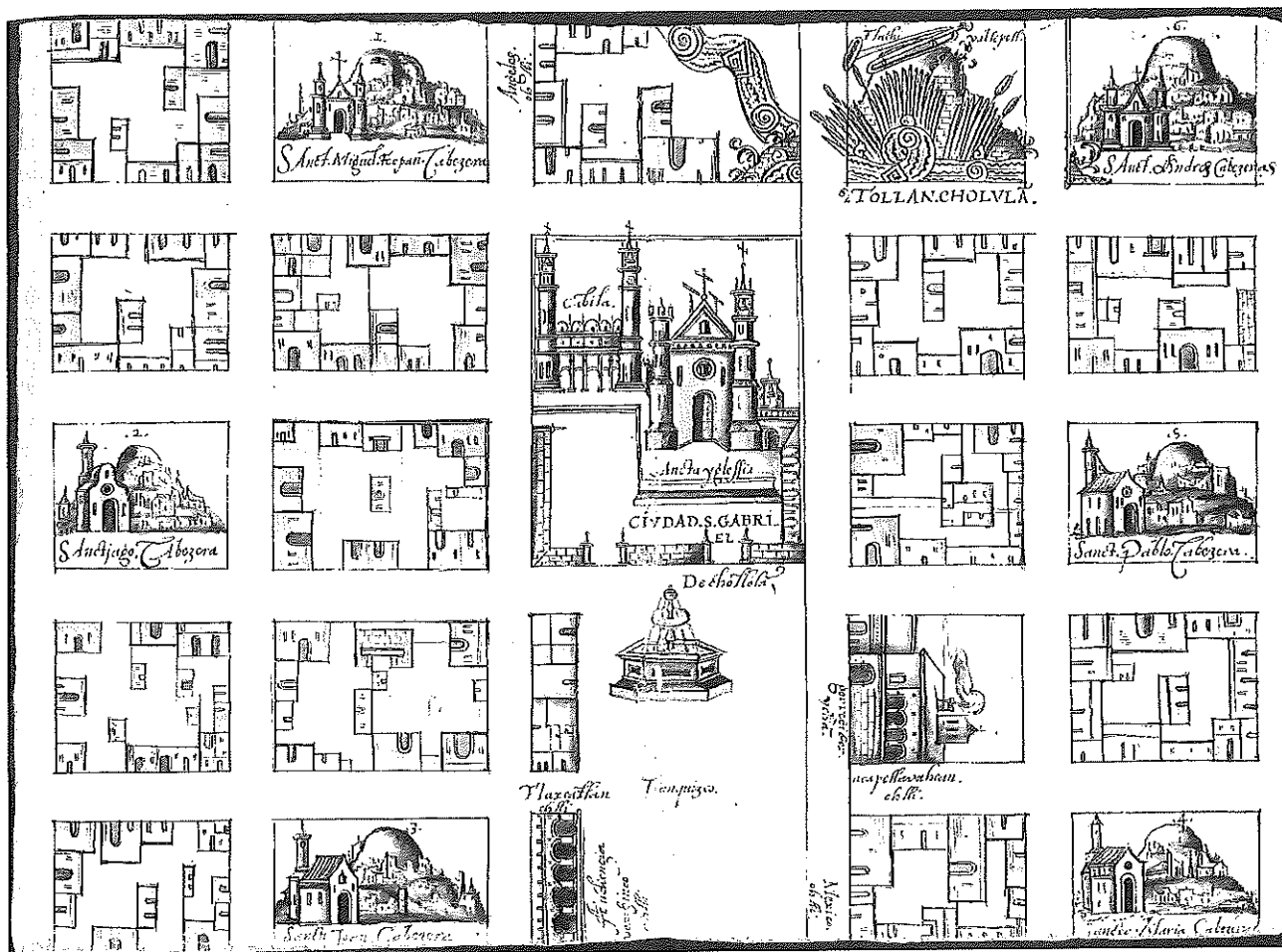


Fig. 86.4 Map of Cholula, Mexico, 1581. The Royal Chapel, labeled “cabila,” appears in the map’s central quadrant with framing towers. (Photo: courtesy Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas Libraries, The University of Texas)

Dominican Order, the classical style on display updates a long-standing tradition and asserts a sense of modernity.

The stylistic intermingling so characteristic of religious architecture on the Iberian Peninsula is also evident in the Americas in the early sixteenth century. The native people in Mesoamerica, some of whom had been subjects of the Aztec Empire and others who had been its adversaries, came face to face with European peoples whose belief systems and architectural styles mirrored their own in some ways and differed from them in others. Among the earliest of these were Franciscan friars such as the Fleming Pedro de Gante (c. 1480–1572), a key figure in the establishment of S. José de los Naturales in Mexico City. Conceived as the architectural setting for the conversion of native peoples to Christianity, the complex housed a chapel and monastery as well as what at the time was called an “Indian chapel” (*capilla de Indios*), also known today as an “open chapel.” This structure, which has no precise functional counterpart in Spain, was partially enclosed and would become a standard feature of monastic complexes built by native labor in sixteenth-century Mexico. Early texts describe this chapel as a hypostyle hall with seven naves opening on one side to a patio.

A similar plan would be employed at the Royal Chapel (*capilla real*) in Cholula, also built by native labor and depicted in a 1581 map as being fronted by a five-bay arcade (Fig. 86.4).

The hypostyle plans of these chapels in Mexico City and Cholula are suggestive in light of the history of religious architecture in Spain, where buildings like the Cathedral of Seville were erected on the foundations of actual hypostyle mosques. They facilitated religious instruction within the physical context of larger mission complexes called *conventos*, which were built by native laborers all over Mexico in the second half of the sixteenth century.⁷ An example can be seen in Huejotzingo, where from around 1530 to 1570 a church and monastery dedicated to St. Michael emerged as the architectural centerpiece to a town of Nahuatl speakers (Fig. 86.5). It is perhaps telling that the largest part of the complex is a walled atrium. Such spaces are also found in monastery architecture in Europe, but at S. Miguel de Huejotzingo, S. José de los Naturales, and elsewhere in the Americas they may have been seen as especially effective places for the religious instruction of people accustomed to the practice of outdoor rituals.



Fig. 86.5 *Convento* (monastery) of S. Miguel, Huejotzingo, Mexico, c. 1530–70, church façade. (Photo: Jesús Escobar)

The four corners of S. Miguel's atrium house small stone chapels with pyramidal roofs dating to the 1550s (W-Fig. 86.6). The name given to these chapels – *posas* (singular, *posa*) – derives from the verb *posar* (Spanish for to pose or to pause), as they have been interpreted as stopping points in ritual processions that circumambulated the atrium. Like the open chapel, these structural types have no precise counterpart in early modern European or indigenous architecture and may be seen as innovations produced through the interactions of Spanish Christians and native Mexicans in the sixteenth century.

The façade of the mission church of S. Miguel and its adjoining cloister dominates the western end of the atrium. Carved of a darker red stone than the remainder of the façade, the church's portal combines Islamic and Gothic ornament and is flanked by slender, engaged columns supporting a thin cornice. From Corinthian-like capitals spring finials that support Franciscan symbols in the form of shields. The Franciscan iconography continues with knotted and tasseled ropes that form rectangular fields both beneath the cornice and above it in a window surround. The church's interior, like those of most other sixteenth-century Mexican missions, consists of a single nave with an elevated choir tribune over the entrance and a projecting apse for the sanctuary. The cloister is surrounded by galleries on two levels that lead to the chapter room, refectory, and friars' cells, with mural paintings of religious subjects originally adorning the interior spaces throughout.

Typologically similar architectural ensembles were built by native laborers for other mendicant orders such as the Augustinians and Dominicans. An example of the latter can be seen at Yanhuitlán in the southern Mexican state of Oaxaca, where the single nave church and *convento* complex are elevated

above the surrounding landscape on the foundations of what may have been a pre-Hispanic building (W-Fig. 86.7). The façade of the mission church of Sto. Domingo at Yanhuitlán (c. 1550–80) is closer in spirit to that of S. Esteban in Salamanca than it is to S. Miguel in Huejotzingo, for it resembles a retablo with classically disposed tiers in which statues appear in ornamental niches framed by engaged columns and pilasters.

The widespread construction of monastic architecture in early colonial Mexico may have been rooted in the eschatological impulses of the friars, but at the same time it reveals the importance and interrelatedness of religious indoctrination and territorial expansion within the logic of early modern Spanish imperialism. This nexus of ideas was magnificently articulated at S. Juan de los Reyes in the early years of transatlantic contact, but it was restated in a different context in 1559, when an enormous ephemeral monument commemorating the death of Charles V was erected in the mosque-like Indian Chapel of S. José in the Monastery of San Francisco in Mexico City. There, a two-tiered structure with Doric columns was topped with a crucifix and embellished with imperial coats of arms as a transatlantic empire took shape.

LEGISLATION AND CODIFICATION IN THE AGE OF PHILIP II, CIRCA 1550

The construction of religious architecture in the early modern Spanish world was conditioned in part by ideas about sacred space and worship that circulated in the second half of the sixteenth century in the wake of the Council of Trent. Guidelines set forth under Carlo Borromeo (1538–84) for church construction in the archdiocese of Milan, then part of the Spanish Habsburg Empire, promoted the prominence of the church in the larger built environment and the visibility of the Eucharist inside its walls. Reforms such as those instituted by Borromeo may have also brought about a preference for the Latin cross plan in response to changes in liturgy and in an effort to recapture the fervent spirituality of the Early Christian era. This post-Tridentine era of early modern Catholicism advocated the message of a modern Church Triumphant, a concept embedded in the classical forms already being used on the Iberian Peninsula and in the Americas to assert the monarchy's role as the inheritor of past glories and defender of the Catholic faith.

At the same time these ideas were being disseminated, however, another body of legislation codified practices for constructing churches, monasteries, hospitals, and other kinds of religious as well as civic buildings in new towns and cities founded in Spanish America. As such, this is an era that can be considered broadly as one of codification in the Spanish world under one of the empire's most influential kings, Philip II (r. 1556–98). But even in spite of this emerging body of legislation and architectural ideals, local circumstances and other forces exerted a strong influence on the kinds of religious buildings that were constructed.

In Spain, the singular monument of the era is the monastery-palace of S. Lorenzo el Real de El Escorial (hereafter, the Escorial), an imposing granite complex of buildings located in

the foothills of the Guadarrama Mountains to the northwest of Madrid (Fig. 83.1, W-Fig. 86.8). Built from 1563 to 1584 by Juan Bautista de Toledo (d. 1567) and Juan de Herrera (c. 1530–97), the Escorial was comprised of a monastery and royal palace, along with a mausoleum, library, and college. The palace-monastery arrangement has precedents in the history of architecture and thus can be seen as Philip II's attempt to align himself with past rulers of the Holy Roman Empire. The complex also embodies the spirit of Renaissance humanism, wherein the monastery and palace are joined by places of learning such as an imperial library and, in keeping with reforms following the Council of Trent, a royally sponsored college for the education of young men.

In plan, the Escorial is designed on an irregular grid whose central sector is given over to a courtyard, the Patio of the Kings. The courtyard serves as antechamber to a church, known as the Basilica, whose deep narthex-loggia at ground level supports sculptures of six Old Testament kings crowned by a high pediment and framed by twin bell towers. Inside, a public church located under the western tribune is fused with another intended for private, royal worship. The design of the Basilica is attributed to Herrera, whose concern with pure geometry as derived from late sixteenth-century architectural theory gives rise to a central plan for the royal church, in which a hemispherical dome hovers over a sober interior built entirely of granite, with classical elements carved on a colossal scale.⁸ At the eastern end of the church, above a flight of stairs, stands the Retablo Mayor composed of four tiers (Plate 37). Its architectural framework is realized in red and green jasper with gilding and contains a freestanding tabernacle of the same materials, eight colorful paintings set into frames, and twelve life-size bronze and gilt statues in addition to a larger-than-life Calvary group in the uppermost tier. At either side of the monument are grandiose, gilt bronze effigies of Charles V and Philip alongside members of their families. This holiest of spaces in the church surmounts an underground mausoleum known as the Pantheon, the final resting place of the Spanish Habsburgs. Here the disposition of space collaborates with an iconographic program to make associations between the body of the king and the body of Christ and, thus, the institutions of church and state.

The Escorial's grid plan evokes a variety of associations: the grille of St. Lawrence, to whom the building is dedicated; a utopic vision of a divine city; and lines of latitude and longitude on a world map over which the Spanish Habsburgs exert their dominion. The plan also resonates with the practices of urbanism in the Americas, where towns with grid plans and churches sited on central plazas had been designed and settled since the beginning of the sixteenth century. Practices of early colonial urbanism were articulated in documents such as the Royal Instructions given to the colonial administrator Pedrarias Dávila (c. 1440–1531) in 1513, which stipulate that new towns should consist of a plaza, an ordered set of streets, and a site for a church. Cities settled in the early colonial period generally adhered to this scheme, but the plans of Mexico City and Cuzco, the former sacred centers of, respectively, the Aztec and Inca empires, were also shaped by the form of their pre-Columbian settlements.

Principles of urban design that were in practice in the Americas throughout the sixteenth century were codified in the *Ordinances for the Discovery, New Population, and Pacification of the Indies*, prepared by the Royal Council of the Indies and signed by Philip II in July 1573. A number of the ordinances legislate the construction of religious architecture. For example, Ordinance 118 stipulates that "Here and throughout the settlement, well-proportioned secondary plazas should be laid out, where the main church, parishes, and monasteries should be built, evenly distributed for the instruction of religion."⁹ This ordinance echoes the insistence of earlier royal directives in having religious institutions geographically distributed in relation to population density in indigenous settlements in order to aid in the work of religious indoctrination, a process seen as central to the formation of orderly cities and loyal imperial subjects.

Other passages in the ordinances address the general appearance, as well as the location, of the church. Ordinance 124 concerns the siting of a principal church:

The temple in inland places should not be situated in the plaza but at a distance from it and in a part [of the town] that allows for an approach to the building. All sides of [the temple] should be visible so that it adorns well [*se puede ornar mejor*] and has great authority. Be sure that [the temple] is somewhat raised from the ground in such a way that one enters from stairs near the entry to the main plaza. The royal houses of the municipality and customs should be built in such a way that they do not block the temple but lend it greater authority.¹⁰

Graphic responses to the ordinances can be seen in the maps produced as part of the royal survey of towns in Spanish America known as the *Relaciones geográficas*, carried out in the 1580s. The project sought to compile data on the population and design of cities in the crown's American kingdoms. An example of a map produced as part of that campaign is an image of the town of Cholula, located about ninety kilometers east of Mexico City (Fig. 86.4). Cholula had been a major population center in Central Mexico before the arrival of the Spaniards and their reorganization of the settlement into a colonial town. The map, produced only fifty years after the Conquest of Mexico, represents the city as one that generally follows the 1573 ordinances. Its grid plan accommodates a number of parish churches and monasteries, each of which is depicted as a façade with an adjoining bell tower seen from the perspective of a viewer standing in an open plaza in front of it.

On one level, the map of Cholula attests to the success of a Spanish regime of urban planning in which religious architecture dominated the built environment. On another, though, it reveals the indigenous mapmaker's retention of indigenous graphic and spatial systems.¹¹ Indeed, a hieroglyphic symbol at the top of the map presents the name of the town in a way that would have been illegible to most Spaniards, and the distribution of churches throughout the grid may reflect the organization of the pre-Hispanic community.

In a contemporary map of Santiago Atitlán in Guatemala, we confront a different sort of urban order (W-Fig. 86.9). A small settlement located in a valley of volcanoes, Santiago Atitlán

appears to be dominated by its monastery church that fronts the town's plaza. Classical columns marking the church portal and a belfry topped by a cross further adorn the building, thereby lending it the authority as stipulated in the 1573 ordinances. In this city, built from scratch, legislation imposed by the colonial authorities trumps all, and we witness here the ideal of a new urban order envisioned at the court of Philip II. The mapmaker illustrates precisely what officials in Madrid or the Escorial might have wanted to see, but also includes ominous peaks nearby. One of these volcanoes spews forth fire, and thus, the planned urban space confronts the unmanageable reality of nature.

EXTERIORS: VARIATIONS ON THE FAÇADE
TRIUMPHANT, CIRCA 1600

Contemporary legislation may have proposed general guidelines for matters such as the location of the church within its urban setting and the disposition of its interior space, but it did not dictate the appearance of its most visible part: the façade. Nonetheless, even a cursory survey of church exteriors in the Spanish world of this time reveals the prevalence of classical forms such as columns, arches, and pediments. This is true of buildings constructed anew in this period, but it is also true of interventions into existing structures. Even a building realized in a Late Gothic manner like the Cathedral of Segovia was fronted with a classical portal on its northern transept following a renovation of the city's adjoining Plaza Mayor in the early years of the seventeenth century.

This preference for classical forms is in keeping with broader developments in Catholic architecture following the Council of Trent. It reflects the crown's official taste, which was informed by theories that linked classicism to political might. At the same time, it demonstrates the focus of architectural training and the impact of illustrated architectural manuals and treatises that circulated throughout Europe and that moved back and forth across the Atlantic. But even within the language of classicism and in spite of these normative trends, the façades of religious buildings in the early seventeenth-century Spanish world display a great deal of variety. The broad geography of the domain under consideration helps explain some of these variations, but other factors are involved, such as the persistence of local construction techniques in places such as Andalucía or Castile, the range of building materials available in Catalonia or México, and even the accommodation of pre-Hispanic religious practices in the Andes.

Built in 1608 by the royal architect Francisco de Mora (1552–1610), who had supervised construction at the Escorial in the late 1580s, the classical façade of the Carmelite Monastery of S. José in Ávila is divided into three tiers and topped by a pediment (Fig. 86.6). At ground level, a tripartite arcade fronts an atrium enclosed by two high walls, which serves as a space for gathering and ritual not unlike the atria in earlier Mexican convents, although markedly smaller in scale. A formal link to the Escorial is evident in the building's fine stonework, which reveals the spread of what can be called a post-Escorial style in the decades after the completion of Philip II's great monastery-



Fig. 86.6 Francisco de Mora, Monastery of S. José, Ávila, 1608, main façade and forecourt. (Photo: Fotógrafos Oronoz)

palace and the dispersal of its workforce. In both buildings, subtle variations in the depth of the masonry produce gentle hints of relief. At S. José, this is most evident in the central aedicula above the arcade, which is adorned with a sculpted image of St. Joseph and Christ. The relative austerity of the façade reflects the new spirituality advocated by the monastery's original founder, St. Teresa of Jesus (better known as Teresa of Ávila, 1515–82), who wrote of church architecture, "only build what is necessary and not superfluous."¹²

As evidence of the spread of this style, Mora's building served as the model for the Royal Convent of La Encarnación in Madrid, built by a Carmelite architect, Fray Alberto de la Madre de Dios (1575–1635), to house Augustinian nuns (W-Fig. 86.10). Fray Alberto achieves a greater coherence in the disposition of the façade and introduces the novelty of the Ávila church with its enclosed entry court – what some historians call a Carmelite style – to an urban setting. With subtle variations such as a triumphal arch arrangement of the ground level narthex arcade and monumental pilasters uniting the building's stories, the Encarnación further reveals the impact of the Escorial on the design of Counter-Reformation church façades expressive of a Church Triumphant via the authoritative language of classical architecture.

A variation in the application of classical principles for church façades can be seen in Seville. Begun in 1574 by the hospital brotherhood of S. Juan de Dios, the late sixteenth-century façade of the church of the Hospital of Nuestra Señora de la Paz illustrates a taste for color in architectural ornament in the



Fig. 86.7 Hospital church of Nuestra Señora de la Paz, Seville, begun 1574. (Photo: courtesy Juan Clemente Rodríguez Estévez)

southern region of Andalucía (Fig. 86.7). Here, classical forms are applied to a brick façade in stucco, filled in with vegetal relief, and then painted. The overall effect would have a lasting legacy in Sevillian Baroque architecture, wherein relatively planar walls frame fanciful portals with elaborate stuccowork, and color is employed throughout. The innovative quality of this ornament, which is the result of artful combinations of decorative elements promoted in sixteenth-century architectural treatises by Sebastiano Serlio and Hans Vredeman de Vries, would find its way to the so-called Spanish doors erected in Antwerp and other cities of the Low Countries via trade between the two imperial port cities and the agency of books such as Jacques Francart's *Premier Livre d'Architecture* (First Book of Architecture), published in Antwerp in 1617.

The use of classical elements on the façades of Renaissance and Baroque churches was similarly widespread in the Americas.

In the major cities of colonial Latin America, many such façades were replaced or modified in subsequent centuries, but a sense of the classicism that prevailed throughout the region can be seen in Bartolomé Carrión's (d. 1616) stone portal of the Cathedral of Tunja, Colombia, completed in 1598 (W-Fig. 86.11). In some areas designers and builders adapted classical ornament to local materials and building techniques, as can be seen in a number of churches constructed in the Andes in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The churches were part of a campaign of resettlement and reorganization of native Andean communities begun in the 1570s by Francisco de Toledo (1515–84), the viceroy of Peru. The project established communities called *reducciones*, which were laid out on grid plans that included a main plaza, a principal church, and other buildings.

The viceregal effort gave rise to a distinctive type of religious architecture that can be seen, for example, at the Church of



Fig. 86.8 Church of S. Pedro, Andahuaylillas, Peru, begun 1570s. (Photo: Robert A. Lisak)

S. Pedro in Andahuaylillas, a single-nave structure begun in the 1570s and finished around the first decade of the seventeenth century (Fig. 86.8). The façade, which faces east, is not unlike that of the Cathedral of Santo Domingo (Fig. 86.2) in the sense that it consists of two projecting vertical piers between which appears an ornamented portal. At Andahuaylillas, however, only the piers are built of stone, and the remainder of the façade is whitewashed adobe and stucco. The ornamentation of the portal resembles a triumphal arch topped with an ornamented archivolt and flanked by pilasters and niches. Today, the decorative ensemble is painted with colorful imagery that may approximate its appearance at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The use of stucco and polychromy at Andahuaylillas echoes that seen in Seville at Nuestra Señora de la Paz, and in that sense, these aspects of early modern Hispanic religious architecture can be said to be transatlantic.

Above the cornice of S. Pedro a balcony with a low balustrade and a door leads into the choir loft. A roof covered in clay tiles projects from the façade above the balcony, and above that, a small circular window like the one at Ávila appears in the pediment. This feature on the east-facing façade may be architectural evidence of the negotiation, accommodation, and hybridity that characterized colonial Andean Christianity more

widely, for as Sabine MacCormack noted, when viewed from the interior of the church it is the central feature in a mural depicting the Annunciation. In this way, the window conflates the rising sun with the concept of the Holy Ghost and thus may indicate the persistence of pre-Hispanic solar cults.¹³

The balcony on the façade at Andahuaylillas is a regional variation in the religious architecture of the early modern Spanish world in the sense that it appears throughout the Andes but does not appear in contemporary churches in Iberia or elsewhere in colonial Spanish America. The Andean balconies may have been used for ceremonies that took place outside of the church and, thus, would have functioned similarly to the chapels in sixteenth-century Mexican mission complexes. This spatial change, in which the façade takes on some of the importance of the high altar inside the church, may in turn have given rise to the widespread use of retable-like portals throughout the Spanish world in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

An example of such a façade can be seen at the Dominican mission church at Yanhuítlan (W-Fig. 86.7), and a later, highly ornamented manifestation of this form can be appreciated at the monastery church of San Francisco in Lima, designed by the Portuguese architect Constantino de Vasconcelos (d. 1668) and

the American-born Spaniard Manuel de Escobar (1640–95) to replace a mid-sixteenth-century church and façade that collapsed in 1656 (W-Fig. 86.12). The portal is tall and narrow, and its classical forms depart in some ways from those seen on earlier façades in Spain and the Americas. On the ground level, paired columns flank the arched doorway and support a rounded, broken pediment, above which appear niches with figures of St. Francis, St. Dominic, and the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception. The statues may have been painted, thus interjecting a burst of color into the darker stone that surrounds them. The niches are framed by columns and pilasters that, in turn, support dynamic, curving elements that lead to the attic story and its windows. The energetic composition, with its profusion of decorative forms and sharp three-dimensionality, is strikingly different from the flatter forms that characterize the façade of S. José in Ávila.

In both Spain and the Americas, church façades varied widely, but they were united in their use of classical forms and compositions to assert the post-Tridentine message of the Church Triumphant. This message would have been amplified when the worshipper stepped through the portal and entered highly ornamented spaces that brought the celestial sphere to earth.

INTERIORS: SACRED SPACES AND ORNAMENT, CIRCA 1650

In the early modern Spanish world, architectural ornament was equated with luxury and magnificence. It was deemed especially appropriate for church interiors, which were meant to symbolize the splendor of the house of God. Sixteenth-century propagators of Catholic reform such as Carlo Borromeo and Teresa of Ávila advocated for austerity on a building's exterior, but they encouraged the sumptuous decoration of the naves, chapels, and altars encountered by worshippers on the other side of the portal. From Granada to Mexico City and from Cuzco to Seville, early modern viewers would have been confronted by luminous church interiors, in which gold, silver, and sumptuous color exploded in lateral chapels, and the *capilla mayor* (main chapel), a space that included the crossing, transept, and high altar sanctuary.

One of the key elements in the development of church ornament in Spain and the Americas was the retable. Considered in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to be works of architecture, retables are frequently linked in the historical record with the names of the skilled woodworkers and architects who designed and executed them rather than with those of the painters and gilders who adorned them. One of the finest examples of their visual effects can be seen in the *capilla mayor* of the Dominican Church of S. Esteban in Salamanca designed by José Benito de Churriguera (1666–1725) around 1690 (Fig. 86.9). The effectiveness of Churriguera's ensemble of three separate retables is enhanced by the otherwise unadorned walls of the sixteenth-century monastery church, and documents suggest that similar effects would have been common elsewhere in Spain around 1650. Churriguera's *retablo mayor* is fronted by six Solomonic

columns standing on high pedestals and carrying an undulating frieze, which lends support to a second story wherein polychromed angels and richly sculpted architectural elements frame a canvas painting of the *Martyrdom of St. Stephen* executed by the royal painter Claudio Coello (1642–93). Below the painting and directly above the altar, Churriguera includes an elaborately carved tabernacle with highly articulated architectural parts. Centralized in plan, the tabernacle, like the one designed by Juan de Herrera at the Escorial (Plate 37), is a work of architecture in miniature and also an integral element to the design of the retable, which becomes a structure to house the body of Christ.

Churriguera's choice of the Solomonic order for S. Esteban lands him squarely in the realm of contemporary architectural theory in Spain and its larger world. The writing of Juan Caramuel y Lobkowitz (1606–82) in his treatise, *Arquitectura civil, recta y obliqua* (1678, Civil Architecture, Rectilinear and Oblique), for instance, explores the role of geometry and theology in architectural design and expounds on the virtues of the Solomonic order for its complexity and inventive quality, as well as its suitability for portals and altarpieces (W-Fig. 86.13).¹⁴ It would find popular expression also in ephemeral constructions, for which only a scant graphic record survives. The order becomes almost ubiquitous in the late seventeenth-century Spanish world and would morph into the equally decorative tapering pilasters known as *estípites*.

Grand interiors with shimmering retables appear throughout the Americas. An early example takes shape at the mission church of Huejotzingo, where four stories of painted and gilded columns, cornices, and niches house polychrome wooden sculptures by Pedro de Requena (active 1580–5) and paintings by the Fleming Simón Pereyng (c. 1535–89) (W-Fig. 86.14). Contracts for the retable date it to the later 1580s and attest to the participation of the town's native administrators and population in its commission and production.

A later highlight in the history of the retable is the so-called Retablo de los Reyes (Retable of the Kings) that adorns the *capilla mayor* of the Cathedral of Mexico City (W-Fig. 86.15). Designed by Jerónimo de Balbás (c. 1650–1748), a Spaniard who may have been trained in the circle of Churriguera, it is structured around four huge *estípites* resembling stacked and inverted obelisks. The altarpiece contrasts with earlier examples in its colossal scale as well as in its shape, for its gilded, ornamented, and deeply receding forms make it a glittering cave-like space. Dynamic shapes adorn every surface of the retable and frame its large paintings by Juan Rodríguez Juárez (1675–1728), the *Adoration of the Three Kings* and the *Assumption of the Virgin*, to whom the cathedral is dedicated.

In some settings, the grandiosity of the retable extended to the entire church interior. Such is the case at S. Luis de los Franceses in Seville, a Jesuit church whose decoration – with a *retablo mayor* attributed to the sculptor Pedro Duque Cornejo (1677/8–1757) and with paintings by Lucas Valdés (1661–1724) – was begun in 1699 (Fig. 86.10). Here, the rich adornment takes on special meaning in the context of contemporary Jesuit debates about the appropriateness of redecorating the order's mother church in Rome, Il Gesù. The centralized plan of

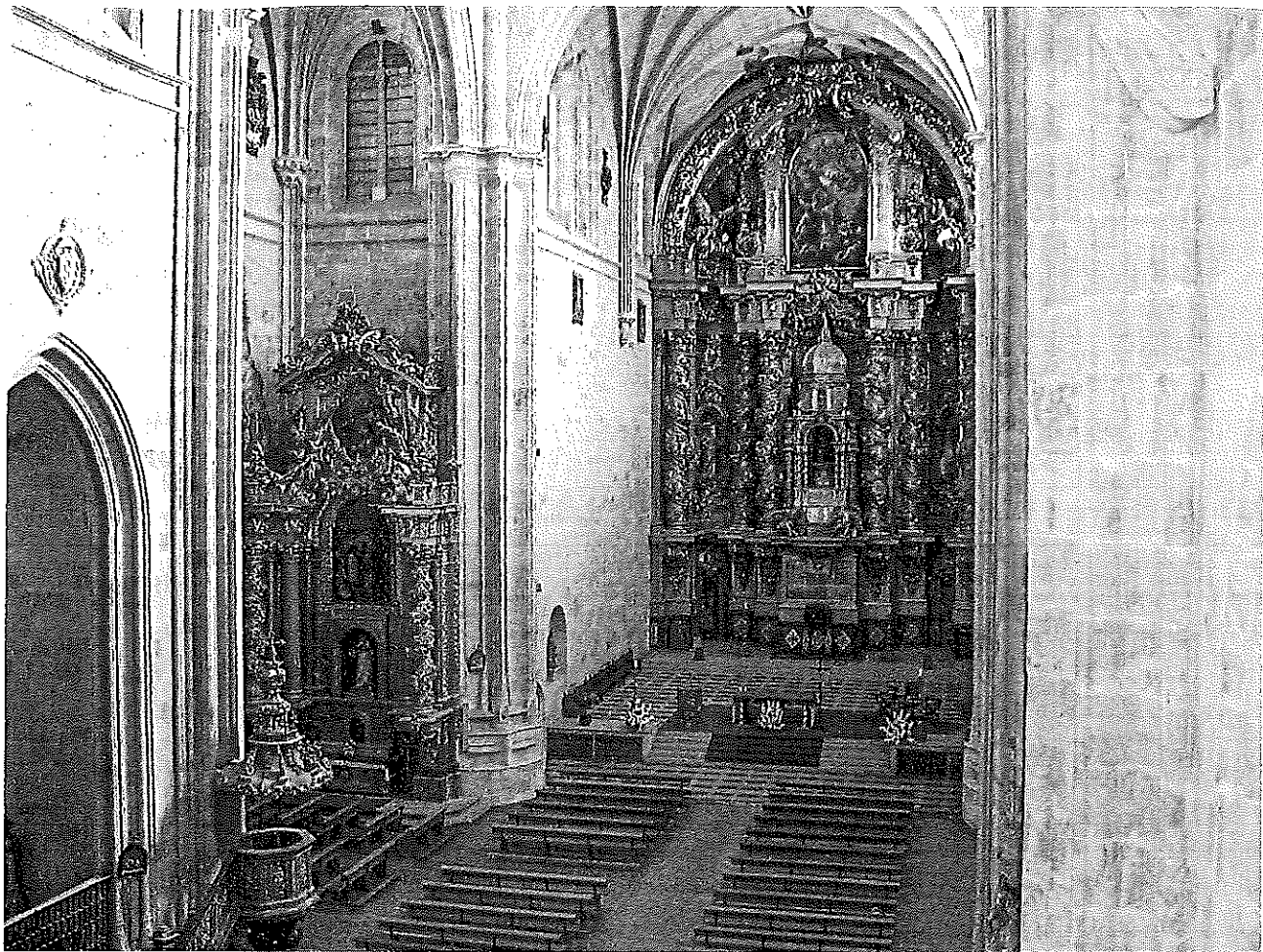


Fig. 86.9 *Capilla mayor*, Church of S. Esteban, Salamanca, 1690, interior view with retables designed by José Benito de Churriguera and paintings by other artists. (Photo: Jesús Escobar)

S. Luis, based on a Greek cross with apsidal ends, leads to the conflation of the body of the church with the *capilla mayor*; and thus spatial hierarchies dematerialize and the whole interior becomes alive with ornament.

A similarly overpowering effect can be seen at a cruciform chapel dedicated to the Virgin of the Rosary in the church of the Dominican monastery in Puebla, an episcopal seat to the southeast of Mexico City (Fig. 86.11). Decorated from 1632 to 1690, the chapel's walls, vaults, and dome teem with boldly three-dimensional curvilinear shapes in gilt stucco that frame medallions and images of saints and allegorical figures. Here it is as if the elements of classical architecture have been translated on the chapel's walls into a more organic vocabulary. At the crossing, a two-story baldachin with Composite and Solomonic columns houses the statue of the Virgin to which the chapel is dedicated.

The range of architectural motifs that prevailed on retables in the early modern Spanish world often echoed those on the exterior portals of churches. This condition provides further evidence of the permeability of the boundaries separating architecture from sculpture and workers of stone from those of

wood. In the modern historiographic tradition, it has given rise to the term *retablo-façade* to describe a type of portal that can be seen throughout the Spanish world in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. With the advent of this form, the grandeur of the interior meets the public sphere, and, for urban settings at least, the city itself becomes sacralized.

THE CITY AND THE CHURCH, CIRCA 1700

Realized sequentially and often over decades, religious building complexes in the early modern Spanish world transformed urban space for ritual and asserted the religious authority of the Church in the civic realm. The Jesuit College in Salamanca, known as *La Clerecía* since the eighteenth century, is an example of a Baroque urban ensemble realized by accretion within the fabric of a medieval city (W-Fig. 86.16). Begun in 1619 with the original patronage of Queen Margarita of Austria (1584–1611), who was tutored by Jesuits in Vienna before arriving in Spain, the complex of church, dormitory, and college was only completed in the 1740s. The temporal span of construction is evident on the exterior, whereby Juan Gómez de Mora's

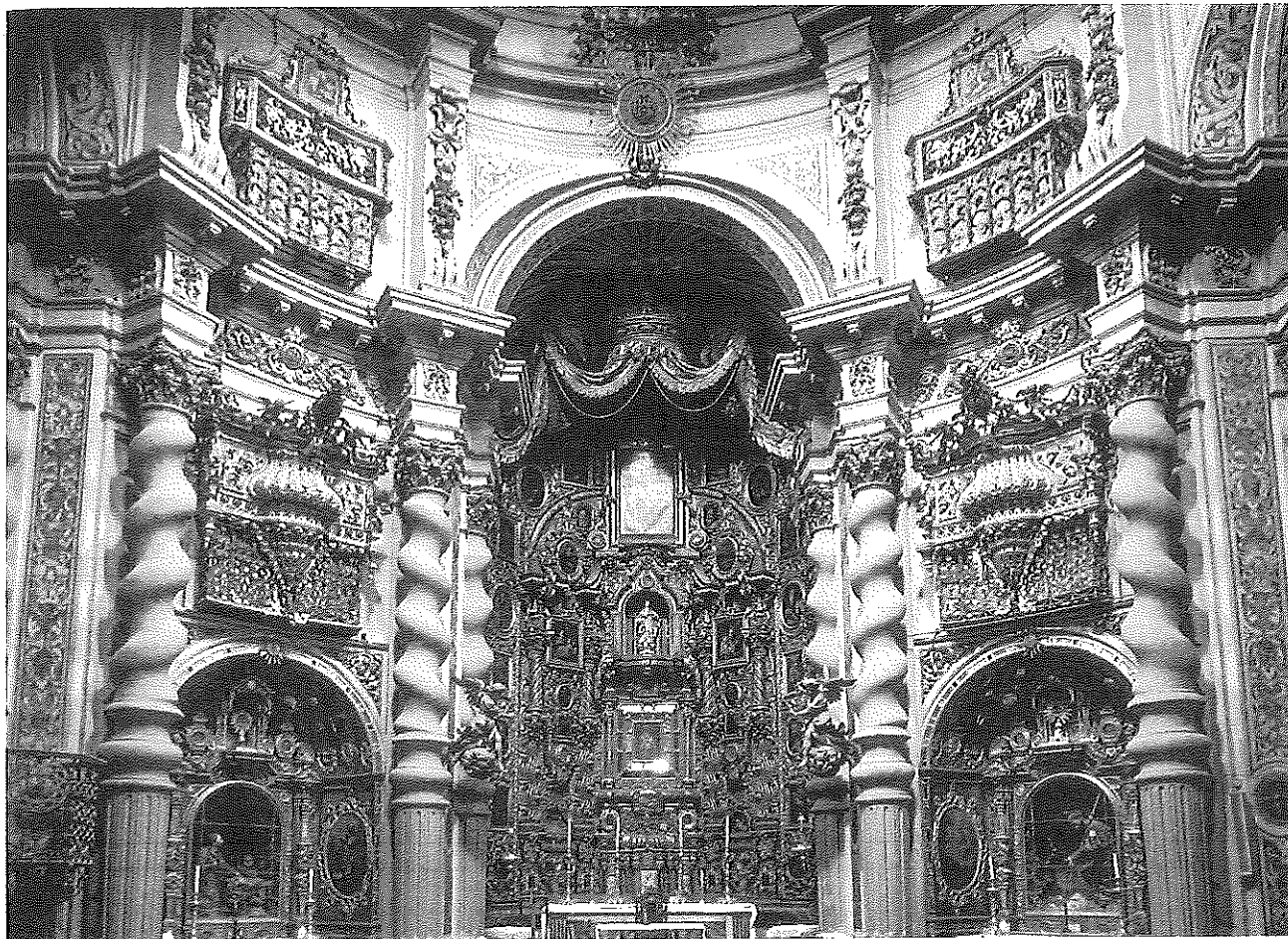


Fig. 86.10 S. Luis de los Franceses, Seville, 1699–1730, interior view of *retablo mayor* and adjoining walls designed by Leonardo de Figueroa, Lucas Valdés, and Pedro Duque Cornejo, among others. (Photo: Fotógrafos Oronoz)

(1586–1648) early seventeenth-century classicism for the dormitory and lower level of the church gives way to a more exuberant treatment of the upper church façade, as well as the portals and cloister of the college by Andrés García de Quiñones (1709–84). It is, however, the grandiose scale of the overall complex, rivaling that of the city's cathedral and also the grounds of its legendary university, that makes La Clerecía so notable as a work of religious architecture that gives shape to its urban environment.

The soaring walls of the college and dormitory with minimalist window frames and a few strategically placed royal arms are imposing in their planarity. They echo contemporary monastic architecture in their effort to create enclosure, but at the same time modernize this tradition with gigantic pilasters and abstracted cornices that associate the building with palace architecture. In contrast to these austere walls, the church façade rises above its narrow street front with two towers, octagonal in plan, framing a three-story frontispiece topped by an aedicula with broken pediment and filled with relief and freestanding sculpture. The towers can be seen from great distances around the city, animating both the skyline and the narrow street that the church fronts. Balconies in the upper levels of the façade

and towers suggest ritual uses for the building, during which privileged spectators would have been given commanding vistas to the city and beyond. Like a bejeweled crown, the Clerecía façade adorns the skyline and asserts the modernity of the religious order capable of such theatrical architecture.

In Cuzco, Peru, a different set of circumstances brought about the construction of the façade of the Jesuit church, known as La Compañía, on that town's Plaza Mayor (Fig. 86.12). In 1650, a powerful earthquake inflicted severe damage to most of Cuzco's churches. The *corregidor* (town governor), Juan de la Cerda y de la Coruña, wrote in a letter to King Philip IV of the destruction to the Jesuit church, noting that its timing worked to the order's advantage because "they very much wished to demolish it and had sent for a license to do so."⁵⁵ The years that followed the temblor saw the construction of a new and stylistically different Jesuit church. Its façade, alternately attributed to the Flemish Jesuit Juan Bautista Egidiano (1596–1675) and the Peruvian Diego Martínez de Oviedo (active in Cuzco in the second half of the seventeenth century), dates to the 1660s and is composed of a *retablo*-façade flanked by bell towers. The profusely ornamented frontispiece consists of two stories, the first of which is lined with Corinthian columns supporting a

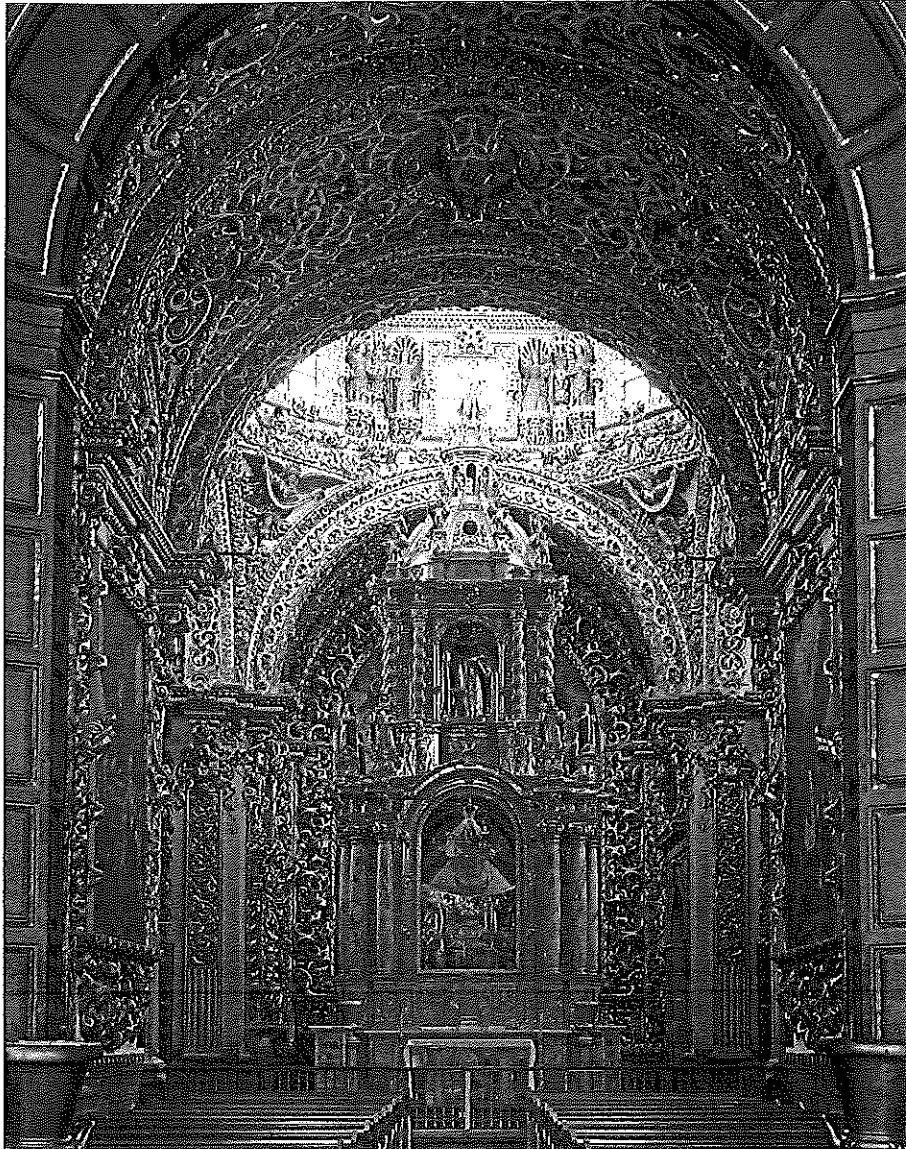


Fig. 86.11 Chapel of the Virgin of the Rosary, *Convento* (monastery) of Sto. Domingo, Puebla, Mexico, 1632–90, interior view. (Photo: Alfredo Dagli Orti/Art Resource, NY)

curving, broken cornice that mimics a much grander, undulating cornice that traverses the entire upper façade. On the second story, clusters of columns frame windows and niches, and above it, a recessed trefoil houses a central niche flanked by curving, wave-like motifs. As in the case with the façade of La Clerecía in Salamanca, that of La Compañía in Cuzco attests to the prosperity and modernity of the Jesuit Order; but in the Andean town, the church's location on the Plaza Mayor simultaneously sets it in a competition for architectural virtuosity with the portal of the nearby cathedral (rebuilt c. 1660–70), which displays similarly dynamic forms.

Cuzco's plaza, with its two imposing religious façades, served as a setting for social interaction, but it also provided a stage for ritual, such as the annual celebration of Corpus Christi, when the town's Indian parishes carried dressed statues of their titular saints and virgins into this monumental civic space, animated to

a great degree by the dynamic façades of the city's cathedral and Jesuit church. In Spain, too, churches and their urban settings accommodated all manner of religious ceremony and ritual. One of the most theatrical spaces in all of European urbanism can be found at Santiago de Compostela, renowned as a city of religious pilgrimage since the Middle Ages. A Romanesque cathedral housing the remains of the Apostle James stands as the principal monument of the Plaza del Obradoiro, named for the cathedral worksite (*obradoiro* in the Galician dialect) once located here (Fig. 86.13). Although the plaza is home to a variety of institutions, including a venerable Royal Hospital (Enrique Egas, 1501–11) built on the southern flank by Isabella and Ferdinand, the Obradoiro façade of the cathedral dominates the space as a result of a highly expensive undertaking by the cathedral chapter beginning in the middle years of the seventeenth century and culminating between 1738 and 1750.



Fig. 86.12 Plaza Mayor with the cathedral (left) and Church of La Compañía de Jesús (center), Cuzco, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. (Photo: Jesús Escobar)

The Plaza del Obradoiro was the site of important religious rituals since the completion of the original cathedral in the twelfth century, including the solemn entries of bishops, Corpus Christi processions that ended here beginning in the fifteenth century, and, most importantly, the celebrations on St. James's feast day. In the early modern period, grand ephemeral constructions were erected before the façade on the feast day and then sent up in flames in spectacular firework displays. The effort to reform the cathedral façade grew out of a sequence of interventions, beginning with the building of a monumental staircase in the early years of the seventeenth century. These efforts were invigorated by political debates in Madrid to have St. James declared the sole patron of Spain.

The history of the transformation of the Obradoiro façade includes notable protagonists who were deeply invested in reviving their city's glorious history and having it compete with Madrid and Rome. One key figure was José de Vega y Verdugo (1623–96), who was educated at the seminary at the Escorial and spent his formative years in Rome. In 1648, he was named a canon to the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela and received the title *fabriquero* as overseer of the chapter building works some years later. By 1657, Vega had drawn plans to regularize the west façade with twin bell towers and turrets covered in slate in emulation of royal buildings in Madrid. Ultimately, Vega y Verdugo's most important contribution was the erection of the monumental Torre del Reloj facing the nearby Plaza de Quintana. Later, the city's most enthusiastic architectural patron of the era, the Dominican archbishop Antonio de Monroy (1634–1715), turned his attention to projects for the cathedral interior and the building of a Royal Portal facing the Plaza de Quintana. Notably, Monroy was Mexican-born and would have

first experienced important religious architecture in the Americas. He, too, spent a formative period in Rome that began in 1676 and lasted until he was named a bishop and sent to Santiago de Compostela in 1686, where he embraced an active role in the cathedral chapter's works. Among his many interventions, Monroy's efforts at the cathedral set the stage for the Obradoiro façade whose design was approved in January 1738.

The cathedral chapter embraced the façade project as a means of drawing tourists to Santiago and thereby reviving the cult of St. James in what can be taken as a populist and propagandistic campaign. For the project, the architect Fernando de Casas y Novoa (c. 1682/4–1749) proposed and then built a tripartite design with two monumental towers joined to the central frontispiece by concave walls that soar the height of the building's first story. The frontispiece is filled with great quantities of glass to illuminate the interior of the basilica and reflect light onto the plaza below, echoing the ephemeral architecture set aflame in earlier celebrations to honor and symbolize the apotheosis of St. James.

Similarly exuberant ornamentation appears on the towering façade of SS. Sebastián and Prisca in Taxco, a mining town in the mountainous region southwest of Mexico City (W-Fig. 86.17). Designed in 1748, the parish church was realized via the patronage of José de la Borda, the owner of a profitable silver mine, who sought to adorn his town with a dazzling façade fronting a small plaza. Following a well-established Spanish tradition, the façade of SS. Sebastián and Prisca is tripartite, but, in a departure that owes itself to experiments in Mexico, its framing towers soar twice the height of the overall façade width. The design is a richly carved ensemble of Corinthian and Solomonic columns along with high relief and



Fig. 86.13 Fernando de Casas y Novoa, Obradoiro façade, Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, Plaza del Obradoiro, 1738–50, with frontispiece and towers. (Photo: Jesús Escobar)

freestanding sculpture in the frontispiece. Above, the two-story bell towers are adorned with *estípites* and fluted columns as well as figural and relief sculpture set at seemingly impossible heights over the town. From a distance, the towers and tall dome covered in colorful tiles transform the building's urban setting, while asserting the piety of the church's patron as well as the authority of the church as an institution whose outward face is on display.

CONCLUSION

From the monastic church to the cathedral plaza, religious architecture and spaces in the early modern Spanish world exhibit a remarkable breadth of experimentation. The examples chosen for this chapter illustrate the adaptability of Spanish

culture, whether religious, political, or otherwise, across great geographical areas. Two final buildings allow us to explore further examples of cultural exchange in the shifting metropolitan centers of the eighteenth century.

The city of La Orotava is situated inland from the northern coast of Tenerife, an island located along Spanish transatlantic trade routes and comprised in the early modern period of a cosmopolitan mix of natives, Spanish settlers, foreign bankers, and itinerants of all sorts. Dramatically fronting a sloping plaza in La Orotava, the Church of La Concepción, built from 1768 to 1788, offers scenographic views outward to the Atlantic Ocean and up toward the formidable Teide Volcano (W-Fig. 86.18). The church plan deviates little from principles practiced in Iberia since the Renaissance, but its convex, tripartite façade ties its design to pan-European and Latin American

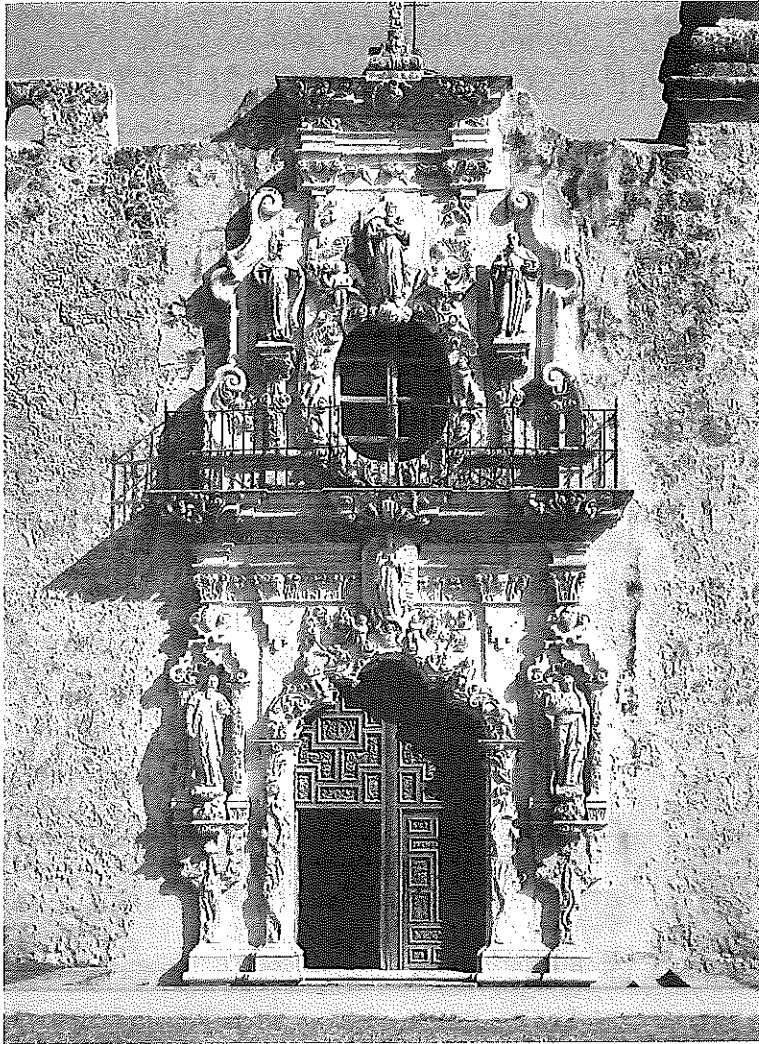


Fig. 86.14 Mission church of S. José and S. Miguel de Aguayo, San Antonio, Texas, 1768–82. (Photo: Album/Art Resource, NY)

developments in Baroque architecture. From a distance, one can appreciate the lantern-topped dome framed by two towers that are linked by an undulating cornice. It is a composition that might be found anywhere in Spain, but could also appear in Central Europe, Peru, or perhaps even Brazil. Built of local volcanic stone, this Canary Island church reminds us of the cosmopolitan nature of the early modern Spanish world and also the shifting spheres of influence in architectural production.

Similar questions about the imperial center and periphery arise at the Church of S. José y S. Miguel de Aguayo, built from 1768 to 1782 on mission grounds founded in 1720 near San Antonio, Texas, along the northern frontier of the eighteenth-century Spanish Empire in the Americas (Fig. 86.14).¹⁶ Framed by towers, the main portion of the church façade is given over to an elaborate portal divided into two stories. The lower story includes a Gothic doorway arch, marked at either end by *estipite*-like forms enclosing niches for statues of Joachim and Anne. The Mexican Virgin of Guadalupe appears at the apex of the arch, with rays breaking through the cornice to the upper level, where a sculpted image of St. Joseph, the church's titular

saint, floats above a window opening. At either side of Joseph, statues of Francis and Dominic pay tribute to the mendicant friars who first landed in the Americas nearly three hundred years earlier; they are absorbed into this New World representation of the Holy Family.

Although much of the interior of S. José was destroyed in 1868, the single nave space was vaulted and carried a dome above the crossing, all of which has been restored. Today, a National Park Service website directs a visitor's attention to a "rose window" located along the south flank of the church.¹⁷ Such language calls to mind antecedents in Late Gothic architecture as seen in medieval France or Spain. Yet the window, shaped by the intersection of a rectangle with a diamond rounded on its four points and surrounded by vegetal and architectonic forms, derives more accurately from late Baroque forms found not in Paris or Seville but rather in another center of artistic production, Mexico City. The San Antonio mission church thus reveals the spread of ideas about sacred architecture and spaces, ultimately European but fostered anew in a transatlantic setting via the forces of colonialism.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING:

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NOTES

All translations by the authors unless otherwise noted.

Additional illustrations, identified in the text as (W-Fig.), can be found under RESOURCES at www.cambridge.org/Etlin-CGAC-webimages.

- 1 George Kubler, "Part One: Architecture," in George Kubler and Martín Soria, *Art and Architecture in Spain and Portugal and their American Dominions, 1500 to 1800* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1959), 1-119. Portugal and Brazil are not considered here.
- 2 Jonathan Brown and J. H. Elliott, *A Palace for a King: The Buen Retiro and the Court of Philip IV* (1980; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003 rev. ed.); Jesús Escobar, *The Plaza Mayor and the Shaping of Baroque Madrid* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Michael Schreffler, *The Art of Allegiance: Visual Culture and Imperial Power in Baroque New Spain* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007).
- 3 Serge Gruzinski, *The Conquest of Mexico: The Incorporation of Indian Societies into the Western World, 16th-18th Centuries* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993); Thomas B. F. Cummins, *Toasts with the Inca: Andean Abstraction and Colonial Images on Quero Vessels* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002); Jerrilynn D. Dodds, María Rosa Menocal, and Abigail Krasner Balbale, *The Arts of Intimacy: Christians, Jews, and Muslims in the Making of Castilian Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008). For the broad scope undertaken here, see also Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).
- 4 Richard Kagan, "Prescott's Paradigm: American Historical Scholarship and the Decline of Spain," *American Historical Review* 101.2 (1996), 423-46; Thomas James Dandeleit, *Spanish Rome: 1500-1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).
- 5 Kubler, "Part One: Architecture," 1.
- 6 Judith Berg Sobré, *Behind the Altar Table: The Development of the Painted Retable in Spain, 1350-1500* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1989); Juan José Martín González, *El retablo barroco en España* (Madrid: Alpuerto, 1993).
- 7 George Kubler, *Mexican Architecture of the Sixteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948).
- 8 Catherine Wilkinson-Zerner, *Juan de Herrera: Architect to Philip II of Spain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 84-115.
- 9 *Transcripción y Pacificación de las Indias* (Madrid: Ministerio de Vivienda, 1973), Ordinance 118.
- 10 *Ibid.*, Ordinance 124.
- 11 Barbara Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain: Indigenous Cartography and the Maps of the Relaciones Geográficas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).
- 12 Teresa of Ávila, *Constituciones* (1568), in *Escritos de Santa Teresa*, ed. Vicente de la Fuente (Madrid: Imprenta de los Sucesores de Hernando, 1908), 277.
- 13 Sabine MacCormack, "Art in a Missionary Context: Images from Europe and the Andes in the Church of Andahuaylillas near Cuzco," in *The Word Made Image: Religion, Art, and Architecture in Spain and Spanish America* (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 1998), 103-26.
- 14 Juan Caramuel y Lobkowitz, *Arquitectura civil recta y obliqua* (Vigevano: Empronta Obispa, 1678); Juan Antonio Ramírez, "Guarino Guarini, Fray Juan Ricci and the 'Complete Salomonic Order,'" *Art History* 4 (1981), 175-85.
- 15 Quoted by Horacio Villanueva Urteaga, "Documentos sobre el terremoto de 1650," *Revista del Archivo Histórico del Cuzco* 13 (1970), 204 (203-20).
- 16 Jacinto Quirarte, *The Art and Architecture of the Texas Missions* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002); Clara Bargellini, ed., *Art of the Missions of Northern New Spain, 1600-1821* (Mexico City: Antiguo Colegio de San Ildefonso, 2009).
- 17 See www.nps.gov/saan/learn/historyculture/sanjosehistory1.htm.