Civitas Angelorum: The Symbolic Urbanism of Puebla de los Ángeles in the Early Modern Era

Juan Luis Burke
School of Architecture McGill University, Montreal, Canada May 2016

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Abstract

The creation of a city entails the creation of a world. This simple notion suggests the colossal complexity inherent in the task of urban creation. In the early modern period, the American Continent was the scenario of urban experimentation and enterprise of an unknown scale; hundreds of urban foundations were carried out by the Spanish colonizing enterprise in America, from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. My dissertation studies the urban creation and development of the city of Puebla de los Ángeles, in viceregal Mexico, during the early modern period. The thesis is divided into two sections, the first examines the creation of the city in 1531, as well as the context in which it was created; while the second examines a key moment in its seventeenth century history, focusing on the bishopric of Juan de Palafox y Mendoza.

When the city was conceived, a powerful urban mythology exploited the notion of a city that mirrored a heavenly, idealized city on Earth. The Heavenly Jerusalem, the most powerful urban archetype in the medieval and early modern periods, was particularly invoked. This mythology was so pervasive that traces of it exist up to the present, as the city is still recognized, in popular lore as having been designed and created by angels. The intellectual history of this mythology constitutes the backbone of this dissertation's first section. The second section examines the city's transformation to that of an ideal Christian republic, conceived under a complex moral, social, and political doctrine articulated in the writings of bishop Juan de Palafox y Mendoza. The bishop embarked, during his tenure, in an ambitious and expansive building campaign that was meant to materially articulate his vision for a reformed, idealized Christian republic in New Spain.

By employing a phenomenological hermeneutical approach, I examine a series of primary sources from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, in order to articulate an intellectual history of the city, and thus testify to the rich flexibility that cities in the early modern period in the Western hemisphere had in terms of re-inventing themselves according to their changing demands and needs, employing to a large extent a symbolic urban form.

Résumé

La création d'une ville implique la création d'un monde. Cette simple notion suggère la complexité colossale inhérente à la tâche de création urbaine. Dans l'époque pre-moderne, le continent américain a été le scénario d'expérimentation urbaine et de l'entreprise d'une ampleur inconnue; des centaines de fondations urbaines ont été réalisées par l'entreprise coloniale espagnole en Amérique, du XVIe au XVIIIe siècles. Cette thèse étude la création et le développement urbain de la ville de Puebla de los Ángeles, au Mexique, au cours de la période pre-moderne. La thèse est divisée en deux sections, la première examine la création de la ville en 1531, ainsi que le contexte dans lequel il a été créé; tandis que le second examine un moment clé de son histoire du XVIIe siècle, et se concentrant sur l'évêché du Juan de Palafox y Mendoza (1640-1649).

Quand la ville a été conçue, une mythologie urbaine puissante a utilisé la notion d'une ville qui reflète une ville idéalisée sur la Terre. La Jérusalem céleste, l'archétype urbain le plus important dans les périodes médiévale et moderne, a été particulièrement invoqué. Cette mythologie était si efficace, que des traces existent jusqu'à présent, car la ville est toujours reconnue dans la tradition populaire, comme ayant été conçu et créé par des anges. L'histoire intellectuelle de cette mythologie constitue l'épine dorsale de la première section de cette thèse.

La deuxième section examine la transformation de la ville à celle d'une 'république chrétienne idéale', conçue sous une doctrine morale, sociale et politique complexe, articulé selon les écrits de l'évêque Juan de Palafox y Mendoza. L'évêque a entrepris, au cours de son mandat, dans une campagne de construction ambitieux et vaste qui visait à articuler de façon importante sa vision d'une république chrétienne idéalisée à la Nouvelle-Espagne. En employant une approche herméneutique phénoménologique, j'examine une série de sources primaires des XVIe et XVIIIe siècles, afin d'articuler une histoire intellectuelle de la ville, et donner témoigne de la riche flexibilité que les villes de l'époque pre-moderne dans l'hémisphère occidental eu, en termes de se réinventer en fonction de leurs exigences et besoins changeants, employant dans une large mesure une forme urbaine symbolique.

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This dissertation is the product of five long years' worth of work. In earnest, it is hard to know, at this point, what made me embark in such ardous and painstaking journey, apart from the love I have for architecture and for my hometown, the city of angels, Puebla de los Ángeles. However, writing this dissertation has made me aware of how much work and how many opportunities lie ahead for exploring and better understanding the somewhat overlooked viceregal period in Puebla, in Mexico, and in Latin America in general. Hopefully this will be one among a myriad works that will cover the fascinating early modern period in Latin America.

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"And thus it has come to pass, that though there are very many and great nations all over the earth, [...] yet there are no more than two kinds of human society, which we may justly call two cities, according to the language of our Scriptures. The one consists of those who wish to live after the flesh, the other of those who wish to live after the spirit; and when they severally achieve what they wish, they live in peace, each after their kind."

Augustine of Hippo – *The City of God (XIV,1)*

INTRODUCTION

The arrival of Christopher Columbus on the American continent inaugurated a series of portrayals in which the New World was conceived in contradictory terms: as the site of Earthly Paradise, or alternatively as a *tabula rasa* for the realization of social, urban, and architectural experiments. Perhaps the first moment that America became the protagonist in a European vision of an idealized setting, was when Columbus himself proposed the idea of carrying out a transatlantic voyage of exploration across the Atlantic Ocean to Fernando of Aragón and Isabel of Castile.

It is believed that the Genoese sailor convinced the Iberian rulers that the monetary profits of establishing a new commercial route directly from Spain to the Indies could be invested in the conquest of Jerusalem. Reconquering the Holy City—which had fallen under the rule of Saladin in 1187 and was under Muslim rule in Columbus' time—and defeating the figure of the Antichrist (embodied in the figure of the Sultan Saladin) were both events that would prepare the world for the impending apocalypse, after which the Age of the Holy Spirit—an age of universal harmony and happiness—was anticipated, according to the 12th century Calabrian abbot and prophet Joachim of Fiore.[1] Columbus

[1] Bernard McGinn, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 129.

was well acquainted with the writings of this controversial medieval theologian. Evidence of this is found in his *Libro de las profecías*, a collection of biblical quotes and personal correspondence that Columbus used to weave together a complex eschatological framework for the discovery of the Indies and its messianic consequences. In this book, Columbus quotes Fiore a number of times and defends him against claims made against his writings by other theologians. There are two instances in which he is keen on informing Fernando and Isabel that the person to re-establish the House of Zion will come from Spain. With these words, Columbus was trying to kindle the monarchs' interest in investing in further exploration of the Indies.[2]

Fernando and Isabel, influenced by a branch of prominent millenarian Franciscan friars, and still inflamed with religious fervor due to their recent reconquest of Al-Andalus from the Moors, could easily have sympathized with the idea that Divine Providence would lead the Spanish throne towards a Christian Golden Age.[3] Thus did the American continent become, for the first time and in an indirect manner, the subject of European idealization; of this, many instances would follow.

Acknowledging this conceptualization of the American continent as the site of (urban) idealization and experimentation, my research intends to analyze a specific case in which a city in New Spain was built as an ideal city, only to be transformed a century later under quite different auspices. Puebla de los Ángeles is arguably unique as the realization of an idealized urban project based on late-medieval traditions in the first half of the sixteenth-century. What makes it even more interesting as a case-study is that a century later, Puebla would be re-articulated architecturally and urbanistically to accomplish a completely different paragon, one that was shaped by a complex social, political, and moral doctrine that would make of the Puebla the ideal Christian republic; a beacon for the whole of New Spain.

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[2] Christopher Columbus, *Cristobal Colón: Libro de las profecías. Introducción, traducción y notas de Kay Brigham* (Barcelona: Libros CLIE, 1992).
[3] David A. Brading, *Orbe indiano: de la monarquía católica a la república criolla, 1492-1867* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2003), 21–29.

My methodology benefited from an approach influenced by the field of intellectual history, or history of ideas, and this is recognizable in the way I attempted to integrate the different social, political, theological, art and architectural historical strands that affected the creation of Puebla, and its further development well into the seventeenth century. In other words, I was fully recognizant of the perpetual interplay in which they are engaged in, to paraphrase Arthur Lovejoy.[4] In investigating the creation of a city, evidently a complex network of factors immediately come to play, so that attempting to isolate the architectural and urban forms or elements would have run counter to a full identification and investigation of urban forms, which are by definition complex and dependant on a series of external factors. Cultural production, particularly books, their authors, and the circumstances under which they were produced, were also at the center of my investigation, and in this way it resonates with the concerns of contemporary cultural and intellectual historians, as explained by Anthony Grafton.[5] In this way, not only was I concerned about the material evidence, i.e., the city of Puebla as it exists today, but I was informed by the primary sources of people writing about the creation of the city, chroniclers of the city, an assortment of municipal documentation discussing all types of urban and social management issues consulted at the Archivo Municipal de Puebla (identified as AMP, by its acronym in Spanish, throughout the text), and in the second part of my thesis, the vast writings of the bishop Juan de Palafox de Mendoza, which articulated my interpretation of his ambitious construction campaign, carried out during his tenure in the mid-seventeenth century.

The most influential method for my investigation, however, was undoubtedly phenomenological hermeneutics. As I engaged in the reading of the various primary sources pertaining to the creation and development of Puebla, I involved myself in a dialogue with the texts and the author's intentionality, assuming that from this

[4] Arthur O. Lovejoy, "Reflections on the History of Ideas," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 1, no. 1 (1940): 4.
[5] Anthony Grafton, "The History of Ideas: Precept and Practice, 1950-2000 and Beyond," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 67, no. 1 (2006): 1–32.

dialogue, a novel understanding of the historical text would foreground my interpretation and understanding of them. In this way, phenomenological hermeneutics posits the very act of reading and interpreting historical texts as a process of being (in a Heideggerian sense), inasmuch as being is understanding, and thus connecting those interpretations to the present, i.e., making them relevant to the present. My understanding and application of such a process is derived to a large extent from the writings of Hans-Georg Gadamer. This German philosopher furthered the work on philosophical hermeneutics as developed by Wilhelm Dilthey and Friederich Schleiermacher, and concerned himself with validating historical understanding and investigation as scientific thinking, while he incorporated notions from the field of phenomenology as interpreted by Martin Heidegger, relative to the concept of *Dasein*. From Modern hermeneutics, Gadamer apprehended some central notions, such as those related to historical interpretation, or what Gadamer called "historical interpretation in the spirit of the writer". [6] Hermeneutics recognizes that establishing a dialogue reveals the understanding of a text, and it is *logos*, the word, the medium that ensures that through our senses, a meaning will be eventually revealed. As Gadamer wrote,

> We may wonder, however, whether it is possible to distinguish in this way between identifying with the original reader and the process of understanding. Actually this ideal precondition of understanding—identifying with the original reader—cannot be fulfilled prior to the effort of understanding proper but rather is inextricable from it. Even in the case of a contemporary text with whose language or content we are unfamiliar, the meaning is revealed only in the manner described, in the oscillating movement between whole and part.[7]

Language is the universal medium in which understanding occurs, and understanding occurs in the act of interpreting, what is known as the "fusion of horizons". No text

[6] Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 1st ed. (Bloomsbury Academic, 2004), 181.
[7] Ibid., 190.

or book speaks if the language does not reach another person; interpretation, wrote Gadamer, thus needs to find the right language if it wants to speak.[8] "There cannot, therefore, be any correct interpretation that is correct, "in itself", precisely because every interpretation is concerned with the text itself."[9] Historical fact is not, for Gadamer, "a fixed object existing in itself", rather, it is there open for interpretation or mediation, and as mentioned before, the universal medium for this mediation to occur in is language.[10] Gadamer envisions this dialectic process as the hermeneutic circle, "like conversation, interpretation is a circle closed by the dialectic of question and answer […] and we can call it a conversation with respect to the interpretation of texts as well. The linguisticality of understanding is the *concretion of historically effected consciousness*."[11] Gadamer posits that exercising understanding of historical texts, i.e., creating meaning from them, requires that we engage in a circular process. It is important to acknowledge there are three horizons of meaning at play, the author's, the original reader's, and the contemporary one. There is the matter of asking questions to the text, in order to extract the answer, thus reconstructing the answer to which the text is the question. This reconstruction exists within a personal construct, but in this we can recognize that the construction of meaning is relevant to us inasmuch as we seek answers in that historical text.[12] In this sense, in my investigation I sought to comprehend the motivations behind the creation of the city of Puebla and its rich mythological symbolic form. In the case of the writings by bishop Palafox, the hermeneutic circle was, as it were, more intimate, in the sense that the voice of the bishop was constantly in need of dialogical interpretation or mediation, relative to the motivations behind the building campaigns he undertook, given he did not

[8] Ibid., 398.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid., 470.
[11] Ibid., 391.
[12] Ibid. As Gadamer explained: "By contrast, I have pointed to "dialogue" as the structure of verbal understanding and characterized it as a dialectic of question and answer. That proves to hold completely true for our "Being–toward–the–text." In interpreting, the questions a text puts to us can be understood only when the text, conversely, is understood as an answer to a question", 578.

directly address them, but his constructive endeavors were grounded on the specific moral and theological agenda he developed. My task was then to correlate this intricate agenda with his architectural accomplishments.

In terms of historic periodization, my dissertation approached the history of Puebla during the early modern period by looking at two key moments. Firstly I examined the foundation of the city and the rich and complex context in which it took place. The second moment occurs one hundred years later, and I chose to identify a key moment in the tenure of bishop Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, who carried forward a most ambitious construction campaign in the city, all the while trying to generate a new symbolic agenda for the city, one that I identified as the 'Ideal Christian Republic', a city that hinged its personality by being loyal to the Spanish Crown, while being faithful and pious to the Catholic Church. By dividing the work into ten chapters, my aim was to dedicate the first five to the city's foundation and context in which the foundation occurs; and the remaining five chapters to the city's seventeenth century development, focused in the bishopric of Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, which ended in 1649.

Chapter 1 examines what I deem the Spanish urban enterprise in viceregal Mexico; it is a general and condensed investigation into the Spanish urbanization campaign in the viceregal period, focused on the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Of relevance is the understanding that the urbanization campaign in viceregal Mexico was initially designed to be segregationist; this is to say that there were towns and villages dedicated to the habitation of the indigenous population, known as *repúblicas de indios*, and cities created to be regional administrative, religious, and political centers, which would be inhabited by the privileged Spanish population. Puebla evidently fell under the category of a *república de españole*s, given the fact it was created for the exclusive habitation of Spaniards, with the added characteristic that the city's authorities would also bar the settlers' recourse to the employment of local indigenous labor, the system otherwise known as *encomienda de indios*. This chapter also briefly discusses the idealist urban efforts by the bishop of Michoacán,

Vasco de Quiroga (c.1470-1565), of establishing indigenous towns called *hospitales de indios*, influenced to a large degree by the writings of Thomas More.

Chapter 2 commences with a discussion of the idealization of the American Continent by Europeans immediately after the arrival of Columbus. I briefly discuss Columbus' eschatological writings, and consider them—symbolically, at least—as the first event of eschatological theology arriving to the Continent. I then employ this notion to embark on a larger discussion on the subject of eschatology and apocalypticism in viceregal Mexico. I identify the difference between eschatology and apocalypticism, a distinction that is quite important to me, given that previous authors have identified some of the first Franciscan missionaries to Mexico as apocalypticist, while my argument is that they actually susbscribed to eschatology as part of their philosophical understanding of time and the eventual arrival of *Parousia*. This is relevant to my discussion since eschatology influenced the thinking of one of the Puebla's founders and main activists, friar Toribio de Benavente, better known as *Motolinia* (1482-1568). In this chapter, an exploration of the origin and effect that eschatological thinking had in New Spain, links the origin of this branch of medieval theology with the Franciscan order of Friars Minor, or *Ordo Fratrum Minorum*, the order to which the first wave of missionaries in New Spain belonged. One of the chapter's main contributions to the overall discussion of the city's creation, lies on clearly highlighting friar Toribio de Beneavente's influence in the creation of the city's symbolic dimension, based on an interpretation of his writings regarding the creation of the city, and the material evidence that exists and links the mythological dimension of the city to eschatological thinking.

Chapter 3 focuses on examining the convoluted history of the foundation of Puebla, which has lacked a definitive historical interpretation due to the early loss of the city's first two official registrar books, a situation that has significantly obscured the events surrounding the first months of the city's existence. The crucial role that the civic authorities, embodied in the Audiencia, the highest tribunal of the then incipient viceregal regime, played in the creation of the city, as well as that of the

Franciscan friar Toribio de Benavente *Motolinia*. I undertake the task of analyzing the Franciscan activist's short chronicle on the foundation of the city, leading to a discussion of the Augustinian doctrine of the Heavenly City and the Earthly City, which I argue had a relevant role in the conception of the city of Puebla. I finish the chapter by arguing how Puebla was ultimately conceived as an urban and social experiment, with the ultimate result of having a clear legacy of theological underpinnings that solidified Puebla's standing as an ideal Christian city.

Chapter 4 is the first of two parts that constitutes a general discussion regarding what I call the "symbolic dimension" of Puebla. I commence this discussion by examining the parallels between the most important archetype in the Judeo-Chrsitian tradition, the Heavenly Jerusalem, and the elements that identify Puebla as an ideal city. I discuss the city's coat of arms, a symbol loaded with meaning and which succinctly enwraps many of the city's mythological elements. The coat of arms displays an idealized city, one that, in its graphic representation, holds many similarities with representations of the Heavenly Jerusalem in the medieval period in Europe. The coat of arms also links the city's mythical condition to the supra celestial realm, suggested by a pair of angels which guard the city, and by the presence of Psalm 91:11 in the coat. The presence of this quote and the graphic representation of the pair of angels in the coat of arms, then leads me to discuss the subject of angelology from a theological point of view, in parallel to the role that angels have in the configuration of the city's mythology.

The second part of the chapter discusses the employment of the gridded structure as the city's defining urban layout. I approach the subject of the grid from a functional stance, recognizing its virtues as an urban scheme, I quote research carried out which extolls its virtues in terms of sheltering the city from the northern winds, the angle at which the city's blocks were traced relative to the north, so that the angled configuration of the city blocks would help channel storm water runoff into the San Francisco River, among other virtues, however, I also approach the grid as a symbolic form, examining certain aspects that link this

particular urban scheme to the Heavenly Jerusalem archetype. Finally, I analyze the ancient and rich tradition of Spanish land surveying techniques, tracing its roots to the ancient Roman period, and its subsequent export to the American Continent by the Spaniards.

The fifth chapter continues the discussion of the city's symbolic dimension, the central part of my argument. While the previous chapter analyzes a series of symbols closely associated to the city's mythology, this chapter is dedicated to analyzing an architectural complex that, I believe, is an embodiment of the city's association to its favorite symbol during the early modern period; the Heavenly Jerusalem. However, my contention is that, unlike the symbols that constituted the city's mythology from its outset, such as the grid, the angelic association, and the connection to the Heavenly Jerusalem, the symbol I analyze in this chapter, the Via Crucis of Puebla, constitutes an architectural effort that was largely elaborated by the city's laity, unlike the original symbols associated to the city, which were conjured by the civic and religious authorities that participated in the foundation of the city. While the city was founded around the year 1531, the Via Crucis is built towards the end of the sixteenth century, with some contributions at the start of the seventeenth century as well. What sets the Via Crucis apart from any other known in New Spain at this period is the clear and latent mimicry of Jerusalem's topography regarding the mythical and historical recreation of Christ's Passion. In the case of Puebla, I show how the city's topography is consciously used to reflect Jerusalem's, and I consider the embodiment of the Via Crucis as another iteration of the city's active efforts to identify itself with Christianity's most sacred city, Jerusalem.

Chapter 6 inaugurates the second part of the dissertation, dedicated to examining the development of the city of Puebla a hundred years after its foundation. This chapter discusses the city's symbolic agenda once the city has evolved into a completely different urban entity from its incipient start a hundred years prior. In this chapter, I commence with a general analysis of the city's demographics. I

characterize its convoluted racial and social dynamics, explaining to a large degree how a city initially conceived as exclusively Spanish, had become diverse in demographic terms, in which peninsular Spaniards, criollos, mestizos, and a burgeoning community of indigenous peoples, had taken up residency, becoming an inextricable part of the social and civic dynamics of Puebla. I deliver a brief outline of the city's most important *barrios* or neighborhoods during the first part of the seventeenth century, while providing a general demographic outline of each, relevant for the city's later social and spiritual agenda.

Chapter 7 takes a slight turn and focuses on a discussion of public festivities during the seventeenth century in Puebla. This chapter lays the bases for a later discussion of the city's intricate social conventions across social groups in the city. Public festivities in the early modern period were extremely important in terms of cementing social conventions and relationships between them, in this way, by looking at some examples of the most conventional iterative festivities in the city, as well as an example of a unique event, the festivities in honor of Saint Ignatius of Loyola and Saint Francis Xavier's canonizations, we acquire a sense of the magnitude, importance, and dynamics at play during public festivities in Puebla at this time. Additionally, a particular focus is set on the transformation of public space during the festivities, highlighting the participation of the various social groups and communities in these festivities, and how, during the festivities, public space became apprehended by all social strata.

The following two chapters have a common theme and are the focal part of the dissertation's second part. These two chapters discuss the writings of bishop Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, a very important personage for the city during the seventeenth century. Palafox arrived to New Spain as *visitador general*, a title that defined an internal solicitor, directly sent from the Court in Madrid to inspect the finances and political action of high-ranking officials in the colony of New Spain. He was also appointed bishop of Puebla, at the time the second most affluent city in the colony after Mexico City. Palafox's rigid character and stern determination to end

widespread corruption and cronyism in the viceregal government immediately made him unpopular with many people. Added to this, as bishop of Puebla he embarked on a rich and ambitious campaign to reinvigorate his bishopric. To begin with, he managed to finish the the city's cathedral, an ambitious project that had been stalled for over fifty years.

Chapter 8 begins with a historical examination of Palafox's accomplishments regarding the finishing of the cathedral's architectural structure, and with the lavish consecration festivities that he organized for the occasion. I immediately proceed to discuss his vast writings, mostly dedicated to theology and an intricate moral philosophy based on political and social observations. Palafox aimed, through his writings, to establish a moral doctrine that would be part of a larger, more intricate and surprisingly modern social engineering discourse. His ideas were based on his experience as political advisor and high-ranking official in the Cortes de Monzón, and later in the Consejo de Indias, in his native Spain. There he managed to understand how the Spanish Empire needed to accommodate the regional needs of its vast constituents, in order to hinder regional independentist movements. At the same time, in his doctrine, the role of the Catholic Church was central in articulating an ordered, hierarchical, and highly rigid structure that provided specific roles for every social stratum in society. Puebla and his bishopric, which extended far from the city's limits, was his experimenting ground, and architecture was the instrument that he used to carry out his envisioning of his Ideal Christian Republic. Chapter 8 also explores Palafox's efforts regarding the making and strengthening of public welfare institutions, specifically the Hospital of San Pedro, administered by the diocesan bishopric, as well as a home for destitute young girls called Colegio de Niñas Vírgenes. While discussing the construction of the young girls home, I take the opportunity to discuss Palafox's views regarding the "feminine condition", which sheds light on the social role of women during the seventeenth century in Puebla. My strategy throughout these two chapters is to correlate his actions with his writings, continually quoting relevant passages from his written work, and showing the ordered and well-thought social scheme that he had conjured for Puebla.

Chapter 9 continues with an analysis of Palafox's architectural actions and endeavors, once again duly correlating them with his writings at every instance. This chapter now turns to analyze his feud against the Mendicant orders in the bishopric of Puebla-Tlaxcala, which led Palafox to obtain control over several parishes previously administered by the Mendicant orders, principally the Franciscans. These actions resulted in the construction of dozens of new parishes throughout the bishopric, both in the countryside and in the peripheral barrios of the city of Puebla. The feud between the diocesan clergy and the mendicant orders was directly related to the construction of an ambitious college-seminar complex in the heart of the city of Puebla; Palafox's most ambitious project after the construction and consecration of the city's cathedral. This college was intended to educate a small army of diocesan priests whom Palafox would deploy in order to replace the ranks of mendicant priests and friars who previously held a privileged standing in the eyes of the indigenous communities, as all the parishes Palafox took from them were in indigenous territories, including the urban parishes located in the city, which were also in largely indigenous neighborhoods.

When discussing the construction of the seminar complex, I take the opportunity to correlate that with a series of writings Palafox dedicated to the role of a bishop, and I prove how Palafox was to a very large degree inspired in his actions by the Council of Trent, which diligently ordered bishops to establish their power networks over mendicant orders, and to establish seminaries to educate diocesan priests. When discussing the making of the seminary I also discuss Palafox's alternate projects, such as the Palafoxiana Library, which he not only dedicated to the education of the priests in his seminary, but he also made it a public access institution, something quite out of the ordinary for the time. I finish the dissertation by discussing one of Palafox's most notable written works, *Virtudes del Indio*, dedicated to the indigenous condition. I argue that Palafox's vision of the role that the indigenous populations in Mexico were to play out, relative to the rest of viceregal society, was that of carrying out the functions of hard labor and servitude. Clearly, for Palafox, unlike the legendary Franciscan missionaries of the century

previous like friar Juan de Zumárraga, friar Bernardino de Sahagún, friar Gerónimo de Mendieta, and others, the indigenous cultures of the colony were of absolutely no interest. What mattered to Palafox was their condition of servile, obedient, and pious subjects, and made them, to his eyes, perfect as lowly laborers. I combine an analysis of his work on the indigenous condition with the fervor he expressed for an indigenous religious shrine in the outskirts of Puebla where the Archangel Saint Michael purportedly made an appearance, the shrine of San Miguel del Milagro, in present-day Tlaxcala. I recall the fascinating story of the apparition of the celestial envoy, who appeared to an indigenous young man and ordered him to carry out the construction of a shrine. The site would also benefit from having a spring of water that had healing qualities; further, as I explained in my analysis, this site is the product of a religiously hybrid nature, as it was already a religious site before the arrival of the Spaniards. The indigenous population, apparently, only replaced one deity with another. Of interest to me was the attention Palafox gave this place, sponsoring a series of architectural improvements to the site, and helping to ratify its status of holy to the eyes of the Church. I correlate this interest in an indigenous hybrid site to Palafox's interest to garner the religious loyalty of his large and ever expanding indigenous brethren. Palafox's extensive writings and architectural endeavors reveal how Puebla, a century after its foundation, managed to reinvent itself once again by reclaiming a heavenly connection. In the sixteenth century the city expressed its heavenly affiliation through symbols, (some of these expressed in material form, others in a mytho-poetical dimension), but with bishop Palafox, the affiliation to a heavenly status relied on a moral and social order that would perpetuate the city as a model for a Christian republic.

As a last note, I would like to clarify the usage of the term 'ideal' in this dissertation. Throughout my work, terms such as 'idealization', or 'ideal condition', will surface when discussing Puebla's symbolic, social, political, and material development during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In this context, the ideal condition that—I argue—characterized Puebla in the early modern era, is a term closely related to utopianism. However, I believe that the usage of the term 'utopia' is problematic due to its direct

affiliation to the writings by Thomas More, and to the scholarship that has evolved from that work. Its dichotomous etymology as 'the good place' and/or the 'no place', characteristic of More's work, only complicates the usage of the term. The word 'ideal' appeared to me as a better choice for various reasons. First, its direct lineage from the Latin 'idea', and from the almost synonymous Greek of 'idéā', and its connection to 'εἶδος', evidences how ideal is intimately linked to Platonic philosophy, so that when the discussion about symbols is taken up in the first part of the dissertation, relative to Puebla's urban form and mythological character that took shape during the sixteenth century, the use of the term ideal appears quite proper. When the discussion turns to eschatology and Puebla's persistent association to the Heavenly Jerusalem, the term ideal appeared quite proper to me given that the Heavenly Jerusalem as archetype, denotes the perfection, both material and spiritual, that many cities in the Christian tradition have longed to acquire. Whenever the discussion in the dissertation turns to eschatological thinking, i.e., the end of times and the Parousia, the ideal city, that is to say, the perfect city, is invoked. Also, as I will argue in Chapter 2, the mythification of Puebla and its identification as an ideal city was probably, to a certain degree, inspired by Augustinian doctrine, specifically its imagination of the Earthly and the Heavenly Cities, once again the term 'ideal', understood as a conception of what is desirable, or what ought to come to pass, fits my understanding of Puebla's aspirations as a city.

Finally, when the discussion turns to the seventeenth century and the aspirations of Bishop Juan de Palafox y Mendoza for his adopted city, I use the term the 'ideal Christian republic', to define these aspirations. In this case, as it is evident, once again the term ideal relates to that which is desired or how it ought to be.

PART I – *The Sixteenth Century*

1. THE URBAN ENTERPRISE IN NEW SPAIN

The date of the foundation of the city of Puebla de los Ángeles is today officially regarded to be April 16, 1531, although historically—as might be expected—the events and ideas that spawned its foundation extend back many centuries, and belong to a diverse set of cultural traditions that came together to form this urban experiment.[13] The city, however, was in principle created *ex nihilo*, meaning that it was one of very few cities planned, founded, and developed by Spaniards to be inhabited by Spaniards in a territory where no indigenous settlements existed at the time of foundation. In general terms, the urban enterprises of colonial Mexico were impressive; hundreds of towns were founded—some reconfigured from pre-Hispanic origins into veritable Spanish towns, while others were created completely anew. However, none of the cities founded in New Spain *ex novo* could lay claim to such a persuasive and persistent mythology as Puebla de los Ángeles.

Therefore, although the creation of Puebla was part of the history of Viceregal Mexico's urbanism as a whole, it also lays the groundwork for comprehending how *ex novo* cities emerged in the recently conquered territory of New Spain during the sixteenth century specifically, and finally, how Puebla de los Ángeles fits into the history of early modern urbanism in general.

The Spanish urban enterprise in the New World was an unprecedented phenomenon. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, hundreds of towns were founded in New Spain. This colonization and reconfiguration of new territory differs from other colonial enterprises in the early modern era—such as those of the English or the French

[13] The word *puebla* was a generic term commonly used during the sixteenth century and previously, to designate a newly founded town, or an attempt to populate a certain village or territory by means of attracting colonizers to settle down (it derives from the Latin *populus*). In the case of the city currently known as Puebla de los Ángeles, this term should have been dropped once the city was populated, in order to be identified henceforth merely as the city of Los Ángeles.

in North America—in that the Spanish colonization of New Spain propitiated a complex system of diverse ethnic relations which, in the long run, produced the *mestizo* nation that is Mexico today. It can be said that the system established in the territory of New Spain was based on the principle of segregation, which took the form of two different urban "republics".

On the one hand, there was the *república española* comprising those cities and towns that were to be inhabited by the Spanish conquerors and colonizers and were meant to be important administrative cities. Puebla de los Ángeles evidently fits into this category. On the other hand there was the *república indiana*, those cities which were meant to be inhabited solely by indigenous peoples. These were created or reordered by the Spanish; while allowing for a certain degree of indigenous autonomy, they in most matters adhered to the norms of strict Spanish rule.[14] The experience of the creation of the city of Puebla de los Ángeles will show that this segregated system did not last long because the interests of both groups did not allow for it to prevail. According to Pablo Escalante Gonzalbo and Antonio Rubial García, the reasons for the existence of two distinct republics were threefold:

1. Segregation allowed Indian communities to maintain a certain level of autonomy. This autonomy was allowed as the result of a pact made between the Spaniards and their indigenous allies during the war of conquest aimed against the Aztec nation. It allowed the preservation of some of the pre-Hispanic seignories that had sworn allegiance to the Spaniards during the war of conquest.
2. Segregation was intended to protect the indigenous population from extreme exploitation by Spanish colonizers.
3. The first groups of missionaries from the mendicant orders insisted that the native populations should not be contaminated by the vices of voracious Spanish conquerors and colonizers. Some factions among the missionaries believed—

[14] Pablo Escalante Gonzalbo and Antonio Rubial García, "Los pueblos, los conventos y la liturgia," in *Historia de la vida cotidiana en México: Mesoamérica y los ámbitos indígenas de la Nueva España*, Second Edition, vol. I (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2009), 367–372.

> during the sixteenth century at least—that the new Christian church would be more successful if the native populations did not have much contact with the Spaniards. This was the idealization of the primitive church that the mendicant friars hoped to recreate in the New World.[15]

THE *REPÚBLICA INDIANA*

The indigenous towns founded or reordered by the Spaniards can be divided into two kinds: *congregaciones* or *reducciones* on the one hand; and similar urban foundations called "missionary towns," on the other.[16]

Congregaciones, otherwise known as *reducciones*, particularly during the first half of the sixteenth century, was the official appelation of the *repúblicas indianas*. The origins of these urban units, as well as their conceptualization, date back to the beginning of the exploration and colonization of the American continent. Perhaps the earliest document to address the matter of *congregaciones* is an official decree issued in 1503 by the Spanish monarchs, Fernando and Isabel, in Alcalá de Henares, instructing the temporary governor or *comendador* of the Indies, Nicolás de Ovando, on how to "concentrate" the indigenous population that was dispersed in little villages:

> [E]s necesario que los indios se repartan en pueblos en que vivan juntamente. Y que los unos no estén ni anden apartados de los otros por los montes, y que tengan allí cada uno de ellos casa habitada con su mujer e hijos y heredades, en que labren y siembren y críen ganados. Y que en cada pueblo de los que se hiciere haya iglesia […] mandamos que el dicho nuestro gobernador tenga mucho cuidado de hacer que cada uno de los dichos indios tenga su casa apartada, en que moren con su mujer e hijos: para que vivan y estén según y de la manera que

[15] Escalante Gonzalbo and Rubial García, "Los pueblos, los conventos y la liturgia", 367–368.
[16] Bernd Hausberger, "La vida en el noroeste: Misiones jesuitas, pueblos y reales de minas," in *Historia de la vida cotidiana en México: Mesoamérica y los ámbitos indígenas de la Nueva España*, Second Edition, vol. I, V vols. (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2009).

tienen los vecinos de nuestros reinos.[17]

In New Spain, the activity of urban congregation was carried out in two major campaigns. The first one started as early as the 1530s in the central-western province of Michoacán with the foundation activity of bishop Vasco de Quiroga, and then gained significant momentum during the mid to latter half of the sixteenth century under the tenure of viceroy Antonio de Mendoza.[18] The second campaign took place in the late sixteenth century and continued on to the early seventeenth century. Viceroy Gabriel Zúñiga y Azevedo, count of Monterrey, was its main strategist.[19] During the first campaign, viceroy Mendoza was greatly supported by missionaries from the Franciscan order, having as allies the likes of Toribio de Benavente or *Motolinia*; Pedro de Gante; Juan de Tapia; Francisco del Toral; and Gerónimo de Mendieta. A disastrous epidemic from 1545-1548, however, turned viceroy Mendoza from supporter to detractor of the practice of congregating the indigenous population, and he even advised his successor, viceroy Luis de Velasco, to proceed with much caution: "Vuestra señoría excusará lo más que pudiere de hacer congregaciones y juntas [de indios] porque la experiencia muestra que no es tanto el provecho de lo bueno que se trata, cuanto el daño que se sigue de las materias y opiniones que en ellas se levantan."[20] The second campaign in the late sixteenth century, according to Francisco Luis Jiménez Abollado, was more precise, better planned, and successfully carried out. Additionally, it was backed by the Peruvian experience of congregating the indigenous populations during the period of 1569-1571, overseen by the Peruvian viceroy Francisco de Toledo.[21]

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[17] Francisco de Solano, *Cedulario de tierras: Compilación agraria colonial (1497-1820)*, Fuentes, textos y estudios legislativos 52 (Mexico City: Instituto de Investgaciones Jurídicas - UNAM, 1992), 109–111.
[18] Peter Gerhard, "Congregaciones de indios en la nueva España antes de 1570," *Historia Mexicana - El Colegio de México* 26, no. 3 (March 1977): 349–350.
[19] Francisco Luis Jiménez Abollado, "Sobre la conveniencia o no de establecer congregaciones de indios en los reales de minas," *Relaciones*, no. 133 (Winter 2013): 143.
[20] Quoted in: Gerhard, "Congregaciones de indios en la nueva España antes de 1570," 349.
[21] Jiménez Abollado, "Sobre la conveniencia o no de establecer congregaciones de indios en los reales de minas," 143.

In general terms, these urban-social projects devised by the Spanish forced the mobilization of the indigenous populations of New Spain, in some cases relocating settlements slightly, but often displacing them entirely to distant locations. There was a vast amount of—presumably unintended—consequences derived from this practise; forced relocations caused dramatic social and anthropological changes. By ordering the indigenous communities to congregate, the Spanish crown was attempting to instill in them the sense of *urbanitas*, of living in a "civilized" manner, opposed to their "barbarous" ways. However, this legislation was initially created for the population of the Caribbean, where there were almost no islands populated by more than one ethnic group. The consequences of imposing a legislation created for one particular site were unanticipated when applied to another. Thus, forcing the cohabitation of peoples of diverse ethnic and/or geographic origins propitiated a series of demographic, political, and social changes that impacted the landscapes and native populations of Mexico like nothing before. Other factors that reshaped the landscapes of New Spain were the introduction of new practices such as raising cattle, growing wheat and other hitherto unknown crops. Taking into account all of these issues, it is easier to imagine the deep impact that the urban practices imposed by the Spanish must have had on the realm of New Spain.[22]

Further, the process of creating a *congregación* consisted, from a legal standpoint, in the formal recognition of the need to found an indigenous village or town. A judge would point out the geographical characteristics of the site, such as the climate, the number of inhabitants, and the position of the new town relative to the neighboring towns. Then, an edict would be issued and communicated to the indigenous population affected, many of whom were living independently in the hills, completely scattered. At other times, these edicts affected existing villages, and the entire village was forced to move. The indigenous population then had no choice but to relocate, and the legal edict would be

[22] Andrew Sluyter, "Landscape Change and Livestock in Sixteenth-Century New Spain: The Archival Data Base," *Yearbook. Conference of Latin Americanist Geographers* 23 (January 1, 1997): 27–39; Richard Hunter, "Land Use Change in New Spain: A Three-Dimensional Historical GIS Analysis," *The Professional Geographer* 66, no. 2 (May 2, 2013): 260–73, doi:10.1080/00330124.2013.784951.

enforced by the Spanish authorities, to the point of threatening the natives with destroying their homes and crops if they did not concede.[23]

Spanish civil authorities would choose the site of relocation for the new towns based on European principles of urban planning relevant at the time. As already mentioned, native populations had the custom of inhabiting rural areas in small villages, usually scattered around larger towns and cities. This practice, however, was considered inadequate by the Spanish since many of the villages were located on hillsides or even atop hills or mountains; the Spaniards, in contrast, considered open valleys to be the ideal site for a city. In an open valley, wind currents would traverse the territory freely, and this was considered a healthy measure. Compounding the problem of resettlement, the Spaniards sometimes forced different ethnic groups to "congregate" in the same town. Another factor in the social impact of resettlement was that, as Escalante Gonzalbo and Rubial García point out, the high death count from European diseases depopulated many towns whose survivors were then congregated into new sites.[24]

The forced mobilization of the native populations responded to several influences. According to Guillermo Floris Margadant, the practice of forced congregation began in La Española, present-day Santo Domingo, in the Caribbean, at the dawn of the Spanish invasion and conquest of the New World. There, the first Spanish colonizers needed free indigenous labor to carry out their economic ventures and, seeing that the native peoples would scatter to the hills in order to escape subjugation, the colonizers responded by congregating them in villages, for greater control. This also simplified the work of conversion and evangelization for the mendicant orders.[25]

These newly founded or reestablished towns had several characteristics, the most

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[23] Rafael López Guzmán, *Territorio, poblamiento y arquitectura: México en las Relaciones Geográficas de Felipe II*, First Edition (Granada, Spain: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2007), 168–169.
[24] Escalante Gonzalbo and Rubial García, "Los pueblos, los conventos y la liturgia," 369–372.
[25] Guillermo Floris Margadant, "La política de congregación de indios en su etapa más áspera (1598-1605)," in *Estudios en honor del doctor Luis Recaséns Siches*, First Edition (Mexico City: Instituto de Investgaciones Jurídicas - UNAM, 1980), 630–631.

outstanding one being the orthogonal layout or grid whose four directions originated at the main square. At this square, the religious and civic authorities established their dominion, represented by the church building and the city hall, respectively.[26]

Missionary towns differed slightly from another type of urban experiment called *doctrinas,* in that they constituted a more aggressive form of urbanization and acculturation to deal with the native inhabitants of the northern realms of New Spain. These peoples, who were still unconquered—and still completely unexplored as late as the first half of the seventeenth century—were historically labeled *chichimecas*, and were characterized by the Aztecs and other peoples of the center of Mexico as semi-nomadic, wild, and fearsome warriors.

The *doctrinas* were carried out mostly in the central parts of New Spain, with indigenous groups that were—at least compared to the *chichimecas* of the northern realms—easier to congregate. The *chichimecas,* on the other hand, were not. Hausberger has chronicled how *doctrinas* were founded in the Northwestern parts of New Spain—present-day Northwestern Mexico, and Southwestern United States. There, missionaries of the Franciscan order, and later of the Society of Jesus, began to forcefully congregate the native populations into newly founded towns. The *chichimeca* territories, however, were not fully converted, acculturated, or subdued until the late eighteenth century.[27]

To understand congregational experiments, however, one should examine the case of Vasco de Quiroga in the territory of Michoacán, the present-day state of the same name in Central Western Mexico. Don Vasco de Quiroga (c.1470-1565), a native of Galicia in northern Spain, was the first bishop of Michoacán. He arrived in New Spain as an *oidor* (judge) of the second *Audiencia,* the improvised council assembled by the king of Spain at the request of the Council of the Indies, to oversee matters of government in New Spain. What prompted the creation of this governing body was the social and political situation in New Spain following the war of conquest. The newly conquered territories

[26] Escalante Gonzalbo and Rubial García, "Los pueblos, los conventos y la liturgia," 369.
[27] Hausberger, "La vida en el noroeste: Misiones jesuitas, pueblos y reales de minas."

were apparently in near chaos. By 1530, the situation was so unstable that the *Audiencia* was called into action to reinstate order in the territory.[28]

This instability was due mostly to the greedy and rapacious attitude of the conquerors, who were pillaging, killing, and enslaving the native populations of many territories, including Michoacán, and dividing up any potentially profitable land. The continued abuses—which included enslavement, forced appropriation of native lands, outright violence committed against the indigenous communities, not to mention the contagious diseases (smallpox, typhus, flu, etc.) inadvertently spread by the conquerors that were decimating the native peoples—had driven the latter to rebel in many places of New Spain. This in turn led the Spanish crown to fear not only that the indigenous populations would be annihilated due to disease and violent treatment by the Spanish, which had been the case in the Caribbean in years prior, but also that the conquerors would establish fiefdoms far away from the Spanish crown's watch.

However, the first *Audiencia* (which ruled New Spain from 1527 to 1531), as well as the hopes for political and social stability, had been mostly a failure. Most authors, such as Robert Ricard and Joaquín García Icazbalceta, attribute the failure essentially to the man appointed as president of this council, the Spanish conqueror Beltrán Nuño de Guzmán (ca. 1490 – 1558). [29] Guzmán has been described as a violent, greedy, abusive figure who quickly accumulated an assortment of enemies, and eventually began to lose control of the *Audiencia* by the end of 1529.[30] His most notable enemy was none other than the

[28] Bernardino Verástique, *Michoacán and Eden: Vasco de Quiroga and the Evangelization of Western Mexico* (University of Texas Press, 2000), 86.
[29] For a full account of the quarrel between Nuño de Guzmán and Zumárraga, see Chapters V through IX of Joaquín García Icazbalceta, *Don Fray Juan de Zumárraga, primer Obispo y Arzobispo de México : estudio biográfico y bibliográfico* (Mexico City: Antigua Librería de Andrade y Morales, 1881); Robert Ricard, *La conquista espiritual de México: Ensayo sobre el apostolado y los métodos misioneros de las órdenes mendicantes en la Nueva España de 1523-1524 A 1572* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1986), 376–384.
[30] Joaquín García Icazbalceta, *Don Fray Juan de Zumárraga : primer obispo y arzobispo de México / Joaquín García Icazbalceta ; edición de Rafael Aguayo Spencer y Antonio Castro Leal.* (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1988), 91.

first bishop of Mexico, Friar Juan de Zumárraga.[31] Because of the abuse committed by Guzmán and his cronies against the natives, the Franciscan order of New Spain, together with its most prominent leader, Friar Zumárraga, who also happened to be appointed Bishop of Mexico, championed an open enmity against the members of the *Audiencia*, and particularly against Guzmán. This eventually triggered his dismissal by the Spanish authorities.

A second *Audiencia* was then assembled; it oversaw New Spain's civil government from January 10, 1531 to April 16, 1535, until the appointment and arrival of the first viceroy of New Spain, don Antonio de Mendoza.[32] One of the four judges or *oidores* appointed to this council was Vasco de Quiroga. He had received a *licenciatura* in canon law in his native Spain, and had previously occupied various posts for the crown, serving as a judge in Spanish-occupied Oran (present-day Algeria). Quiroga was what at the time was called a *letrado*, a university-educated official at the crown's service. Having been appointed a member of the *Audiencia,* Quiroga traveled to New Spain sometime around the year 1530. He was sent to Michoacán due to the various reports of native uprisings, and also due to the reports of abuse committed by Spanish *encomenderos* against the Indians. He made the trip from Mexico City to Michoacán sometime in June of 1532.[33]

It is important to note that Quiroga's interest in *congregaciones* and in social experiments did not begin with his official trip to Michoacán. As a matter of fact, before traveling there, he had already begun his first social experiment on the outskirts of Mexico City. Naming the place Santa Fe, Quiroga founded there, with his own money, what he termed a *hospital-pueblo*, a community with a very clear and imposed social order based on the ideas of Thomas More's *Utopia,* as Quiroga himself wrote in his longest extant piece of writing. This piece, entitled *Informacion en Derecho*, written in 1535, presented his ideas regarding the foundation of *congregaciones*:

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[31] Ibid., 38–45.

[32] Lesley Byrd Simpson, *The Encomienda in New Spain: The Beginning of Spanish Mexico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1950), 84–85.

[33] Verástique, *Michoacán and Eden: Vasco de Quiroga and the Evangelization of Western Mexico*, 125.

> Por el mesmo Tomás Morus, auctor de aqueste muy buen estado de república, en este preámbulo, trato y razonamiento que sobre ella hizo como en manera de diálogo, donde su intención paresce que haya sido proponer, alegar, fundar y probar por razones las causas porque sentía por muy fácil, útil, probable y nescesaria la tal república entre una gente tal que fuese de la cualidad de aquesta natural deste Nuevo Mundo, que en hecho de verdad es cuasi en todo y por todo como él allí sin haberlo visto la pone, pinta y describe, en tanta manera, que me hace muchas veces admirar, porque me parece que fué como por revelación de Espíritu Santo para la orden que convendría y sería nescesario que se diese en esta Nueva España y Nuevo Mundo, segúnd paresce como que le revelearon toda la disposición, sitio, y manera y condición y secretos de esta tierra y naturales della.[34]

Quiroga's congregational experiments were important for many reasons, but if the relevance of the *hospitales-pueblos* had to be encapsulated in one idea, it would be that they strived to bring the meaning of the ancient European concept of the *polis* to the New World. Quiroga presents the idea that a Golden Age may well be inaugurated in the New World, inspired by the Roman author Lucian and his *Saturnalia*.[35] Quiroga initially attempted to establish a link between the mythical Golden Age of Roman mythology and the New World as a judicial argument against slavery in New Spain. As Quiroga saw it, there was no slavery among the indigenous peoples of New Spain and, just as in ancient Classical times, what existed instead was an organized system of servitude, one that did not threaten the natural liberty of the subject.[36] In the *Información en Derecho*, Quiroga vastly expanded on his views regarding the innocence of the indigenous peoples of New Spain and firmly believed that the paradise lost to Christian Europe was there to be recuperated in the New World. However, it is also true that his opinion of the indigenous peoples was quite paternalistic. He believed that the natives were in a state of semi-barbarism and therefore in ample need of the benefits of civilization, which were to be provided for their own good. Thus, civilization would

[34] Vasco de Quiroga, *Don Vasco de Quiroga: Pensamiento Jurídico. Antología*, ed. Rafael Aguayo Spencer (Mexico City: Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas - UNAM, Editorial Porrúa, 1986), 208.

[35] Quiroga, *Don Vasco de Quiroga: Pensamiento Jurídico. Antología*, 197.

[36] Ibid., 192.

reach them through the concept of the *polis*, which Quiroga was willing to deliver in the form of his idealized *hospitales-pueblos*.

It is important to note that Quiroga was by no means the first European to uphold the ideal of bringing *urbanitas* and *civilitas* to the New World. The orders given to Ovando in 1503 to congregate the natives of La Española, could perhaps be counted as the first attempt to do so; however, it is also true that Quiroga's congregations were by far the most articulated and ambitious, consisting in many *hospitales-pueblos* in the province of Michoacán. His experiments are also relevant for their precepts concerning social or communal living, which had been laid by, among other sources, the writings of Thomas More.

THE *REPÚBLICA ESPAÑOLA*

The first significant and complex urban project that the Spaniards carried out in the recently conquered territories of New Spain was the foundation of the City of Mexico in 1524, following the fall of the Aztec capital, Tenochtitlan. The case is paradoxical in terms of urbanism because the layout of the Aztec capital was modified by Alonso García Bravo, a master *alarife* under Hernán Cortés.[37] Originally, Tenochtitlan enjoyed a rectilineal layout that, without being a veritable grid, embodied a clear, regulated urban order. In the words of Cortés himself:

> Es tan grande la ciudad como Sevilla y Córdoba. Son las calles de ella, digo las principales, muy anchas y muy derechas, y algunas de éstas y todas las demás son la mitad de tierra y por la otra mitad es agua, por lo cual andan en canoas, y todas las calles de trecho a trecho están abiertas por donde atraviesa el agua de las unas a las otras, y en todas estas aberturas, que

[37] *Alarife* is a word whose etymological origin lay in the Arabic *al-Alarif*, and was used in Colonial Mexico to designate a person whose characteristics were a combination of master builder, Civitas Angelorumtopographer, land-surveyor, and even urbanist.

> algunas son muy anchas hay sus puentes de muy anchas y muy grandes vigas, juntas y recias y bien labradas.[38]

García Bravo's main innovation was to incorporate a central plaza or square—which continues to be the symbolic heart of the city today. García Bravo established a grid, taking as axes the two main pre-Hispanic avenues which were aligned with the cardinal points: the Tacuba causeway, running East-West; and the Tepeyac-Iztapalapa causeway, running South-North. The Spanish-born academic and writer Francisco Cervantes de Salazar, who emigrated to New Spain in 1551 in order to occupy a chair in the Royal and Pontifical University of Mexico (which opened in 1553), wrote an illuminating description of his adopted city in 1554 in the form of a dialogue. In it, a Spanish visitor to Mexico City, identified only by the surname Alfaro, is given a tour of the city by two characters, Zuazo and Zamora, a pair of Spaniards who have presumably lived in the city for a longer time. Certain excerpts of Cervantes' dialogue can provide an approximate idea of Mexico's City orthogonal and precise urban configuration:

> ZUAZO: Cui insistemus viae?
>
> ZAMORA: Tacubensi quae & celebrior est & recta nos in forum perducet.
>
> ALFARO: Quam exhilarat animum, & visum recifit, viae huius conspectus. Quam & extensa, et ampla, quam recta, quanta eius planicie, & ne hyberno tempore lutescat & obscena fit, tota lapidibus strata: per cuius medium, quod etiam facit ad eius ornatum, & civium utilitatem: intra suum canalem, aperta ut magis delectet, aqua decurrit.[39]

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[38] Hernán Cortés, *Cartas de Relación* (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1998), 75.

[39] Francisco Cervantes de Salazar, *México en 1554: Tres diálogos latinos de Francisco Cervantes de Salazar*, ed. Miguel León-Portilla and Joaquín García Icazbalceta, First Edition (Mexico City: Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas - UNAM, 2001), LI–LII, http://www.historicas.unam.mx/publicaciones/publicadigital/libros/mexico1554/mex1554.html.

When the characters arrive at the main square, popularly known nowadays as the zócalo, their comments revolve around its great dimensions, highlighting the idea that the square is of proportions unknown in Europe:

> ZUAZO: Iam adest forum, attentus queso intuere, num aliud amplitudine & magestate par huic, aliquando videris.
>
> ALFARO: Equidem quod meminerim, nullum. Nec censeo, in utroque orbe aequale inveniri posse. Bone Deus quam & planum & capax est, quam hilare, quam undique ambiemtibus superbis & magnificis edificiis illustratum, que descriptio, que facies, qui positus & fitus, revera si porticus ille, quar nunc contra nos sunt, e medio tolerantur, integrum exercitum capere potuisset.[40]

All three protagonists contemplate the buildings that line the *zócalo*, and an interesting comment is made by Zuazo concerning the architecture of the viceregal palace. The following dialogue ensues:

> ZAMORA: Hec est regalis aulae facies & tertium eius membrum.
> ALFARO: Etiam si non praedixiesses, id fatis superquetestantur, superiora illa de ambulacra tam multis & magnis columnis speciosa: regiam quandam magestatem praeseferentia.
> ZUAZO: Teretes sunt columnae, nam quadrangulas, & inhistratas, & medianas, non perinde commendat Vitruvi.
> ALFARO: Quam convenit in ipsis cum longitudine crastitudo.
> ZUAZO: Epystilia vide quam sint arte fabricata.[41]

In Cervantes's dialogue, Zuazo makes a reference to the first century BCE Roman architect Marcus Vitruvius Pollio. This is worthy of attention because many scholars

[40] Ibid., LVI.
[41] Ibid., LVII.

allude to the knowledge and understanding the Spaniards had of the most important European architectural treatises available in the sixteenth century, and to the role they played in the configuration of the newly founded cities of New Spain; but few primary sources confirm their actual influence. Nevertheless, Cervantes de Salazar's chronicle written in mid-sixteenth century Mexico City confirms the clear disposition of Spanish authorities toward a carefully planned urban enterprise, one that would have relied not only on empirical experience, but also on academic sources, such as architectural treatises. The two most important of the treatises which influenced architectural and urban practices in Spain throughout the Renaissance were *De architectura libri decem*, by Vitruvius, and *De re aedificatoria*, by Leon Battista Alberti. *De architectura libri decem* carries the importance of being the single most complete and protracted text from classical antiquity fully devoted to architecture. This fact in itself greatly influenced the development of European architecture, as well as its theoretical corpus, during the early modern period and onward. As Indra McEwen has written: "Vitruvius's authoritative voice from the past both raised for the first time and defined for all time what the important issues in architecture were, laying down essential terms of reference not only for architects and their patrons but for all educated people."[42]

ARCHITECTURAL TREATISES AND THE IDEALIZATION OF THE CITY IN SIXTEENTH CENTURY VICEREGAL MEXICO

It is estimated that Vitruvius wrote *De architectura libri decem* sometime between 33-14 BCE, during the reign of Emperor Augustus.[43] It is generally believed that Vitruvius remained marginally influential during the Middle Ages, and that his text went practically unnoticed for centuries until the advent of the early modern period.[44] However, Vitruvius does show up during the medieval period in certain interesting places; for

[42] Kendra Kagis McEwen, *Vitruvius: Writing the Body of Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002), 2.

[43] McEwen, *Vitruvius: Writing the Body of Architecture,* 1.

[44] Bernd Evers, Christof Thoenes, and et.al., *Architectural Theory: From the Renaissance to the Present* (Cologne: Taschen, 2003), 6.

instance, the tenth-century *Codex Sélestat* included some drawings that illustrate classical architectural orders. This same book also contained a transcription from the Roman architect's treatise relative to the human body.[45] The indirect apparition of Vitruvius in an important medieval work, the *Liber divinorum operum simplicis hominis*, should also be noted. This work, dating from the early thirteenth century by the German mystic, saint, and author, Hildegard von Bingen, included an illustration that preceded the famous "Vitruvian man" by Leonardo Da Vinci, and makes a clear reference to the sections of *De architectura* devoted to the human anatomy.[46] With the arrival of the Renaissance, there is a general agreement that Vitruvius exerted a great influence in both the architectural and the urban spheres of practice. There is a consensus that the treatise became famous with the rediscovery of a 1414 manuscript—generally known as *Harleianus*—of Vitruvius' *De architectura*, which was found in the monastery of St. Gall by the humanist Poggio Bracciolini. The discovery of this manuscript and the advent and rise in popularity of the printing press led to the wide dissemination of Vitruvius in the Italian Renaissance and later in the rest of Europe.[47] Thus, from the Renaissance onward, Vitruvius's work becomes canonical to the architectural discipline; this was because, as Joseph Rykwert has argued, the great virtue of Vitruvius was to collect architectural knowledge from Asia Minor and Greece, codifying the theories on building and the architectural practices of the four centuries that preceded the Roman architect.[48] Renaissance humanists understood this quite well, and although at times they questioned Vitruvius's failure to discuss the engineering and construction feats of the Roman Empire, they understood that his work was still the best written testimony to the sphere of architectural understanding regarding Classical architecture and urbanism. [49]

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[45] Hanno-Walter Kruft, *A History of Architectural Theory: From Vitruvius to the Present*, trans. Taylor, R.; Callander, E.; Wood, A. (New York City: Zwemmer - Princeton Architectural Press, 1994), 31.

[46] Kruft, *A History of Architectural Theory: From Vitruvius to the Present* 35.

[47] McEwen, *Vitruvius: Writing the Body of Architecture*, 1–2.

[48] Joseph Rykwert, "Introduction," in *De Re Aedificatoria, On the Art of Building in Ten Books, by Leon Battista Alberti* (Cambridge, Ma.: MIT Press, 1988), ix.

[49] Rykwert affirms that the Roman architect never had the intention of praising or documenting the Roman Empire's structural accomplishments, but rather intended to collect the extant knowledge pertaining to the architectural tradition of the past, specifically that of the late

Vitruvius dedicates the four latter chapters of Book I to urbanism: the choice of healthy sites for cities is the essence of chapter IV; the subject of city walls is analyzed in chapter V; winds and city planning in chapter VI; and the appropriate sites for public buildings and temples in chapter VII. The rest of the treatise deals with several typologies of buildings, the science of constructing these different building types, and analyses of the elements used to build them. However, one can argue that the subject of urbanism is pervasive throughout the treatise, since all the typologies of buildings discussed, as well as most other subjects discussed in the treatise, are relevant to the practice of European urbanism.

The case of Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472) and his treatise *De re aedificatoria* differs widely from that of Vitruvius. First off, Alberti wrote his treatise during the middle of the fifteenth century, roughly fifteen hundred years after Vitruvius' own magnum opus, making it the second treatise entirely devoted to architecture ever written. Furthermore, Alberti based his treatise on the text by the Roman architect, and divided his book into ten chapters, in a clear reference to Vitruvius; the very title was but an homage to the Roman.[50] While Vitruvius wrote to record a passing epoch, Alberti wrote to inaugurate a new one. To paraphrase Alberti's modern editor Joseph Rykwert, Alberti wrote his treatise to prescribe how the architecture of the future would be. It needs to be understood that during Alberti's lifetime the buildings—mostly in ruins—that remained from classical antiquity in Italy represented a series of enigmas to Renaissance Italians. The techniques, meanings, and organizations that went into their construction were enshrouded in mysteries belonging to the ancients. Alberti writes to reestablish the prestige of the architectural profession, and he sets out to establish the

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Hellenistic tradition. See: Joseph Rykwert, "Introduction", in *De Re Aedificatoria, On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, by Leon Battista Alberti, (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press), ix-xxi. See also: Leon Battista Alberti, *De Re Aedificatoria, On the Art of Building in Ten Books. With an Introduction by Joseph Rykwert*, trans. Joseph Rykwert, Neil Leach, and Robert Tavernor (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991), ix; Harry Francis Mallgrave, *Architectural Theory: Volume I - An Anthology from Vitruvius to 1870* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006), 4.

[50] Rykwert, "Introduction," ix.

foundations of a new architectural era by analyzing the ruins of the ancient one.[51]

Although Leon Battista Alberti did not address the city in a direct manner, his *De re aedificatoria* is abundant in ideas regarding the urban world: the city's institutions, its buildings, its public spaces and its monuments are all present or can easily be construed. Alberti explains: "Everyone relies on the city and all the public services that it contains. If we have concluded rightly, from what the philosophers say, that cities owe their origin and their existence to their enabling their inhabitants to enjoy a peaceful life, as free from any inconvenience or harm as possible, then surely the most thorough consideration should be given to the city's layout, site, and outline."[52]

Alberti never discusses a specific city, nor does he reveal the model or design of an ideal city whatsoever. In this manner, Alberti stands far removed from other architects such as Antonio di Pietro Averlino, *Filarete*, who used *Sforzinda* (first half of the fifteenth-century), to illustrate his ideas regarding an ideal urban model. However, the conception of the city in *De re aedificatoria* is addressed in an indirect manner, in discussions regarding building types, building uses, and public space. Alberti's treatise is better understood as a work that addresses the art of construction as a totality, rather than as a series of subjects. This might help clarify the reason why Alberti does not dedicate a book to the city *per se*.

Furthermore, pursuing the idea that Alberti drew a certain amount of inspiration from Vitruvius's treatise, we can establish that Books One through Three address the Vitruvian category of *firmitas*, the art of construction, its materials and techniques. Books IV and V address the category of *utilitas*, and here Alberti classifies and discusses the various types of buildings, dividing them into two broad categories: private and public. Books VI through IX are dedicated to the third Vitruvian category, *venustas* or ornamentation. Ornamentation is discussed in general terms in book VI;

[51] Alberti, *De Re Aedificatoria, On the Art of Building in Ten Books. With an Introduction by Joseph Rykwert*, x.

[52] Alberti, *De Re Aedificatoria, On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, 95.

ornament in sacred buildings in book VII; ornament in public secular buildings in book VIII; and ornament in private buildings in book IX. Book X is dedicated to the conservation and restoration of buildings, and there is also a section dedicated to water. There are thus issues pertaining to the city throughout the whole treatise, since the arts of construction in one way or another deal with the city indirectly.

Like Vitruvius's treatise, *De re aedificatoria* was quite influential in Spain in the sixteenth century, as Javier Rivera has documented.[53] Copies of the treatise were present in the personal libraries of some of the most influential Spanish figures of the era: King Philip II, Juan Bautista Villalpando, and Juan de Herrera, are some of the personalities that owned a copy. Additionally, according to Rivera, the royal library at the Escorial palace owned two editions. The sixteenth century Spanish architect Diego de Sagredo's famed architectural treatise, the first one to be written in Spanish, *Medidas del Romano*, was directly inspired by Alberti's and Vitruvius' works.[54] Another famous reader of Alberti was Antonio de Mendoza, first viceroy of New Spain, famous for his long-lasting effect on colonial rule and administration. Mendoza was a prominent builder of hospitals and schools, and quite literate. A 1512 Latin edition of Alberti's treatise published in Paris was found in his personal library.[55]

Alberti's treatise therefore makes manifest many ideas concerning the urban culture of the Italian Renaissance to which Spaniards were not oblivious in their colonization practices. The *Ordenanzas de Descubrimiento, Población y Pacificación de las Indias*, a set of rules and regulations decreed by Philip II in 1573, took into account not only eighty years of urban experimentation in the New World, but also the theoretical ideas of architectural treatises such as those by Alberti and Vitruvius.[56]

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[53] Javier Rivera, "Prólogo," in *De Re Aedificatoria, de Leon Battista Alberti, traducción del Latín por Javier Fresnillo Núñez* (Madrid: Akal Ediciones, 2007), 45–54.
[54] Rivera, "Prólogo."
[55] Guillermo Tovar De Teresa, Miguel León Portilla, and Silvio Arturo Zavala, *La utopía mexicana del siglo XVI: Lo bello, lo verdadero y lo bueno* (Grupo Azabache, 1992), 19.
[56] José Miguel Morales Folguera, *La construcción de la Utopía: El proyecto de Felipe II (1556-1598) para Hispanoamérica* (Madrid: Universidad de Málaga, 2001), 31–41.

Another notable illustration of the *república española* is the city of Valladolid (present-day Morelia, in central-Western Mexico), which was officially founded on May 18, 1541. This event was shaped by the tenure of the first viceroy of New Spain, don Antonio de Mendoza, whose administration is quite illuminating when it comes to the theoretical sources that influenced the creation of cities in New Spain. Born in 1495 in Jaén, Spain, and deceased in 1552 in Lima, Peru, Mendoza was named viceroy of New Spain in 1535 and governed the territory for fifteen years. His administration was characterized by the betterment of cultural institutions in a territory that had just been through a devastating and bloody war of conquest. He championed the creation of the Royal and Pontifical University of Mexico City, which opened in 1553, two years after his appointment as viceroy ended. He introduced the printing press to New Spain, and it appears he was quite concerned with the advancement of academic architectural and urbanistic culture.

As mentioned earlier, the viceroy owned a copy of Alberti's *De re aedificatoria*, printed in 1512 in Paris, with annotations in his own hand.[57] His concern for carefully planned urban foundations is exemplified in an edict dating from 1543, relative to the creation of the city of Valladolid:

> [H]a sido forzoso dar asiento a los españoles de aquella Provincia, porque todos andaban derramados e que ellos os mostraron un sitio para poblar seis leguas de la dicha Ciudad que habiéndole paseado y andado todo particularmente, os pareció muy bien porque concurren en él todas las buenas cosas que son necesarias para un pueblo, así de tierras baldías, de regadías, como de pastos y fuentes y río y madera y piedra y cal y experiencia de ser muy sano y que se dan buenas viñas y trigo y morales.[58]

From this quotation, the conditions that Mendoza desired for a new city can easily be inferred, and they follow the prescriptions and advice that Alberti provides in *De re*

[57] Teresa, Portilla, and Zavala, *La utopía mexicana del siglo XVI*.
[58] Quoted in: López Guzmán, *Territorio, poblamiento y arquitectura: México en las Relaciones Geográficas de Felipe II*, 165.

aedificatoria: "[C]ities owe their origin and their existence to their enabling their inhabitants to enjoy a peaceful life, as free from any inconvenience or harm as possible, then surely the most thorough consideration should be given to the city's layout, site, and outline."[59] Mendoza also seems to have taking into consideration the future sustenance that future inhabitants could obtain from the cultivation and fruitfulness of the land, the healthy conditions of the site in general, and guaranteed access to water. Alberti's advice was of a similar nature:

> And so the foremost authors of antiquity, who recorded other people's views and their own ideas on the subject, considered the ideal location for a city to be one that provided for all its requirements from its own territory and would not need to import anything, as far as human needs could be calculated and circumstances would allow.
>
> These therefore are the requirements we have laid down for our city: it should suffer from none of the disadvantages outlined in the first book; nothing required for economy should be lacking; its territory should be healthy, extensive, and varied in its terrain; it should be agreeable, fertile, naturally fortified, well stocked and furnished with plentiful fruit and abundant springs. There should be rivers, lakes, and convenient access to the sea to allow for importation of goods in short supply and the exportation of any surplus.[60]

The Augustinian Diego de Basalenque's history of Michoacán and of the missionary work carried out by his order in those territories, published in 1673, chronicles the foundation of the city of Valladolid. It narrates the way in which Mendoza himself allegedly chose the site and it claims that the site fulfilled the "seven qualities" that a city should possess, according to Plato:

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[59] Alberti, *De Re Aedificatoria, On the Art of Building in Ten Books. With an Introduction by Joseph Rykwert*, 95.
[60] Alberti, *De Re Aedificatoria, On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, 96.

Lo primero [Mendoza] alegróse del puesto, porque sin falta es muy lindo. En él se hallan las siete condiciones, que Platon dixo avia de tener vna Ciudad. Lindo puesto, y fuerte para los edificios, y que nunca le inunden las muchas aguas. El puesto en vna loma, adonde por todas partes se sube, de modo que los edificios están seguros como lo están los que oy ay, con ser tan lindos; y aunque los dos rios que la ciñen, salgan de madre, no pueden hazer daño á las casas, porque es tan seco, que aviendo tantas casas bajas, no se siente humedad en las habitaciones. Lo segundo que pedia Platon, era que estuviesse descombrada de montes y sierras para que el Sol la bañe, luego que nasca, y los ayres la purifican de las inmundicias de la tierra. Tiene dos rios, que es tercera calidad, para la buena Ciudad, y de tanto provecho, que pueden entrar, como entra el vno por la Ciudad, y puede en sus haldas y bajíos tener lindas huertas. Tiene assimismo quarta calidad, mucha leña, pues á dos leguas tiene montes inagotables para Ciudades muy grandes. Tiene assimismo abundancia de pan, quinta calidad, pues tiene á ocho leguas en contorno muchos valles para mayz y para trigos de riego. Tiene abundancia de pescado y carne, sexta calidad, pues toda la Provincia está llena de Estancias de todos ganados mayores y menores, y de aquí se provee gran parte de la Nueva-España. Pues el pescado, si ay curiosidad, siempre se puede comer fresco, y de muchos géneros, que por eso se llama Michoacan tierra de pescado. Pues el regalo de sus frutas, no se yo que aya Ciudad que le sobrepuje en tantas, y tan vezinas. No entran es esta quento los regalos de dulce, que de estos no se acordó Platon, los quales se añaden por la cercanía de los Yngenios, y Trapiches, y su lindo temple, que ni es caliente ni frio, sino vna medianía muy suave, y saludable á los cuerpos humanos. Solo le falta la septima condicion, que es occasion de comerlos, porque ni es puerto de mar ni tiene minas, ni tiene beneficio en que los naturales se entretengan, si bien que algunos puede tner, que la necesidad, y el aumento de la gente lo platicará. Viendo pues tan buenas y

lindas calidades, se determinó a hazer aquí vna Ciudad. [61]

Although Basalenque does not cite Plato, he appears to follow the dialogue *Critias*, which describes the setting of Atlantis:

> Towards the sea and in the centre of the island there was a very fair and fertile plain, and near the centre, about fifty stadia from the plain, there was a low mountain in which dwelt a man named Evenor and his wife Leucippe, and their daughter Cleito, of whom Poseidon became enamoured. […] To the interior island he [Poseidon] conveyed under the earth springs of water hot and cold, and supplied the land with all things needed for the life of man. […] Now Atlas had a fair posterity, and great treasures derived from mines [...] and there was abundance of wood, and herds of elephants, and pastures for animals of all kinds, and fragrant herbs, and grasses, and trees bearing fruit. These they used, and employed themselves in constructing their temples, and palaces, and harbours, and docks.[62]

But what would motivate a judge-turned-bishop like Vasco de Quiroga, an Augustinian missionary such as Friar Diego de Basalenque, or the first viceroy of New Spain to search for learned justifications for their urban enterprises in the New World? Why did they draw inspiration from Thomas More's Utopia, or from Lucian's description of the Golden Age, and wish to recreate it in New Spain? Why quote Plato's supposed requirements for the ideal city? Or why study Alberti's *De re aedificatoria* and then try to generate, reproduce, or transliterate European urban and architectural ideals in the American continent, as in the case of Mendoza?

The answers, I believe, are tied to what Eduardo Subirats called "the logic of colonization". In *El continente vacío* (1994), Subirats weaves together a historical-

[61] Diego Basalenque, *Historia de la provincia de San Nicolás de Tolentino de Michoacán, del orden de N. P. S. Augustín* (Mexico City: Tip. Barbadillo y Comp., 1886), 198–200, http://cdigital.dgb.uanl.mx/la/1080027706/1080027706.html.

[62] Plato, *Critias*, trans. Benjamin Jowett, Electronic Classics Series (Pennsylvania State University, 2002), 6.

philosophical account of the various cultural traditions that contributed to the complex phenomenon of colonization in Spanish America. The clashing of two distinct and opposing worldviews, the slow process of discovery, exploration, violence, subjugation, and finally acculturation—or *pacificación*, as the Spaniards called it—all factored into the complex unfolding of the process of colonization and hybridization.[63] However, it is important to note, as Subirats reflects, that the Catholic Church and its institutionalized theological foundations were responsible for defining the right and duty of the Spanish crown to colonize the invaded territories: "Sólo la teología Cristiana puede conceder los títulos legítimos del emperador".[64] In May 1493, Pope Alexander VI granted to the king and queen of Castile the right to evangelize the savages of the New World, and specified the terms by which they should do so:

> Alexander, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to the illustrious sovereigns, our very dear son in Christ, Ferdinand, king, and our very dear daughter in Christ, Isabella, queen of Castile: We have indeed learned that you, who for a long time had intended to seek out and discover certain islands and mainlands remote and unknown and not hitherto discovered by others, to the end that you might bring to the worship of our Redeemer and the profession of the Catholic faith their residents and inhabitants.[65]

According to Subirats, through a complex series of transitions and exchanges the "imperial, Christian, discovery of the New World" is eventually transformed into a "reformulation of Christian Humanism in the terms of a revised universalism in salvationist terms; and the modern interpretation, or rather, the reinterpretation of the

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[63] Eduardo Subirats, *El continente vacío: la conquista del Nuevo Mundo y la conciencia moderna* (Mexico, D.F.: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1994), 58. Subirats affirms that, beginning in 1573, the Spanish crown stopped using the word "conquista", and replaced it officially for the word "pacificación", a word that semantically, writes Subirats, rationalized the forced subjugation of the indigenous cultures in favor of Spanish rule and culture.

[64] Subirats, *El continente vacío: la conquista del Nuevo Mundo y la conciencia moderna*, 55.

[65] The Papal bull *Inter Caetera*, Alexander VI, May 4, 1493. Available online: http://www.let.rug.nl/usa/documents/before-1600/the-papal-bull-inter-caetera-alexander-vimay-4-1493.php. Accessed: March, 2014.

'discovery' under the auspices of a techno-scientific rationality (a pragmatic science), as it was formulated by the critical philosophy of Bacon."[66]

Viceroy Mendoza, Vasco de Quiroga, and even Diego de Basalenque were touched and influenced by this "revised Humanism," which, as Paul Oskar Kristeller explains, was concerned "with the study and imitation of classical antiquity … [and] found its expression in scholarship and education and in many other areas, including the arts and sciences."[67] From this perspective, learned high-ranking officials attempted to justify and rationalize the process of colonization. Whereas the papal bull from 1493 formulated a simplistic, unilateral, and immediate justification for colonization that negated the voice and perspective of the native inhabitants of the American continent, Humanist intellectuals at work both in the Indies and in Spain—represented by the likes of Vasco de Quiroga, Antonio de Mendoza, Friar Juan de Zumárraga, Friar Bartolomé de Las Casas, and many others—eventually came to redefine the colonization process. In this pragmatic rationalization, the urban and architectural enterprise came to occupy a central position.

[66] Subirats, *El continente vacío: la conquista del Nuevo Mundo y la conciencia moderna*, 55. (Translation by the author).
[67] Paul Oskar Kristeller, "Humanism," in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 113.

2. ESCHATOLOGY AND APOCALYPTICISM IN NEW SPAIN

Great is the Lord and greatly to be praised
in the city of our God.
His holy mountain, beautiful in elevation,
Is the joy of all the earth.
Psalm 48

In 1552, the personal chaplain of Hernán Cortés, a priest named Francisco López de Gómara (c.1510-c.1560), published a book titled *Historia general de las Indias*. In his Dedication to the Emperor Charles V, he wrote the following words:

> La mayor cosa después de la creación del mundo, sacando la encarnación y muerte del que lo crió, es el descubrimiento de Indias; y así las llaman Mundo Nuevo. Y no tanto le dicen nuevo por ser nuevamente hallado, cuanto por ser grandísimo y casi tan grande como el viejo, que contiene a Europa, África y Asia. También se puede llamar nuevo por ser todas sus cosas diferentísimas de las del nuestro. Los animales en general, aunque son pocos en especie, son de otra manera; los peces del agua, las aves del aire, los árboles, frutas, hierbas y grano de la tierra, que no es pequeña consideración del Criador, siendo los elementos una misma cosa allá y acá. Empero los hombres son como nosotros, fuera del color, que de otra manera bestias y monstruos serían y no vendrían, como vienen de Adán.[68]

Over sixty years had passed since Christopher Columbus arrived in America and these words by López de Gómara summarized many of the ideas that had fueled the debates on the nature of the new continent during this time. What the introduction of a new, vast territory meant to Europeans differed according to the interlocutor, and during the first half of the sixteenth century no consensus existed on the matter.

[68] Francisco López de Gómara, *Historia general de las Indias*, vol. I (Madrid: Calpe, 1922), 4.

There was one thing for certain: America had altered a great number of European conceptions regarding the nature and meaning of the world; it undoubtedly shattered many canons and preconceived notions about the universe as understood by the Western world. The general confusion about what exactly these new territories were, or the role they were supposed to play in the grander scheme of the geography of the earth, forced Europeans to try to accommodate the New World within the old arrangement of the universe; but in doing so old myths were revived from pagan, classical, and medieval traditions. As Anthony Grafton explained it:

> Between 1550 and 1650 Western thinkers ceased to believe that they could find all important truths in ancient books. […] As reports [from the New World] proliferated, so did interpretations, and traditions of learning and new experiences intersected. The canon underwent new stresses and performed new services as scholars in Europe and elsewhere tried to fit masses of difficult data to the inherited shapes of learning.[69]

In the process of integrating and interpreting the nature and origin of America and its native inhabitants, America became the subject of a curious streak of idealization vis-à-vis Europe, and it manifested itself upon Christopher Columbus's accidental arrival to what he deemed the Indies.[70] After his third voyage to the Caribbean, the Genoese sailor interpreted his voyages as a key component in a tangled eschatological drama. He articulated these through a personal reading of Scripture and of various theologians, ranging from Isidore of Seville and Augustine of Hippo to the medieval abbot Joachim of Fiore. In a notebook kept by Columbus, now

[69] Anthony Grafton, April Shelford, and Nancy Siraisi, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery* (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press, 1992), 2.

[70] The notion of the 'discovery' of the American continent has been reputed by many scholars like Marcel Bataillon, Tzvetan Tzodorov, with Mexican scholar Edmundo O'Gorman being the first to argue in favor of not considering America as a 'discovered' continent due to the notion's blatant Eurocentrism. For a detailed discussion of this argument see: O'Gorman Edmundo, *La invención de América : investigación acerca de la estructura histórica del Nuevo Mundo y del sentido de su devenir* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2003).

informally called *Libro de las profecías*; a collection of biblical and patriarchal quotations; as well as personal correspondence that includes a letter addressed to the Spanish sovereigns Fernando and Isabel, dated in 1501, Columbus briefly expounded his idea of arriving to the unfathomed territories in the Indies, as an event that would trigger the end of the world:

> La Sacra Escritura testifica en el Testamento Viejo, por boca de los profetas, y en el nuebo por nuestro redentor Jhesu Christo, qu'este mundo a de aver fin; los señales de quándo esto aya de ser diso Mateo y Marco y Lucas; los profetas abondosamente tanbién lo avian predicado.
> […]
> Segund esta cuenta, no falta salvo çiento e çinquenta y cinco años para conplimento de siete mil, en los quales dice arriba por las abtoridades dichas que avrá de fenecer el mundo. Nuestro Redentor diso que antes de la consumación d'este mundo se abrá de conplir todo lo qu'estava escrito por los profetas.[71]

Columbus's apocalyptical views could have been genuinely felt, or they could have been articulated merely to try to gain the favor of the Spanish crown in order to advance his personal enterprise. However, when Columbus wrote these words, he was merely articulating ideas from the ancient chiliastic tradition inherent in Christian theology; in other words, when Columbus landed in America, a Judeo Christian eschatological tradition was immediately extended over to the American continent.

Elsa Frost argues that when the Old Testament opens with the words "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth", the beginning of history and time is automatically established in linear form, since it can be inferred that God is transcendental to his creation, which allows him the possibility of beginning as well as

[71] Columbus, *Cristobal Colón: Libro de las profecías. Introducción, traducción y notas de Kay Brigham*, 36.

ending the universe.[72] With this idea in mind, it can be argued that the Judeo-Christian tradition is inherently eschatological "insofar as it sees history as a teleological process and believes that Scripture reveals truths about its End". [73] On the other hand, it is extremely important to understand that the term "apocalypticism" differs widely from "eschatology", in that the former is a term that designates a narrative form which deals explicitly with how, or when the end of times will come to pass, whereas the latter deals with any teleological understanding of time and history.

From the days of late testamental and intertestamental Judaism, apocalypticism became a literary genre in its own right and was frequently characterized by "an abundant use of symbols, allegorical figures, and rhetorical devices".[74] An important element in the apocalyptic tradition is the hope of a messianic age, and sometimes the presence of a messiah as well. Other elements are the expectation of being delivered from suffering and the hope of life after death. The prophets, the intermediaries between God and the people, often delivered ideas associated with the apocalyptic theme:

> Ah, you who make iniquitous decrees, who write oppressive statutes, to turn aside the needy from justice and to rob the poor of my people of their right, that widows may be your spoil, and that you may make the orphans your prey!
> What will you do on the day of punishment, in the calamity that will come from far away? [75]

[72] Elsa Cecilia Frost, *La historia de Dios en las Indias*, First Edition (Mexico City: Tusquets Editores, 2002), 25–30. Translation by the author.
[73] Bernard McGinn, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages* (Columbia University Press, 1998), 2–4.
[74] McGinn, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages*, 5.
[75] All Biblical quotations hereafter are drawn from: Michael D. Coogan et al., eds., *The New Oxford Annotated Bible with Apocrypha, NRSV*, 4th ed. (Oxford University Press, 2010), Isaiah 10, 1–3.

With the arrival of Christianity, the promise of the coming of a messiah seemed to be fulfilled for many. The promise of justice and liberation from oppression is a characteristic of the ancient days of the Jewish tradition, which was exacerbated by the tribulations they experienced from the expansion of Hellenism and then the Roman occupation of Palestine. All this in conjunction seems to have spawned the literary tradition of apocalypticism present in the Old Testament; particularly in the Book of Daniel, and in the books of the prophets as well.

> In my vision at night I looked, and there before me was one like a son of man, coming with the clouds of heaven. He approached the Ancient of Days and was led into his presence. He was given authority, glory and sovereign power; all nations and peoples of every language worshiped him. His dominion is an everlasting dominion that will not pass away, and his kingdom is one that will never be destroyed.[76]

"Christianity was born apocalyptic", as Bernard McGinn wrote, and indeed, early Christianity was intimately linked to the apocalyptic traditions of intertestamental Judaism.[77] With the development and growth of Christianity, this tradition became problematic. Perhaps the main issue consisted in the idea that if the Messiah had already arrived, lived, and been resurrected in the person of Jesus, then the question of when the end of times was finally to arrive became a poignant one. According to the New Testament, the messiah himself announced his return repeatedly:

> Let not your heart be troubled: ye believe in God, believe also in me. In my Father's house are many mansions: if it were not so, I would have told you. I go to prepare a place for you. And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again, and receive you unto myself; that where I am, there ye may be also.[78]

[76] Daniel 7, 13-14.
[77] McGinn, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages*, 1998, 11.
[78] John 14, 1-3.

The New Testament also expresses the idea that the Second Coming will definitely put an end to time, and would finally deliver the poor from suffering and oppression:

> For the Son of Man is going to come in His Father's glory with His angels, and then He will reward each person according to what he has done.
> […] Behold, I am coming soon! My reward is with Me, and I will give to everyone according to what he has done.[79]

Of particular importance to the eschatological Christian tradition is the Book of Revelation, or as it is also simply called, Apocalypse. Written sometime toward the end of the first century CE, it is undeniably the most important Christian apocalyptic text ever written, and was attributed to John of Patmos, or John the Divine, although the exact identity of the author remains unknown. Although somewhat extended, its most famous and influential passage is worth quoting in its entirety:

> And I saw an angel come down from heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit and a great chain in his hand.
> And he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the Devil, and Satan, and bound him a thousand years, and cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more, till the thousand years should be fulfilled: and after that he must be loosed a little season.
> And I saw thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them: and I saw the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and for the word of God, and which had not worshipped the beast, neither his image, neither had received his mark upon their foreheads, or in their hands; and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years.
> But the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished. This is the first resurrection.
> Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection: on such the second

[79] Matthew 16:27, and Revelation 22:12.

death hath no power, but they shall be priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with him a thousand years.

And when the thousand years are expired, Satan shall be loosed out of his prison.[80]

The nature, origin, and use of the term *millenarism,* alluded to in this fragment of Revelation and in the context of the first four centuries of the history of the Christian church, is a complex one that derived from diverse interpretations of Scripture by theologians, prophets, and laymen alike. The interpretation that derived from the book of Revelation was just one of many, if perhaps the most popular. However, many theologians of the early Christian Church—among them Papias of Hierapolis, Irenaeus, Eusebius, and Tertullian—claimed that a period of a thousand years would follow the end of times. The notion that the world would end on the year one thousand was by no means at the heart of the issue, it was rather a more complicated temporal debate that concerned the interpretation of Scripture. Furthermore, at the Council of Ephesus in 431 the literal interpretation of the millennium was condemned, and an official stance was adopted, one that was influenced by the writings of Augustine, bishop of Hippo (354-430). [81]

Augustine's major work, *De civitate Dei*, is a complex book that had at its inception an apologetic intention. It tried to articulate a defense of the Christian religion against the accusations of the pagans upon the sacking of Rome in 410 by Alaric I, ruler of the Visigoths. This action allegedly occurred in response to Rome's adoption of the Christian faith in 384, made official by the edict *Cunctos populous* signed by Emperor Theodosius I. Augustine began writing his work in 413 as a result of the major shock that this event had imprinted on the Roman psyche, and it was essential to have someone of a monumental intellectual position defend the achievements that Christianity had accrued during the

[80] Revelation 20, 2-7.

[81] For a general treatment on the subject of eschatology in the Early Christian Church, see: Bernard McGinn, *The Essential Writings of Christian Mysticism* (New York: Modern Library, 2006); McGinn, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages*, 1998.

preceding four centuries. Augustine's work, however, far exceeded its expectations, and *De civitate Dei* became not only a defense of the Christian religion, but a *summa* of ancient knowledge, a theological treatise, a moral dissertation, and a cornerstone of Western philosophical and political thought.

The genius of Augustine's dissertation lies in the fact that it laid the groundwork for a Christian philosophy of history. In other words, up to the fourth century, it was accepted that the coming of Christ had inaugurated the last epoch of the world; however, there were discordant ideas about when the end of times—which would be signaled by the second coming—would occur. Augustine establishes that while the end will come, there is no point in trying to reckon when it will happen.

> Truly Jesus Himself shall extinguish by His presence that last persecution which is to be made by Antichrist. For so it is written, that He shall slay him with the breath of His mouth, and empty him with the brightness of His presence. It is customary to ask, When shall that be? But this is quite unreasonable. For had it been profitable for us to know this, by whom could it better have been told than by God Himself, the Master, when the disciples questioned Him? [82]

Furthermore, perhaps the most relevant theological tenet present in Augustine's work is the concept of the two cities: an earthly one, and a celestial one.

> And thus it has come to pass, that though there are very many and great nations all over the earth, [...] yet there are no more than two kinds of human society, which we may justly call two cities, according to the language of our Scriptures. The one consists of those who wish to live after the flesh, the other of those who wish to live after the spirit; and when they severally achieve what they wish, they live in peace, each after their kind. [83]

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[82] Augustine, *The City of God. 2 Vols.*, trans. Marcus Dods (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1871), XVIII, 53.
[83] Augustine, *The City of God.,* Book XIV, chapter I.

It is said that Augustine indulged in Manichaeism as a young man, which might have originated or inspired this dualistic vision of the world.[84] In any case, Augustine expounds the idea that in this world the righteous and the wicked have always coexisted. So then if the earthly city is the one that could be constructed on this world that we already inhabit, the celestial city is of a spiritual nature. Augustine proves its existence by quoting at length from Scripture:

> There is a river whose streams make glad
> The city of God,
> The holy habitation of the Most High.
> God is in the midst of the city; it shall
> not be moved.[85]
> […]
> Great is the Lord and greatly to be praised
> in the city of our God.
> His holy mountain, beautiful in elevation,
> is the joy of all the earth,
> Mount Zion, in the far north,
> the city of the great King.
> Within its citadels God
> has shown himself a sure defense.[86]

The citizens of the Celestial City are the righteous people, and their city is not of this earth: "we have learned that there is a city of God, and its Founder has inspired us with a love which makes us covet its citizenship."[87] The citizens of the City of God are pilgrims, and they might belong to any background, but have in common a life lived by faith and honored by virtue. They live according to the spirit, and do not prefer material goods

[84] Frost, *La historia de Dios en las Indias*, 67.
[85] Psalm 46, 4-5.
[86] Psalm 48, 1-3.
[87] Augustine, *The City of God. 2 Vols.*, Book XI, chapter 1.

over spiritual ones.

> The city of God we speak of is the same to which testimony is borne by that Scripture, which excels all the writings of all nations by its divine authority, and has brought under its influence all kinds of minds, and this not by a casual intellectual movement, but obviously by an express providential arrangement.[88]

On the other hand, the earthly city is rooted in humankind's fall from grace. It was founded, Augustine claims, by Cain: "Of these two first parents of the human race, then, Cain was the first-born, and he belonged to the city of men; after him was born Abel, who belonged to the city of God."[89] Therefore, the foundations on which the earthly city is erected are lacking in spiritual qualities.

> But the earthly city, which shall not be everlasting (for it will no longer be a city when it has been committed to the extreme penalty), has its good in this world, and rejoices in it with such joy as such things can afford. But as this is not a good which can discharge its devotees of all distresses, this city is often divided against itself by litigations, wars, quarrels, and such victories as are either life-destroying or short-lived.[90]

Augustine condemns the earthly city as an enterprise destined to fall into the traps of terrestrial vices. It "desires earthly peace for the sake of enjoying earthly goods, and it makes war in order to attain to this peace." He does not consider that this mortal enterprise is evil, but rather a human endeavor that seeks what would appear beneficial to human existence, in other words, to fulfill earthly needs and desires. However, they who live in the earthly city alone and neglect the expectations of the soul—spiritual needs—will unavoidably forsake eternal salvation.

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[88] Ibid.
[89] Ibid., XV, 1.
[90] Ibid., XV, 4.

> The earthly city, which does not live by faith, seeks an earthly peace, and the end it proposes, in the well-ordered concord of civic obedience and rule, is the combination of men's wills to attain the things which are helpful to this life. The heavenly city, or rather the part of it which sojourns on earth and lives by faith, makes use of this peace only because it must, until this mortal condition which necessitates it shall pass away. Consequently, so long as it lives like a captive and a stranger in the earthly city, though it has already received the promise of redemption, and the gift of the Spirit as the earnest of it, it makes no scruple to obey the laws of the earthly city, whereby the things necessary for the maintenance of this mortal life are administered; and thus, as this life is common to both cities, so there is a harmony between them in regard to what belongs to it.[91]

Therefore, Augustine's important contribution to the history of eschatological thought lies in the idea that the purpose of history is subordinated to the concept of eternal salvation. Therefore, the idea of a "millennium," or idealized condition, was replaced by that of "salvation" in the Augustinian tradition. It is also worth noting that Augustine clearly rejects any form of apocalypticism, and chooses instead to contribute a solution to the end of times, by suggesting what the purpose of history was, and reinforcing the notion of a life after death. The notion of the persistence of the soul in Augustine, it might be added, is not one of disembodied soul, but rather the opposite, one of full embodiment. As Augustine wrote: "And so faith clings to the assurance, and we must believe that it is so in fact, that neither the human soul nor the human body suffers complete extinction."[92] Augustine assures us that the body and the soul are indivisible, and also meant to attain either unity with God together if a righteous life is lived, or they are meant to suffer together, if a wicked life is lived: "The soul which flies away from the unchangeable Light, the Ruler of all things, does so that it may rule over itself and over its own body; and so it

[91] Augustine, *The City of God. 2 Vols.*, XIX, 17.
[92] Ibid., Book I, chapter 21.

cannot but love both itself and its own body."[93]

It can be inferred then, that the body and soul will be the vehicles through which a person can attain God. "[B]ecause all things are to be loved in reference to God, and another man can have fellowship with us in the enjoyment of God, whereas our body cannot; for the body only lives through the soul, and it is by the soul that we enjoy God."[94]

Therefore, in short, history became—under Augustinian terms—the passage to an eschatological end that was resolved in one of two ways: either eternal salvation, or eternal condemnation. It is important to point out that Apocalypticism, although officially excluded from Christian orthodoxy in the fifth century, and despite Augustine's indifference to it, was by no means dead or extinguished thereafter, but quite the opposite: it actually became stronger. During the Middle Ages, many eschatological movements thrived. "[A]pocalypticism did not die out at the end of the fourth century; rather, the year 400 may be taken as a decisive turning point in the history of apocalyptic traditions."[95] From the early medieval period until the year 1200, a great variety of apocalyptic traditions, commentators, and texts were produced. Suffice it to mention the Tiburtine and Erithrean Sybils, the Byzantine Apocalyptic tradition, and famous commentators such as Beatus of Liébana or Pseudo-Ephrem.[96] However, relative to the history of eschatology in the New World, the most influential medieval theologian to have an impact on the evangelical work carried out in New Spain by the Franciscan order was the Calabrian abbott, Joachim of Fiore (c.1135-1202).

The figure of Joachim of Fiore stands tall in the history of Christianity as an outstanding philosopher of history in the Western tradition. However, some of his writings remain unpublished up to the present, making his work difficult to study, with the secondary

[93] Ibid., Book I, chapter 23.
[94] Ibid., Book I, chapter 27.
[95] McGinn, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages*, 1998, 39.
[96] The writings of Bernard McGinn are a good source for understanding the figures of these Early Christian theologians. See: McGinn, *The Essential Writings of Christian Mysticism*; McGinn, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages*, 1998.

literature on him being vast and often of divergent opinions.[97] Nonetheless, his thought revolves around three central issues: the interpretation of Scripture, the philosophy of history, and the mystery and importance of the Trinity. In Fiore's interpretation of history, the first period or status corresponded to the ancient past, and consisted of the acts narrated in the Old Testament; it began with Adam and ended with the birth of Jesus Christ. The second period corresponded to the life of Jesus. Although the third and final status was more difficult to pinpoint, Fiore found many indications that its beginning was near.[98] These conclusions were rooted in the presence and meaning of the Trinity. Since Fiore's interpretation of Scripture relied heavily on symbols and numerology, the Trinity symbolized his general scheme of history. That is, the first period was symbolized by God, the Father; the second by Jesus Christ; and the third by the Holy Spirit. Of great relevance in Fiore's scheme is the figure of the Antichrist, which would be defeated in the second period or epoch of history. This defeat would signal the end of this period, and the third status would thus be characterized by a stronger, more powerful and renewed Church. This period would in turn usher in a golden age, an *ordo novus*, which Fiore probably thought of as a real and not a symbolical historical period. As McGinn explains:

> [Fiore's] scheme was in one sense a revival of early Christian millenarianism; but it was also much more, a distinctive form of utopianism that sought not only to give ultimate historical validation to the institutions to which Joachim was most devoted, especially monasticism, but which also represented an original viewpoint on the theme of *reformatio* conceived of as a new divine irruption into history rather than as a return to the past.[99]

It can be established that the history of the Franciscan order in New Spain began when, in his third letter to Emperor Charles V, dated in 1522, Hernán Cortés requested that more missionaries be sent to the newly conquered territory in order to commence their

[97] McGinn, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages*, 1998, 126.
[98] Delno C. West and Sandra Zimdars-Swartz, *Joaquín de Fiore: Una Visión Espiritual de La Historia* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1986), 23–28.
[99] McGinn, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages*, 1998, 129.

evangelical duties. Later that same year, Pope Adrian VI issued the bull *Exponi nobis fesciti* by which he granted the Franciscans and other mendicant orders authority in his name to carry out evangelical work in Mexico. The Franciscans were particularly favored by the Crown and by the Vatican, since they were granted the privilege of electing their own superior every three years, who had all of the powers of a bishop except for ordination. Friar Pedro de Gante (Pieter van der Moere), friar Johannes Dekkers (Juan de Tecto), and friar Johann van der Auwern (Juan de Ayora or Aora), all three of Flemish origin, were the first Franciscans to arrive in New Spain, in 1523, with the official duty of commencing the evangelization process. It was with the arrival of a contingent of twelve friars two years later that the evangelical process went into full force, and this was also the moment when these themes of medieval eschatology entered America.[100]

In 1524 the group of twelve Franciscan friars arrived in New Spain in order to begin the monumental effort of converting the native population. With their arrival they also inaugurated a series of theological interpretations that attempted to integrate the existence of the new territories, as well as the native populations, into their Christian teleological worldview. This first contingent of Franciscan friars can serve as a key to deciphering the eschatological tradition of New Spain in the sixteenth century, which is in turn an essential aspect of the symbolical tradition associated with the foundation of the city of Puebla de los Ángeles.

Long before the fourteenth century—in fact, from the inception of the order—and throughout the Middle Ages, the Franciscans as well as their founder St. Francis of Assisi were repeatedly associated with eschatological intellectual movements. When St. Francis founded the order in 1209, he did it with a generalized feeling of renewal of the Christian Church, championing tenets like humility, poverty, and penance, and was ever sensitive to the concept of the Holy Spirit. St. Francis summarized the life of his brethren as the "[s]pirit of the Lord and his holy activity", and some of his brethren were later to interpret those words as having Joachimite resonances. After Francis' death, several events led to

[100] Hugh Thomas, *The Golden Empire: Spain, Charles V, and the Creation of America* (Random House LLC, 2011), 42.

distress for his Order, as it seemed certain of their factions were easily drawn to the eschatological ideas of the Calabrian Abbott.

One of these is the case of John of Parma (ca. 1209-1289), who was elected Minister General of the order in 1247. Parma weaved a theology combining themes from Scripture wirh Fiore's Trinitarian ideas and apocalyptic concerns; his inclination toward Fiore's writings eventually resulted in his resignation. The problem was exposed when another brother, Gerard of Borgo San Donnino, published a book titled *Liber Introductorius in Evangelium Aeternum* in 1254, which presented scandalous ideas regarding Joachimite eschatology, including the notion that Francis himself represented the Angel of the Sixth Seal, the one who announced the destruction of the rich and powerful in the Book of Revelation. Gerard's book was quickly condemned by Pope Alexander IV, but its impact affected John of Parma in that it brought his Joachimite leanings to the fore. Pressured by the Pope and some of his brethren, in 1257 he convened a General Chapter in which he announced his resignation.

Bonaventure of Bagnoregio (c. 1221-1271) succeeded him as Minister General of the Order and suppressed the scandalous millenarian tendencies of some members of the Spiritualist branch. These adhered to a rigorous interpretation of Francis' teachings, particularly in regard to strict poverty and the condemnation of the Church's wealth. However, Bonaventure did not deny the importance of Joachim of Fiore's theology; instead he interpreted and incorporated it into a dynamic exegesis within a scholastic theology that once again claimed the imminent arrival and need of a new age. This was to be an age of universal salvation in which one man played a crucial role: St. Francis of Assisi himself. Bonaventure saw Francis as not just the founder of his order, nor as just another saint, but rather as a new prophet; in this, as Joseph Ratzinger has explained, he was guided by the notion that Francis too viewed himself as an eschatological figure: "[I]n an amazing and entirely authentic, though totally unreflective way, [Francis] was filled with that primitive eschatological mood of Christianity which is expressed in the statement: 'The

Kingdom of God is at hand. (Mark 1,15).'"[101]

The internal divisions at the heart of the Franciscan Order continued, culminating in the Church's official recognition at the Council of Constance in 1415, of two main factions of Franciscans, which despite their differences remained under one rule. On the one hand there were the Conventuals, who were characterized by their adoption of a moderate version of Francis's strict rule; and on the other there were the Observants, who were characterized by their zealous observance of Francis' instructions on poverty and humility. The Observants were considered to be the heirs of the Spiritualists, who in the fourteenth century had been officially abolished by Pope John XXII's decree.

During this time, Spain became fruitful soil for the foundation of hundreds of convents of mendicant orders throughout the peninsula. Some of them adopted an air of reform by following strict vows of poverty and penance.[102] The Observants also took up residence in the peninsula, and some friars among them carried on the apocalyptic thinking of the long-abolished branch of the Spirituals. Friar Juan de la Puebla and Friar Juan de Guadalupe personified the most notable reformists in Spain. The former established a series of convents for strict Observants throughout the south and east of the peninsula during the latter half of the fifteenth century.[103] After his death, his disciple Friar Juan de Guadalupe advanced his master's mission and managed to create a number of strict Observant Franciscan convents. A series of those convents founded in the western province of Extremadura eventually became the Provincial Chapter of San Gabriel in 1519.

The group of twelve Franciscan friars chosen to travel to New Spain after its conquest was extracted from that same Chapter of San Gabriel, and therefore belonged to the Observant branch. The leader of this delegation was Friar Martín de Valencia, a key member of the San Gabriel Chapter. The rest of the contingent was made up of Friar Francisco de Soto; Friar Martín de Jesús, or alternatively de la Coruña; Friar Juan Juárez;

[101] Joseph Ratzinger, *Theology of History In St. Bonaventure* (Chicago, Ill.: Franciscan Pr, 1971), 39.
[102] Angela Atienza López, *Tiempos de conventos: una historia social de las fundaciones en la España moderna* (Barcelona: Marcial Pons Historia, 2008), 13–15.
[103] Ibid., 90–91.

Friar Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo; Friar Toribio de Benavente, later nicknamed *Motolinia*; Friar García de Cisneros; Friar Luis de Fuensalida; Friar Juan de Ribas; Friar Francisco Jiménez; Friar Andrés de Córdoba; and Friar Juan de Palos. Of them, one man was to a great extent responsible for the foundation of the city of Puebla: Friar Toribio de Benavente, *Motolinia* (1482-1568).

Figure 1. A mural painting at the convent of Huejotzingo, in the town of that same name, close to the city of Puebla, and painted c.1550. It depicts the delegation of the first twelve Franciscan missionaries to have come to New Spain. In subsequent times, and through the chronicles of other missionaries, like Fray Juan de Zumárraga, Fray Gerónimo de Mendieta; or Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, these early missionaries were elevated to the status of near sainthood.

3. PUEBLA DE LOS ÁNGELES AS A SOCIAL AND THEOLOGICAL EXPERIMENT

At the root of the creation of Puebla de los Ángeles lay what could be deemed a tri-partite committee. Three powers were represented and participated in the foundational project of the city. The first of these comprised the representatives of the second *Audiencia Real*, the official interim tribunal that represented the Crown of Spain until the arrival of the appointed viceroy of New Spain, Antonio de Mendoza (1495-1552). Then there was the bishopric of Tlaxcala, which had under its ecclesiastical rule the territory where the city of Puebla was to be founded. The final power was the Franciscan order, the *guardianes* or designated evangelizers of the province of Tlaxcala.[104]

The foundation of Puebla de los Ángeles has been the most researched event in the history of the city, as Julia Hirschberg has pointed out.[105] However, for scholars who have studied this event, their duty has proved somewhat difficult. One of the main reasons is that the first two municipal registers, in which all the official events of the city were inscribed, disappeared perhaps as early as a couple of decades after the foundation of the city.[106] Clearly this has rendered any historical reconstruction more arduous, and has left the foundation of the city open to interminable historical debate. Despite the missing primary sources and the scarce material left to work with, Puebla's foundation has proven to be remarkably worthy of study, due to the fact that it constitutes a unique episode in the history of urbanism in New Spain: no other urban settlement in the territory was created *ex nihilo* by Spaniards, for Spaniards, with such idealistic ambitions, and with such a rich ideological, theological, and social inspiration.

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[104] Julia Hirschberg, "La fundación de Puebla de los Ángeles: Mito y realidad," *Historia Mexicana - El Colegio de México* 28, no. 2 (1978): 185–223.
[105] Hirschberg, "La fundación de Puebla de los Ángeles", 186.
[106] Mariano Fernández de Echeverría y Veytia, *Historia de la fundación de la Ciudad de la Puebla de los Ángeles en la Nueva España, su descripción y presente estado*, ed. Efraín Castro Morales, vol. I (Puebla, Mexico: Ediciones Altiplano, 1962), 55–56.

The main protagonists of the foundation were Friar Julián Garcés (1452–1541), a Dominican priest and later bishop of the province of Tlaxcala. Garcés was a notable theologian, a former student of the famed Humanist Antonio de Nebrija, and a Sorbonne University alumnus. He arrived in New Spain in 1526 to take up his post as the first Bishop of New Spain. The history surrounding the creation and establishment of bishoprics and their respective *concilios catedralicios*—which were the councils that administered the ecclesiastical rents or prebends of each bishopric—is extremely important in the Mexican viceregal context, as it was closely linked to the history of the establishment and development of ecclesiastical rule in the territory; and to a certain degree it informed the development of political-geographical delimitations in New Spain. To this effect, the creation of the bishopric of Tlaxcala is intimately linked to the creation of Puebla de los Ángeles. As early as 1519, Garcés was appointed to the see of what was then the Carolense Diocese, by order of Pope Leo X in Rome. This was to be the first diocese in New Spain, planned well in advance of the military conquest led by the Spaniards against the Mexica in 1521. The geographical delimitation of the Carolense Diocese initially encompassed most of the vaguely known territory of central Mexico and the Gulf Coast, and would later be re-drafted due to the creation of the Mexico City Diocese in 1530. However, a few years before—in 1526 to be precise—it had been decided that Garcés' episcopal see would be located in the city of Tlaxcala.[107] This decision was bound to pose a sensitive situation given that the Tlaxcalan people had benefited from the allegiance they celebrated with the Spaniards during the war of conquest, as together they rallied against and eventually defeated the political consortium headed by the Mexica. As a reward they were granted certain privileges, such as the prohibition of Spanish settlements in their lands.

The eighteenth century historian, Mariano Fernández de Echeverría y Veytia, in his *Historia de la fundación de la Ciudad de la Puebla de los Ángeles en la Nueva España*, explained that Garcés favored creating a city exclusively for Spaniards, rather than having them settle in

[107] Jesús Joel Peña Espinoza, "El Cabildo eclesiástico de la Diócesis Tlaxcala-Puebla, sus años de formación, 1526-1548," *Historia y antropología de Puebla - Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia*, no. 78 (2005): 12–19.

the city of Tlaxcala. The reason given for this was that a number of veteran *conquistadores* roamed the Tlaxcalan province stealing from the natives, harassing them; and in general terms, abusing them. He argued that a city exclusively for Spaniards, one in which they would be asked to adopt agricultural and pastoral activities, would curb this situation. Any Spaniards who would be willing to do this would be granted an allotment of land for these purposes.[108]

Contemporary historians who have tackled the issue, such as Jesús Joel Peña and Charles Gibson, outline a somewhat more convoluted scenario. Peña, for one, affirms that Garcés was never satisfied with the idea of settling the bishopric in Tlaxcala. But he also underlines that when presented with the alternative of creating Puebla de los Ángeles as a Spanish-only city, Garcés was not content with the site chosen for those purposes, and became opposed to the project.[109] Charles Gibson, who has dedicated himself to researching the history of Tlaxcala during the viceregal period, affirms that Garcés' opposition was rooted in the idea of having his episcopal see located in an indigenous city; instead he promoted the idea that the province of Tlaxcala be populated with Spanish people to counter the indigenous presence.[110] Peña, on the other hand, has presented the idea that Garcés was satisfied with neither staying in Tlaxcala, nor with a transfer to Puebla, because the newly founded city was scarcely inhabited. This presented a problem for the sustenance of the diocese, because evidently the institution depended on the prebends they obtained from the population, and the people in turn had to enjoy a healthy economic situation to sustain the ecclesiastical institution; a sparsely inhabited region could hardly provide for the needs of either party. In the end, however, the diocesan see was eventually transferred to the city of Puebla, but only because the *concilio catedralicio*, the diocese's governing body, pressured Garcés into taking a decision. The bishop seemed to have fallen into a deadlock,

[108] For a general summary of Garcés's position regarding the creation of a city in Tlaxcalan territory, as per this author, see the fourth chapter of: Fernández de Echeverría y Veytia, *Historia de la fundación de la Ciudad de la Puebla de los Ángeles en la Nueva España, su descripción y presente estado*, 1962.
[109] Peña Espinoza, "El Cabildo eclesiástico de la Diócesis Tlaxcala-Puebla, sus años de formación, 1526-1548."
[110] Charles Gibson, *Tlaxcala en el siglo XVI* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1991), 63–64.

seeing that both his options, staying in Tlaxcala, an indigenous city, or moving to Puebla, an uninhabited city, were both unsatisfactory. Garcés only agreed to move around the year 1539, the same year he commenced the erection of his new residence in Puebla.[111]

The *Audiencia Real,* represented by the *licenciado* Juan de Salmerón, was another important protagonist in the foundation. Because the first *Audiencia* had been a total fiasco, as we have seen previously, the Council of the Indies went to great lengths to recruit a series of distinguished civil servants who were both *letrados* and *licenciados*, that is to say distinguished jurists, to form a second Audiencia. The new tribunal was made up of Vasco de Quiroga, who later became the famed bishop of Michoacán; Alonso Maldonado, later nicknamed "el bueno"; Francisco de Ceynos; the aforementioned Juan de Salmerón; and as president Sebastián Ramírez de Fuenleal. They were officially appointed on April 5, 1530.[112]

Finally, the Franciscan order was represented by Fray Toribio de Benavente, *Motolinia*. The Franciscan order seemed to be in agreement with the *Audiencia* on the need to create a city *ex profeso* for Spaniards in order to keep them separate from the indigenous peoples, since they felt this was a key factor in the conversion of the latter.

According to the eighteenth century chronicles by Mariano Fernández de Echeverría y Veytia and Diego Bermúdez de Castro, the site for the new city was chosen by Garcés based on a premonitory dream he had, in which angels showed him the site where the city was to be founded. Augustín de Vetancurt, writing slightly earlier at the end of the seventeenth century, contradicted the tale of Garcés's dream, instead suggesting that Motolinia was the one to choose the place. This is quite plausible given that the Franciscans, who were carrying out evangelical work in that area at the time, were better acquainted with the territory.[113]

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[111] Peña Espinoza, "El Cabildo eclesiástico de la Diócesis Tlaxcala-Puebla, sus años de formación, 1526-1548."
[112] Simpson, *The Encomienda in New Spain*, 84.
[113] Augustín de Vetancurt, *Teatro Mexicano: Descripción Breve de los Sucessos Exemplares, Históricos, Políticos, Militares y Religiosos del Nuevo Mundo Occidental de las Indias, Tratado de la Ciudad de México, y las Grandezas que la Ilustran después que la Fundaron los Españoles. Tratado*

The site had to be carefully chosen to stay clear of any indigenous land claims, and it was thought important that it be strategically located somewhere in between the road from Mexico City to the port of Veracruz, in order to alleviate what was then a most arduous journey, and so the new city would be the middle point in what hopefully would be a prosperous mercantile network between the Gulf of Mexico and the capital city.[114] Furthermore, the city would be strategically located at the center of a series of *repúblicas indianas*, the nearest indigenous towns being Cholula, some fifteen kilometers away to the northeast; San Francisco Totimehuacan, approximately ten kilometers away to the southeast; and the city of Tlaxcala which lay some thirty-three kilometers to the north.

By the spring of 1531, the objectives of the project were quite well defined, and the bar had been set rather high. This new city, besides fulfilling the aforementioned requirements, was expected to welcome Spanish settlers, preferably other than veterans of the war of conquest, and the people chosen were to receive plots of land for agricultural and pastoral use. Such a fertile valley, the Audiencia predicted, would be able to supply European cereals and fruits that the indigenous peoples had not been able to produce in their territories. Furthermore, this city would serve as a European outpost in a region heavily populated by native peoples.[115]

The foundation of the city finally occurred on April 16, 1531. A series of events took place that day; presumably the tracing on the ground of key elements of the city layout, and a mass were presided by *Motolinia*, as his fellow Franciscan brother, Fray Juan de Torquemada, wrote in his famed treatise, *Monarquía Indiana*:

> Aparejado todo y juntos los peones que habían de trabajar en la fábrica del nuevo pueblo, a diez y seis días del mes de abril del año de mil y quinientos y

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de la Ciudad de la Puebla de los Ángeles, y grandezas que la Ilustran (por doña Maria de Benavides viuda de luan de Ribera, 1698), 45; Hirschberg, "La fundación de Puebla de los Ángeles," 193.

[114] Miguel de Alcalá y Mendiola, *Descripción en bosquejo de la imperial cesárea muy noble y muy leal Ciudad de Puebla de los Ángeles (paleographic edition of the c.1696 original)* (Puebla, Mexico: BUAP, 1992), 33.

[115] Hirschberg, "La fundación de Puebla de los Ángeles," 192.

> treinta, en la infraoctava de Pascua de Resurrección y día de Santo Toribio, obispo de Astorga. limpiaron el sitio y echados los cordeles por un oficial de albañil que se halló presente, después de haberse dicho misa que fue la primera que allí se dijo por el padre fray Toribio Motolinía, en cuya presencia se hizo la traza y repartieron los solares.[116]

Many indigenous peoples were also present, since the *Audiencia* requested that they aid in the work and general proceedings.[117] After the initial foundational ceremonies, Puebla had to endure opposition from the neighboring indigenous towns when it appeared that the Spanish-only city was prospering a few months after its foundation. According to Hirschberg, the success of Puebla by the end of the summer of 1531 is evident if one considers a report written by Salmerón to the Council of the Indies. Salmerón reported several actions accomplished in barely a few months: the construction—with indigenous labor—of fifty adobe houses for the settlers; the construction of a hostel for new-comers arriving from Spain; and the construction of infrastructure to link Puebla with the Mexico City-Veracruz road.[118]

However, this success also marked the end of Puebla's periodof idealism. In the same report in which Salmerón asserts Puebla's success as a newly founded city, he also requests that the Council carry out the necessary arrangements for Puebla to be granted the official title of city, an action that would elevate the settlement's prestige in New Spain, quieting some opposition from opponents who saw Puebla as an insignificant experiment. Besides requesting this official title, Salmerón also asked that the Crown designate the neighboring indigenous towns of Cholula, Tlaxcala, Huejotzingo, and Tepeaca as *pueblos de encomienda*. This meant that the indigenous populations of these towns would have to travel to Puebla to labor there as requested by the city's authorities and inhabitants whenever and however they were needed, at least during six years, after which the Spanish settlers would have to pay a salary if they required labor. Finally, Salmerón also

[116] Fray Juan de Torquemada, *De los Veintiún Libros rituales y Monarquía indiana* (Mexico City: Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas - UNAM, 1979), 428.
[117] Ibid., 426 and subsequent.
[118] Hirschberg, "La fundación de Puebla de los Ángeles," 201.

requested that the bishopric of Tlaxcala be transferred to Puebla.[119]

Evidently, Salmerón was preoccupied with the future of the city and wished to guarantee its well-being through these official arrangements. However, it is also clear that he compromised the principles on which the city was founded; it had been conceived as an agricultural, self-sufficient, idealized community in which native laborers would be spared forced labor, in favor of letting the Spanish settlers carry out all the work necessary to construct a city from scratch. It almost seemed as if Salmerón suffered from a lack of faith in his fellow countrymen. The jurist was quite transparent in his low opinion of the Spanish settlers that arrived to New Spain:

> [L]a gente española que está en estas partes y…la codicia desordenada y gran holgazanería de los conquistadores, porque los que tienen repartimiento de indios se aprovechan y sirven dellos sin les dar industria de vida política y concertada, de donde podría redundar provecho para los que sirven y para los que son servidos, e los que no tienen repartimientos vienen a pedir que les den de comer y en que se sostengan, que se los debe el rey, y que mueren de hambre…; e con algunos …me he acaecido decirles que un hombre de su disposición debería aplicarse a trabajar… E su respuesta es con soltura e ira: habiendo trabajado en la conquista de acá e la de acullá…[120]

The developments that occurred in Puebla after its first few months of existence are confusing, and there are very few primary sources to help untangle them. The sixteenth-century chronicle by Fray Juan de Torquemada relates what most subsequent historians confirm, that in the fall of 1531 an unusual rainy season flooded the incipient settlement.

> Despues de situado el Pueblo, y rancheados en el, sus pocos Moradores, fue

[119] Ibid., 203.
[120] Salmerón to the Consejo de Indias (August 13, 1531), quoted in: Hirschberg, "La fundación de Puebla de los Ángeles", 202.

> de manera lo que llovió aquel Año, que por no estar pisada la Tierra, parecía Pantano; por cuia causa estuvieron los Vecinos, por desampararlo, aunque como el Sitio era de Angeles, lo ampararon de suerte, que detuvieron á sus Moradores, y despues(sic) se desaguaron sus Calles, por Acequias, que abrieron, quedó tan enjuto, y bueno, como los mui trillados, y enjutos; y el Lugarejo, que en sus Principios pareció poco, y despreciado, fue luego creciendo en número de Gente.[121]

Mariano Fernández de Echeverría y Veytia, writing around 1780, as well as most modern scholars that have tackled the history of the foundation of the city, agree that the first foundation was carried out on the eastern bank of the San Francisco River. The present name of this site is El Alto, now one of the many *barrios* that make up the *Centro Histórico* district of the city. Fernández de Echeverría y Veytia affirmed that there were a series of disputes—that apparently even reached the *Audiencia Real*—among the settlers about what to do after the floods, since the catastrophe had seriously affected the settlers' will to continue inhabiting the site. The decision on behalf of what Veytia deemed "the most powerful and numerous group" among the settlers, was to move the settlement to the western bank of the river, presumably to the site of the present city square, where the cathedral and city hall were later erected. The reasons for this decision are not recorded in extant sources, so speculations abound. Most historians believe the reason lay in the fact that the terrain on the western bank is more level, and the site of the second foundation is located farther from the riverbank; perhaps a precautionary measure against future flooding was a crucial motive behind the insistence on moving. However as Veytia recounted the Franciscans, who had set up residency in the city from day one, and further reaffirmed their presence by carrying out the erection of a convent, did not agree with the decision to move and resolved to stay put on the original site. Their conventual complex remained on the eastern bank of the river, and was even enlarged a couple of decades later.[122]

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[121] Torquemada, *De los Veintiún Libros rituales y Monarquía indiana*, Volume I, book III, chapter XXX.

[122] Fernández de Echeverría y Veytia, *Historia de la fundación de la Ciudad de la Puebla de los*

The Franciscans brought with them to the New World an eschatological tradition that carried over to several of their projects in New Spain, as can be seen in their writings.[123] The idea that they advocated eschatological beliefs arose among modern scholars due in large measure to the publication of John Leddy Phelan's *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World: A Study of the Writings of Gerónimo de Mendieta (1524-1605)*, in 1956. Gerónimo de Mendieta was a Franciscan friar whose lengthy dissertation on the history of the conquest of New Spain, entitled *Historia Eclesiástica Indiana,* was written during the last years of the sixteenth century. Mendieta's work focuses on narrating the story of New Spain's conquest, but its underlying message was also a critique of the harsh treatment of the native indigenous population by the Spaniards. Mendieta also goes to great lengths to demonstrate the heroic and spiritual deeds of the first generation of Franciscan missionaries that arrived in New Spain to convert the indigenous inhabitants of central Mexico. This work seems to have been written with a great sense of weariness. In the last decades of the sixteenth century the mendicant orders were being displaced in favor of a Diocesan religious administration. It seemed as though the work of the first generation of Franciscan missionaries—Friars Juan de Zumárraga, Motolinia, Martín de Valencia, and others—who held quasi-saintly and heroic status among their brothers, was destined to fall into oblivion, and that their ideal of erecting a primitive and pristine indigenous church would be obliterated. Thus, Mendieta wrote of a passing epoch from a nostalgic, almost pessimistic position. Phelan additionally proved quite keen to demonstrate that Mendieta's writings were filled with millenarian ideas.

A few decades later, in 1977, Georges Baudot's *Utopie et Histoire du Mexique: Les premiers chroniqueurs de la civilisation mexicaine (1520-1569),* expanded on the argument of millenarianism among early Franciscan missionaries in New Spain by analyzing the writings of several Franciscans. These included Friar Andrés de Olmos; Friar Toribio de Benavente,

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Ángeles en la Nueva España, su descripción y presente estado, 1962, 1:60–62.

[123] Franciscan conventual architectural complexes, built throughout the sixteenth-century in New Spain, have been likened to symbolical architectural representations of the Heavenly Jerusalem-Temple of Solomon archetype, by author Jaime Lara. See: Jaime Lara, *City, Temple, Stage: Eschatological Architecture and Liturgical Theatrics in New Spain* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004).

Motolinia; Friar Francisco de las Navas; and Friar Martín de la Coruña—whom Baudot credits for writing the *Relación de Michoacán*, nowadays attributed to Friar Jerónimo de Alcalá. Baudot also claims that the Spanish Crown persistently censored many ethnographic treatises such as those by *Motolinia* and friar Gerónimo de Mendieta, and even friar Bernardino de Sahagún's encyclopedic *Historia de las cosas de la Nueva España*, due to an underlying belief that these Franciscan ethnographic works would only perpetuate pagan practices. Besides that, Baudot claimed the religious monopoly that the Franciscans had established for themselves, together with their paternalistic treatment of the indigenous peoples, had become a threat to the Crown's hegemony, i.e., it raised the possibility that the indigenous peoples would break free of Spanish rule. This way, various uncomfortable Franciscan treatises were intentionally disappeared, censored, and forgotten for decades and even centuries to come.

However, both Phelan and Baudot have been criticized for utilizing the terms "millenarian", "apocalyptic", and "eschatological" in a very loose manner, and for constructing an elaborate argument in which, without sufficient evidence, they have assumed that the Franciscans in the New World were completely indoctrinated millenarians. In other words, the Franciscan endeavors in the New World, particularly their missionary efforts, were interpreted by Baudot and Phelan merely as preparatory measures vis-à-vis the impending Parousia, and in many instances these authors were not far from characterizing many early Franciscan chroniclers as near heretics. Elsa Frost critiqued Georges Baudot's work in these terms, exclaiming that: "One would say that Baudot 'knows' that the Franciscan chroniclers were millenarians and he feels himself relieved from proving that which for him is self-evident. The disconcerting part is that he reaches the conclusion of millenarianism from texts which only indicate an eschatological preoccupation."[124] Antonio Rubial, following Frost's lead, concedes that: "El milenarismo medieval casi siempre estuvo relacionado con tendencias anarquistas y fue considerado heterodoxo, cosa que nunca presentaron los franciscanos novohispanos […] En todo caso, […] todos los textos que los partidarios del milenarismo novohispano aducen pueden entrar perfectamente en el

[124] Elsa Cecilia Frost, "A New Millenarian: Georges Baudot: Review Article," *The Americas* 36, no. 4 (1980): 525.

ámbito de la escatología cristiana ortodoxa de corte agustiniano."[125]

Therefore, what appears closer to the truth is that those first prodigious Franciscan missionaries carried with them a more complex system of beliefs, derived from a series of historical, philosophical, theological, and popular influences. Notwithstanding, eschatology was, without a doubt, a part of their belief systems, since, as was mentioned before, eschatology is here understood as a way to interpret the concepts of history and time as teleological processes. In addition, there are instances in their writings in which there are clear references to apocalyptic or millenarian texts, ideas, or concepts, but not enough to be able to render their discourses predominantly apocalyptic or millenarian. Therefore it can be inferred that these missionaries had an understanding of history and time as eschatological phenomena, and these appear to have been deeply embedded in their beliefs systems. Additionally, some were familiar with millenarian texts, principally the writings of Joachim of Fiore, which does not imply that they followed unorthodox doctrines concerning millenarianism.

Motolinia's writings are an exemplary illustration. As Nancy Joe Dyer explained, the work by Motolinia commonly known by the title of *Memoriales*—which is more properly a collection of the Friar's writings heavily edited by various scholars—is quite a complex book which presents various strands of thought. As Dyer explained: "Los *Memoriales* resuenan con las voces de Nebrija, Erasmo, Fernández de Santaella, Torquemada, Savonarola, hasta Alfonso el Sabio, Esopo, Marco Polo y los primeros misioneros franciscanos […] El autor no se limitó a las fuentes de la "alta cultura" europea; incluyó los pliegos sueltos y las relaciones de otros frailes mendicants en el Nuevo Mundo, los proverbios y leyendas folclóricas nahuas y astorganas, y una carta en el dialecto de los esclavos (*bozal*)."[126]

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[125] Gerónimo de Mendieta, *Historia eclesiástica indiana / Jerónimo de Mendieta ; noticias del autor y de la obra, Joaquín García Icazbalceta ; estudio preliminar, Antonio Rubial García.*, ed. Antonio Rubial García, vol. I (Mexico City: CONACULTA, 1997), 40.
[126] Nancy Joe Dyer, "Introducción," in *Memoriales: Edición crítica, introducción, notas y apéndice de Nancy Joe Dyer* (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 1996), 14.

Motolinia's complex literary work reveals some aspects of his educational upbringing, as well as certain theological influences. For instance, according to Dyer, there are traits and motifs in his writings that clearly place him in the context of *iluminismo*, a popular Spanish religious movement—considered heretical at times—that originated in the vicinity of Gudalajara, Spain, in the second decade of the sixteenth-century. The movement was characterized by a careful examination of Scripture, in particular the writings by Saint Paul. As Dyer explains, the cult was intimately linked to mysticism and the practice of seclusion, as well as an elaborate prayer regime. *Illuminism* spread among the laity and was adopted and supported by Cardinal Francisco Ximénez de Cisneros, famed University of Alcalá founder, project leader of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible edition published in 1520, and confessor to the Catholic Queen, from 1492 onwards. The movement was associated—by way of mystics such as Sor María de Santo Domingo, better known as *Beata* de Piedrahita—to eschatological ideologies. Namely, the *beata's* writings were identified with Joachim of Fiore's theories, as well as Girolamo Savonarola's interpretation of Fiore's writings concerning the reformation of the spiritual church. Because of these linkages, Dyer concludes that Motolinia practiced a form of occult communication through the use of symbolical language, as well as the ample use of allegories.[127]

Motolinia's testimony on the foundation of Puebla is a key text for deciphering both the religious intention and the symbolical weight behind the creation of this city. His chronicle is written from his perspective as an active member of the foundational committee, as a direct witness, and as a participant in the foundational rites. Motolinia's description of the city is clearly tinged by an eschatological and heavily religious position. His prose is adorned with an ethereal and symbolic atmosphere that gently delivers the description of a city that, he wants us to believe, is hardly of this earth. But additionally, Fray Toribio's chronicle also delivers us a description that lists and highlights the newly founded city's practical and social traits. One reads in the section titled "De cuándo y cómo y por quién se fundó la cibdad de los Ángeles, y cómo no le falta nada de lo que requiere una cibdad para ser perfecta, ansí montes, pastos, aguas, pedreras, como todo lo demás":

[127] Fray Toribio de Benavente, *Memoriales: Edición crítica, introducción, notas y apéndice, Nancy Joe Dyer.*, ed. Nancy Joe Dyer (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 1996), 13–14.

> Cibdad de los Ángeles no ay quien crea aver otra syno la del cielo. Aquélla está edificada como cibdad en las alturas que es madre nuestra a la cual deseamos yr. Y puestos en este valle de lágrimas, la buscamos con gemidos ynnumerables, porque hasta vernos en ella, siempre está nuestro coraçón ynquieto y desasosegado. Qué tal sea esta cibdad, ya está escrito porque la vió y la contempló Sant Juan Euangelista en los capítulos .xxi e .xxii del *Apocalipsi*.[128]

In the above passage Fray Toribio likens Puebla de los Ángeles to the Heavenly Jerusalem, a powerful archetype of perfection and urban idealism in the Christian tradition. This archetype would be visited quite often during the early modern period and, coincidentally, the city's persistent mythology would draw on it continually during the next two centuries. Needless to say, the passage is quite laden with eschatological meaning, since it invokes the most important book dedicated to the end of times, the Book of Revelation.

> Then I saw a new heaven and a new earth; for the first heaven and the first earth had passed away, and the sea was no more.
> And I saw the holy city, the new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband.
> And I heard a loud voice from the throne saying,
>
> See, the home of God is among mortals.
> He will dwell with them;
> they will be his peoples,
> and God himself will be with them.[129]

In this passage from Revelation, the end of times has come to pass—"And I saw a new heaven and a new earth"—and amidst the destruction a radiant city descends from heaven, accompanied by an announcement that it is the resolution to the mystery of creation. The New Jerusalem represents the climax of eschatological meaning in the Christian

[128] Benavente, *Memoriales*, 363.
[129] Revelation, 21: 1-3.

worldview. It is redemption itself and symbolically, as stated before, it is the resolution to the continuous hope for Christians to join God in eternity; it therefore symbolizes the fulfillment of all of Christianity's promises. Evidently, to liken a newly founded city in New Spain with the image of Christian fulfillment places a great deal of symbolic weight on Puebla. John's text speaks of a celestial city, one in which God will dwell and reign among His people.

Equally important for understanding the symbolism of Puebla de los Ángeles at the time of its foundation is the following passage from Motolonia's *Memoriales*: "Otra nueuamente fundada, e por nombre llamada çibdad de los Ángeles, es en la Nueua España, tierra de *Anauac*. A do en otro tiempo hera morada de los demonios, cibdad de Satanás, habitación de enemigos, ya ay en ella çibdad de los Ángeles."[130] In the Book of Revelation, the Heavenly Jerusalem is weighed against its counterpart, the evil city, the Great Harlot of Babylon, described in Revelation 17. Both cities are personified as women, the City of God as a bride (Revelation 21), and Babylon as a harlot (Revelation 17). Similarly, Puebla de los Ángeles is associated with the arrival of God to the New World, to a land formerly occupied by evil: in other words, by the ancient gods of the indigenous peoples.

> And there came one of the seven angels which had the seven vials, and talked with me, saying unto me,
> Come hither; I will shew unto thee the judgment of the great whore that sitteth upon many waters:
> With whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, and the inhabitants of the earth have been made drunk with the wine of her fornication.[131]

The comparison between the Heavenly Jerusalem and the Harlot of Babylon underwrites the image of Puebla de los Ángeles metaphorically descending from the

[130] Benavente, *Memoriales: Edición crítica, introducción, notas y apéndice, Nancy Joe Dyer.*, 363.
[131] Revelation, 17:1-2.

heavens and being placed on the valley of Puebla, formerly known to the indigenous peoples as Cuetlaxcohuapan.[132] Because the fire of evil derived from the cult of pagan gods is said to be quenched, it undeniably brings to mind the spiritual model that Augustine of Hippo contributed to Christian theology in the fifth century CE.

Puebla de los Ángeles has been likened to the Heavenly Jerusalem before: we might consider the writings of Leopoldo García Lastra and Silvia Castellanos who, in 2008, published an elaborate dissertation that attempted to prove that Puebla de los Ángeles was a "utopian" experiment based on the Heavenly Jerusalem archetype.[133] These authors go even further than Baudot and Phelan in proclaiming the definitive millenarianism of the early Franciscans, whom they credit for founding the city of Puebla. But their argument is problematic on a number of levels. In fact it is more accurate to admit that we only know of one Franciscan who participated in this event. García Lastra and Castellanos stated: "Esta utopia [the city of Puebla] fue fomentada por los primeros franciscanos arribados a la Nueva España [. . .] pues, según sus elucubraciones profético-escatológicas, creían inminente el tiempo esperado para la Parusía y consumación de la sociedad y comunidad urbana perfectas." [134]

Indeed, García Lastra and Castellanos advanced the idea that Joachim of Fiore was the main ideologue of the undeniably millenarian Franciscans. They also claimed that "a la Ciudad de los Ángeles la conciben, conforme ese momento histórico concreto, dentro del contexto joaquinista franciscano, inspirados en el arquetipo de la Jerusalén Celestial, que a manera de una Nueva Jerusalén fuese cabeza de la Iglesia del Nuevo Mundo y centro difusor del Evangelio entre los indígenas."[135] There are a number of problematic issues with these claims. In the first chapter of this dissertation, the ground for understanding the urban enterprise in New Spain

[132] Hirschberg, "La fundación de Puebla de los Ángeles," 194.
[133] See: Leopoldo García Lastra and Silvia Castellanos Gómez, *Utopía Angelopolitana*, First Edition (Puebla: State Government of Puebla, 2008). Puebla, 2008.
[134] Ibid., 15.
[135] Ibid., 212.

carried out by the Spaniards was explained in terms of the *república indiana* and the *república española*. As we have seen, the initial model of Spanish settlement and urbanization in New Spain was segregationist in principle, and consisted of two distinct urban policies: one for indigenous peoples, and another for Spaniards. In the first of these, the Spaniards rearranged or reordered existing native urban settlements, complementing their enterprise with *reducciones* that concentrated scattered indigenous villages into veritable urban centers based on early modern European theories of urbanism. In the second, administrative cities were created in key places, usually in the midst of heavily populated indigenous areas; these cities sheltered the bulk of Spanish citizens in New Spain. This is the category under which Puebla fell, despite having some unique traits that set it apart from other cities of the *república española* model.

It appears somewhat contradictory to claim that the intent was to create an ideal or utopian city for Spanish settlers in which there was—initially at least—no room or desire for the participation of indigenous peoples, and then have the project of the city of Puebla proclaimed a "centro difusor del Evangelio." Granted, the city would be used as an example of good governance and agricultural practices. As Motolinia himself explained, the Spaniards who would settle in Puebla "darían exemplo a los naturales de cristiandad y de trabajar al modo de España"[136], but that differs from stating that the city would be turned into a center for communicating Scripture to the natives.

Furthermore, García Lastra and Castellanos claim that one of Puebla's objectives was to become the religious-spiritual center of the New World ("cabeza de la Iglesia del Nuevo Mundo"), which is, I believe, problematic. The city of Puebla was never a real competitor for the administrative, economic, and cultural preeminence of Mexico City, the undisputed capital of New Spain; not even in religious terms. The suggestion that Puebla was created in order to somehow dispute Mexico City's religious-administrative preeminence would require at least some degree of

[136] Benavente, *Memoriales: Edición crítica, introducción, notas y apéndice, Nancy Joe Dyer.*, 363.

evidence. This lack notwithstanding, García Lastra and Castellanos's research on the eschatological influence found in Puebla is impressive and valuable in many respects. However, I would argue that to ground the city's symbolic dimension and mythology solely on the archetype of Heavenly Jerusalem, and to credit Joachim of Fiore's influence as fundamental to Puebla's conception, hinders a broader exploration of the city's intellectual history, which might be richer in its lineage.

Although the archetype of Heavenly Jerusalem has a central presence in the mythological and symbolical dimension of the city of Puebla, I would argue that the Augustinian conception of the spiritual church is of equal importance. Augustine's *City of God* can shed light on the mythological origin of the city and especially on the presence of angels in it. The origin of endowing the city with an angelic lineage is uncertain. The first theory regarding the city's name comes from the supposed dream of Fray Julián Garcés, in which angels showed him the site where the city was to be founded. This myth first appears in the chronicles by Diego Bermúdez de Castro and Mariano Fernández de Echeverría y Veytia, both written in the eighteenth century. Hirschberg collects two other possibilities: the first, that the surname "de los Ángeles" came from the name of the monastery where Bishop Garcés resided in Spain, the monastery of Santa María de los Ángeles; the second theory, and the most plausible according to Hirschberg, is that the Franciscans proposed the name in honor of Fray Juan de la Puebla whom, towards the end of the fifteenth century in the Sierra Morena of Extremadura, championed the creation of a reformist Franciscan confraternity called the *Custodia de los Ángeles*.[137]

In Augustine's *City of God*, angels are a key component in establishing the good-evil duality in which humankind and thus the world exist. Angels partake of "the eternal light, which is the unchangeable Wisdom of God."[138] Thus, we learn that the angels that fell from the grace of God no longer partook of God's light: "[I]f an angel turn away, he becomes impure, as are all those who are called unclean spirits, and are

[137] Hirschberg, "La fundación de Puebla de los Ángeles," 196.
[138] Augustine, *The City of God. 2 Vols.*, Book XI, chapter 9.

no longer light in the Lord, but darkness in themselves, being deprived of the participation of Light eternal. For evil has no positive nature; but the loss of good has received the name evil."[139] Therefore, the two cities, the city of God and the city of wickedness, originated "among the angels"[140] and according to Augustine, after the creation of humankind, and because of original sin, all humans were in a state of sin; the possibility of becoming pure, or failing to do so, came only later. These two lines of humankind make up the citizens either of the city of good or of the city of worldly values and interests.[141]

Consequently, the concept of a city of angels is strongly linked to the city of God, the city of light, and just as in the comparison made in the Book of Revelation between the Heavenly Jerusalem and the Harlot of Babylon, in Motolinia's chronicle of the foundation of Puebla, the latter is intended to quench the evil brought about by the native gods of the peoples of New Spain.

This becomes manifest if we compare the discourse written to justify the creation of Puebla with Augustine's doctrines. Augustine asserts:

> [W]e have learned that there is a city of God, and its Founder has inspired us with a love which makes us covet its citizenship. To this Founder of the holy city the citizens of the earthly city prefer their own gods, not knowing that He is the God of gods, not of false, *i.e.*, of impious and proud gods.[142]
>
> If, then, we be asked what the city of God has to say upon these points, and, in the first place, what its opinion regarding the supreme good and evil is, it will reply that life eternal is the supreme good, death eternal the supreme evil, and that to obtain the one and escape

[139] Ibid.
[140] Ibid., Book XII, chapter 1.
[141] Augustine of Hippo, *De civitate Dei* (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1998), Book XV, chapter 1.
[142] Ibid., Book XI, chapter 1.

> the other we must live rightly. And thus it is written, the just lives by faith.[143]
>
> And thus it has come to pass, that though there are very many and great nations all over the earth, [...] yet there are no more than two kinds of human society, which we may justly call two cities, according to the language of our Scriptures. The one consists of those who wish to live after the flesh, the other of those who wish to live after the spirit; and when they severally achieve what they wish, they live in peace, each after their kind.[144]

Now, any reading of Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, will reveal an *a priori* understanding of the Heavenly City as an insubstantial or abstract concept. In other words, it is not, by any measure, a model to build a city of flesh. Indeed, Augustine informs us that the ultimate destiny a person can and should attain through the Grace of God and a righteous life should be unity in God in the Celestial City. As a matter of fact, the Earthly City, as Miles Hollingworth states, is "the setting for an uncompromising form of political pessimism. Broadly speaking, Augustine's political thinking is reductionist in the extreme."[145] This is because Augustine deems any form of political, e.g. urban life, a mere result of humankind existing in this world in a state of fallen grace. There is no possibility for the human species to do anything truly meaningful in this world but to aspire for the Celestial City. But then, what does Augustine have to say of life on Earth, or of urban or political, organized life, for that matter? For one, he provides a definition of an assemblage of people, e.g., a republic or commonwealth:

> [A] people is an assemblage of reasonable beings bound together by a

[143] Ibid., Book XIX, chapter 4.
[144] Ibid., Book XIV, chapter 1.
[145] Miles Hollingworth, *The Pilgrim City: St Augustine of Hippo and His Innovation in Political Thought* (London; New York: T & T Clark, 2010), 12, http://public.eblib.com/EBLPublic/PublicView.do?ptiID=601777.

> common agreement as to the objects of their love, then, in order to discover the character of any people, we have only to observe what they love. Yet whatever it loves, if only it is an assemblage of reasonable beings and not of beasts, and is bound together by an agreement as to the objects of love, it is reasonably called a people; and it will be a superior people in proportion as it is bound together by higher interests, inferior in proportion as it is bound together by lower.[146]

Augustine allows for the possibility of qualifying the act of living in community, e.g. *urbanitas*, and admits that some communities can be better than others, depending on the interests each one hold as a people and how far removed or close they are to God's Will. But beyond this, Augustine also reminds us that humankind is gifted in being able to choose which direction to take in seeking happiness. Evidently, mankind will often choose those things that they think could make them happy, such as power or material belongings; but the only true orientation they have on Earth of pursuing the true end is their love for God. The making of political life, of urban life then, is merely the human attempt at reconciling these interests while living together. Finally, and despite what has been referred to as a general pessimism, Augustine admits that the Earthly City—at its best—is an echo of the Heavenly one.

> There was indeed on earth, so long as it was needed, a symbol and foreshadowing image of this city [the *Civitas Dei*], which served the purpose of reminding men that such a city was to be rather than of making it present; and this image was itself called the holy city, as a symbol of the future city, though not itself the reality.[147]
>
> […]
>
> One portion of the earthly city became an image of the heavenly city,

[146] Augustine, *The City of God. 2 Vols.*, Book XIX, chapter 24.
[147] Ibid., Book XV, chapter 2.

> not having a significance of its own, but signifying another city, and therefore serving, or being in bondage.[148]
>
> But the earthly city, which shall not be everlasting (for it will no longer be a city when it has been committed to the extreme penalty), has its good in this world, and rejoices in it with such joy as such things can afford.[149]

From the above words from Augustine himself, we can infer that the Earthly City is not only a well-intentioned (if flawed) endeavor, but also that the *civitas terrena* is indeed a symbol of the *civitas coelestis*, and that they are bound to each other. This is an important point because from these ideas it can be inferred that although to a great degree Augustine has forsaken the human enterprise of *civitas* as flawed from its inception, at the same time he has provided us with the clues as to what the ideal city humanity can aspire to would be like. For one, it would be a city that echoes the Heavenly City, e.g. the Heavenly Jerusalem, as the *civitas terrena* can be to some degree a symbol of the former. The second clue lies not on what Augustine wrote about the concept of what a commonwealth or republic was, but what Cicero had to say about it, and how Augustine refuted him:

> [I]f we are to accept the definitions laid down by Scipio in Cicero's *De Republica*, there never was a Roman republic; for he briefly defines a republic as the good of the people. And if this definition be true, there never was a Roman republic, for the people's good was never attained among the Romans. For the people, according to his definition, is an assemblage associated by a common acknowledgment of right and by a community of interests. And what he means by a common acknowledgment of right he explains at large, showing that a republic cannot be administered without justice. Where, therefore,

[148] Ibid., Book XV, chapter 2.
[149] Ibid., Book XV, chapter 4.

> there is no true justice there can be no right. For that which is done by right is justly done, and what is unjustly done cannot be done by right. For the unjust inventions of men are neither to be considered nor spoken of as rights; for even they themselves say that right is that which flows from the fountain of justice, and deny the definition which is commonly given by those who misconceive the matter, that right is that which is useful to the stronger party. Thus, where there is not true justice there can be no assemblage of men associated by a common acknowledgment of right, and therefore there can be no people, as defined by Scipio or Cicero; and if no people, then no good of the people, but only of some promiscuous multitude unworthy of the name of people. Consequently, if the republic is the good of the people, and there is no people if it be not associated by a common acknowledgment of right, and if there is no right where there is no justice, then most certainly it follows that there is no republic where there is no justice.[150]

From this excerpt it can be inferred that, as Joseph Ratzinger wrote when interpreting the concept of *republic* in Augustine:

> But the *servire Deo* is lacking with complete evidence in pagan cities and with it the *iustitia*, and with it the judicial unity. But there is also lacking a true utility in this association. Because with utility we want to describe the fundamental wish of humankind: the hunger for happiness. This is also, as a matter of fact, the essential wish of the city. But it looks for happiness in the wrong places: serving the gods. But, in reality, it is as we heard before: one can only obtain happiness serving the One true God. In other words: the *communio unitatis* is only possible in a communion that is, at once *communio* in the true

[150] Ibid., Book XIX, chapter 21.

adoration of God.[151]

Therefore, it can be ascertained that the second clue that Augustine provides insofar as establishing the ideal community on Earth is that it should be a city where the people have gathered to adore the true God. The theological intentionality behind the foundation of Puebla, as we can observe, obeys these two Augustinian conditions. First, it attempts to be a symbol of the Heavenly Jerusalem; nobody claims it is a concretization of the Heavenly City on earth, but rather a symbol of it. Motolinia in his chronicle makes a clear distinction between how the city of angels, described in Revelation, is of an intelligible nature, and Puebla, on the other hand, is of this earth: "Cibdad de los Ángeles no ay quien crea auer otra sino la del cielo. Aquella está edificada como cibdad en las alturas que es madre nuestra a la cual deseamos yr […] Otra nueuamente fundada, e por nombre llamada çibdad de los Ángeles, es en la Nueva España, tierra de Anauac."[152] The sentence that follows in the chronicle; "A do en otro tiempo era morada de los demonios, cibdad de Satanás", is not without importance either, because it establishes the justification for erecting Puebla, the reflection of God's city, on Anahuac:[153] the unbearable evil inherent in the natives' pagan rituals.

Indeed, it is also important to glance at the obverse of the ideal condition represented by the city of Puebla. What was so corrupt about the land of Anahuac prior to the arrival of Christianity? What was so heinous that it needed to be counterbalanced by an ideal city, a city that aspired to be a reflection of God's realm? Apparently a great deal, given that Motolinia's *Memoriales* dedicate a good portion of its content to highlighting the evil practiced by the natives in the name of their pagan traditions. The second chapter of *Memoriales,* just to begin with, is dedicated to describing the ten plagues that the land of Anahuac, like Egypt before

[151] Joseph Ratzinger, *Pueblo y casa de Dios en la doctrina de san Agustín sobre la Iglesia*, 1 edition (Ediciones Encuentro, 2012), See the chapter entitled: *Iustitia and Utilitas*.
[152] Benavente, *Memoriales: Edición crítica, introducción, notas y apéndice, Nancy Joe Dyer.*, 363.
[153] *Anahuac* is the topographical designation that the Nahuatl peoples used to refer to the central valleys of Mexico. Sometimes it is used as a synonym for Mesoamerica.

it, had to endure because of the "dureza e obstinaçion de sus moradores".[154] Motolinia is careful to point out that the reason was without a doubt that "en esta tierra auía mucha crueldad y derramamiento de sangre humana ofreçida al demonio, ángel de Satanás".[155] Even when Christian doctrine began to be taught and embraced by some of the indigenous peoples, *Motolinia* recounts that many individuals were not willing to renounce their old pagan rites, and so they scurried at night to continue practicing them in a clandestine manner; "de noche se ayuntauan y llamauan y hazían fiestas al demonio con muchos y diuersos rritos que tenían antiguos".[156] Perhaps one of the most loathed practices the mendicant friars observed, and evidently condemned, was the practice of human sacrifice. There are at least four chapters in *Memoriales* in which Motolinia carefully documented different rituals or *fiestas,* in which sacrifices occurred. One statement that the Franciscan friar makes in chapter nineteen, when describing the rituals performed in honor of the Mexica god of fire, is quite illustrative of the missionary's conviction that the Devil was in possession of this land; "¿No miráis como aquel soberuio que dezía: "*Yn çelum conçendan, supra astra Dei exaltauo solium meum, similis ero Altisimo*" [Isaiah 14:13]? Trabajo en esta tierra de levanter en alto sus crueles sacrifiçios, y aquél que del çielo fue derrocado, ¡cómo trabajo por derocar (sic) y echar de alto a los ombres, y en cuanto puede lleuar al profundo sus ánimas y cuerpos!".[157] A land possessed thus by the deceiving nature of Satan was clearly a land in need of guidance, of counterbalances to such deep-rooted traditions. Puebla then should be understood as another strategy in the spreading of the light of the true God in the land of Anahuac.

Furthermore, Puebla is a city of angels, and for Augustine angels are models to which humankind can aspire, insofar as they are beings that share the light of God. The city was created to counter the paganism present in the New World, it was to be a commune in adoration of the true God, with the guidance and benediction of the angels: "tierra de Anahuac. A do en otro tiempo era morada de los demonios,

[154] Benavente, *Memoriales: Edición crítica, introducción, notas y apéndice, Nancy Joe Dyer.*, 137.
[155] Ibid., 138.
[156] Ibid., 363.
[157] Ibid., 190.

cibdad de Satanás, habitación de enemigos, ya hay en ella Cibdad de los Ángeles."[158]

The great interest the Franciscans had in the spiritual destiny of the city of Puebla was also an attempt to strengthen their spiritual mission in New Spain: to embody the ideals of the Primitive Church, the one that St. Francis himself had longed after in strict imitation of Christ's philosophy of life. If the main tenet of the Franciscan order was to try to return Christianity to an ideal, original state, then the creation of a city that welcomed Christians to live in an honest, hard-working commune would have fit comfortably into their spiritual agenda.

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On the other hand, if the Franciscan order provided the spiritual matter for instituting an ideal city, the *Audiencia Real* provided the social matter that set Puebla apart from any urban experiment in the history of New Spain. The latter part of Motolinia's chronicle provides clues to the social advancements that accompanied with the foundation of Puebla.

> Edificóse este pueblo a instancia y rruegos de frayles menores que suplicaron a estos señores quisiesen hazer un pueblo de españoles que se diesen a cultiuar la tierra y hazer labranzas y heredades al modo de España, Pues en la tierra hauía muy gran dispusición y aparejo, y no que todos estuuiesen esperando rrepartimientos de indios. Y que se començarían pueblos en los quales se rrecogerían muchos cristianos que al presente andauan ociosos e bagabundos, e darían exemplo a los naturales de cristiandad y de trabajar al modo de España. E que theniendo heredades thomarían amor a la patria, y ternían voluntad de permanesçer en ella los que antes andauan por disfrutarla y volverse a España, y que de este prinçipio susçedería muchos bienes, etcétera.[159]

[158] Ibid., 363.
[159] Ibid.

Although there were an array of interests motivating those who collaborated on the creation of Puebla, Motolinia insisted that the reason for its foundation was to create a city for Spaniards who would work the land as it was done in Spain. Perhaps even more importantly, he mentions that these hypothetical settlers would not depend on native labor (the *repartimiento de indios*).

Repartimiento de indios is a term used to refer to the *encomienda* system, a concept born in the Antilles with its exploration, pillaging, and eventual occupation by the Spaniards—headed initially by Christopher Columbus himself—of the island of Hispaniola, at the dawn of the sixteenth century. The concept of *encomienda* meant that the indigenous inhabitants would be forced to do agricultural and mining work for the Spaniards, with the argument that said labor was necessary for the settlers to render tribute to the king of Spain, consisting in a certain quantity of gold.[160] The imposition of forced labor on the indigenous populations, together with the new epidemics introduced by the Spaniards, practically annihilated the indigenous populations of the Spanish-occupied Caribbean islands .

The *encomienda* arrived in New Spain along with Hernán Cortés in 1519.[161] By the time Puebla de los Ángeles was founded in 1531, the system was widespread in all of the territory of New Spain to the extent that, during the first three decades of the sixteenth century, it became the economic basis for the urban Spanish settlements, also known as *repúblicas españolas*, which were also the main administrative centers of the colony. As François Chevalier has demonstrated, from a social perspective the foundation of Puebla was a landmark in the process of changing the course of the *encomienda* system.[162]

According to Chevalier and Albi Romero, Puebla was meant to welcome the Spaniards of lower rank who participated in the war of conquest and did not have enough resources or rank to obtain an *encomienda*.[163] Toward 1530, the *encomienda* system began to be frowned

[160] Silvio Arturo Zavala, *La encomienda indiana* (Madrid: Helénica, 1935), 1.
[161] Zavala, *La encomienda indiana*, 38.
[162] François Chevalier, *Significación social de la fundación de la Puebla de los Ángeles* (Puebla, Mexico: Centro de estudios históricos de Puebla, 1957).
[163] François Chevalier, *Significación social de la fundación de la Puebla de los Ángeles* (Puebla,

upon by the Crown and the Church alike, who were interested in proclaiming the complete liberty of the indigenous peoples.[164] However, even though the Crown ordered the suppression of the *encomienda*, in practical terms the *Audiencia* in New Spain considered this had to be done gradually; they anticipated opposition from the *encomenderos*. Allegedly then, Puebla was conceived by the *Audiencia* as a social experiment that would, by its own existence, prove that it was possible to eliminate the despised *encomienda* system.[165]

Puebla's initial settlers received help from the inhabitants of the neighboring indigenous towns to build temporary housing, to lay out the urban grid, and to perform other labors. When tempestuous rains hit Puebla a couple of months after its foundation, many settlers became discouraged and left the settlement. At this point, Salmerón and the Audiencia became worried that Puebla might fail, so Salmerón himself oversaw an attractive division of land plots among the remaining settlers, in order to convince them to stay. He also negotiated the *encomienda* or free labor of hundreds of natives from some of the major indigenous fiefdoms surrounding Puebla: Tlaxcala, Tepeaca, and Huejotzingo.[166] This occurred in the winter of 1531, and three years later, a Spanish head of family in Puebla would have anything from 15 to 40 indigenous workers at his service. By 1543, or twelve years after the foundation of the city, however, the number had decreased to anything from 2 to 6 workers.[167] From this information, it can be inferred that Puebla marked a

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Mexico: Centro de estudios históricos de Puebla, 1957), 35; Guadalupe Albi Romero, "La sociedad de Puebla de los Ángeles en el siglo XVI," in *Ángeles y Constructores: Mitos y realidades en la historia de Puebla, siglos XVI y XVII* (Puebla: BUAP, Gobierno del estado de Puebla, 2006), 129.

[164] Zavala, *La encomienda indiana*, 71.

[165] Chevalier quotes a letter by the *Audiencia*, dated 1531, in which they express their intention to initiate social experiments: "Nos hemos puesto a hacer ensayos de repúblicas políticas…que sean sin dar a los indios en encomienda, bien que para todos, excepto para los religiosos, esta empresa se tiene por difícil." Chevalier also credits Vasco de Quiroga's experiments around the same dates, (and it is important to remember that Quiroga was a member of the *Audiencia*), namely his *hospitales-pueblos*, in Santa Fe, in the outskirts of Mexico City, with being part of the same initiatives to curb the use of the *repartimiento* system. François Chevalier, *Significación social de la fundación de la Puebla de los Ángeles* (Puebla, Mexico: Centro de estudios históricos de Puebla, 1957) 35-36.

[166] Chevalier, *Significación social de la fundación de la Puebla de los Ángeles*, 29–40.

[167] Ibid., 42–44.

definitive change in the *encomienda* system as it had theretofore been applied in the rest of New Spain. Puebla was also completely different from other towns founded during the same years—an example of which would be Culiacán, in the present-day state of Sinaloa, on Mexico's Pacific coast, which was founded by Nuño de Guzmán in 1532 and was completely dependent on the *encomienda* system.

It can be concluded therefore that, as a social and theological experiment, Puebla was unique within the *República de Españoles* in the sixteenth century, because even if other cities in New Spain possessed strong symbolic dimensions, none incorporated these two elements: a strong mythological discourse that remains popular to this day, and an idealized vocation. Its articulated mythology borrowed largely from Scripture, and therefore provided powerful archetypes for its conception. The symbolic weight of the Heavenly Jerusalem, in turn, pointed toward the complex eschatology brought over to New Spain by the early Franciscan missionaries.

The Augustinian concept of the spiritual city versus the earthly city could also have played an important role in the symbolical configuration of Puebla, although more primary evidence would be needed to confirm it. However, it is important to remember that Augustine's imagination of the dualistic condition of the city, the earthy and the heavenly, stands in contrast to the archetype of the Heavenly Jerusalem, in that the latter is opposed in biblical exegesis to its evil counterpart, Babylon. In New Spain, the segregationist nature of cities, i.e., *repúblicas de indios* and *repúblicas de españoles*, in which the indigenous peoples were considered not inherently evil by the Franciscan missionaries, but rather ignorant of the grace of God but still possessing inherent rights, places the urban practice in viceregal New Spain closer to the Augustinian model. However, what is perhaps more valuable for my discussion, and what I wish to focus on, is how it was possible to articulate a mythopoetic dimension when founding a city in early modern New Spain. To this effect, it is possible to conclude that Puebla's symbolic configuration drew on both the archetype of the Heavenly Jerusalem, and Augustine's concept of the spiritual city of God, without there being a contradiction in terms, in part because Augustine himself was drawing on the imagery of the Heavenly City. The creation of Puebla, at least initially, upheld quite high

idealistic principles rooted in a spiritual and ethical mission; in many respects that fact proves that an early modern urban settlement could still be articulated in a complex and compelling manner that appealed not only to functionalist, social, political, or economic reasons, but also drew inspiration from religious, mythopoetic, and spiritual matters as well.

Finally, in terms of its social advancements, Puebla has been credited also with challenging the *encomienda* system and by extension the model of indigenous forced labor in New Spain. For the above reasons, Puebla not only satisfied the social expectations of its creators, but was also equipped with an articulated mythology that aspired to fulfill the spiritual needs of its creators and instill a sense of belonging and pride in its future inhabitants. The fact that this mythology has persisted, modified, and been revisited a number of times throughout the centuries, as it will be seen in the next chapter, shows the success of this endeavor, or at least the endurance of this aspiration. Toward the end of his chronicle, Motolinia predicted the success of Puebla in the future; attributing the victory to the fact the city possessed the angels' benevolence. His prediction came to pass.

> [P]orque esta çibdad con disfavores y contradicciones no ha hecho sino crecer y otras con grandes fauores se despoblan. Pero como creo que tiene el fauor de los ángeles, no basta disfauor ninguno para dexar de crecer, y ser la que ha de ser.[168]

4. THE GRID AND THE ANGELS: THE SYMBOLIC DIMENSION OF PUEBLA – *PART I*

The decades following the foundation of Puebla de los Ángeles, in the year 1531, saw the slow progression of what was initially a rudimentary settlement into what became over the next decades a legible and orderly town. Like any New Spanish settlement from the first half of the sixteenth century, the incipient city would have

[168] Benavente, *Memoriales: Edición crítica, introducción, notas y apéndice, Nancy Joe Dyer.*, 367.

appeared at first quite primitive in its infrastructure. The official city documents kept in the municipal archives prove quite useful for illustrating Puebla's urban condition. In 1781, a scribe named Pedro López de Villaseñor, hired by the city council, collected and transcribed the oldest documents he could find in the registers and archives. A transcription was necessary, due to the general lack of ability in the eighteenth century to read sixteenth century handwritten manuscripts. The collection of documents, transcribed and organized by López de Villaseñor, include city decrees, ordinances, and official correspondence between the city council and high-ranking officials such as the viceroy or members of the *Audiencia Real*.[169] These documents, when seen from a general perspective, describe the slow but firm transition from an embryonic settlement to an orderly urban community. In 1537, for instance, an ordinance on the attributes and characteristics to be possessed by *poyos* (benches attached to a house's façade) and window grills was made official; and in 1541 a decree preserved in the supplementary volume to the second registrar book dictated that the *tianguis* (market) be located at the main square. The first *boticario* (pharmacist), Rodrigo Márquez, opened up his pharmacy to business in 1545. In the fifth registrar book, there are at least two official decrees that specify the city limits between Puebla and the indigenous towns of Cholula and Totimehuacan. In 1550, according to the sixth registrar book, a decree was issued granting a certain number of lots exclusively for indigenous newcomers. These plots of land were located towards the road to Cholula, in the eastern part of the city. On page seventy-one of the same registrar book, another decree assigns lots to more indigenous settlers; these were to be located in the *barrio* of Santiago, also in the eastern part of the city. Many more documents in López de Villaseñor's transcription show the natural process of urbanization that Puebla experienced through communal settlements and ordinances. These documents also describe how ideas, rules, and agreements became concretized, slowly shaping the urban landscape.

[169] Pedro López de Villaseñor, *Cartilla Vieja de la Nobilísima Ciudad de Puebla. Facsimilar edition of the 1781 original* (Mexico City: UNAM, 1961).

In the latter half of the sixteenth century, the main square, as in any other town in the viceroyalty, constituted the city's most relevant public space. The square was also the generator of the axes that—still evident today—unfold the orthogonal grid, so characteristic of the city, and which will be discussed in this chapter. While the cathedral was begun in 1536, as an official decree in the city's registrar book from that same year demonstrates, its structure—*sans* the elaborate ornamentation—would not be finished until some hundred years later, in 1642, when Bishop Juan de Palafox consecrated it.[170] Therefore, the towers and domes of the cathedral and other churches would not become a distinguishing feature of the city's skyline until the early seventeenth century. Puebla's built urban landscape was very likely low in height, and rather uniform in terms of materials and finishes; the buildings displayed little ornamentation. The principal avenues most likely remained unpaved for years to come, and the secondary streets remained in that condition until as late as the nineteenth century.

When walking the streets, one would have appreciated how most buildings and their façades were quite elemental: riverbed stone, mud bricks, and limestone for constructing walls, limestone stucco finishes, and quarried, cut stone for the few ornamental elements. The most astounding features of Puebla's residential façades were ashlar plinths, balconies, and a handful of ornamental components of a

[170] An official city decree states that the municipal councilor Alonso Valiente was to collect a tax among the Indians of Calpan—an indigenous village in the outskirts of Puebla—to aid the construction of the new cathedral (a modest church, made of adobe bricks and covered with a simple wooden, tiled roof existed since the re-establishment of the city on the Western bank of the San Francisco River, according to Echeverría y Veytia). The municipal councilor is also vested by this decree to recruit workers among the Indians for the building of the cathedral. See: Municipal Archive of Puebla, Registrar Book no. 3, folio 174F & 174V, August 8, 1536. The consecration of the cathedral by Bishop Juan de Palafox is a renowned event in the history of the city. When Palafox arrived in New Spain in 1640, he found that the cathedral's construction works had been stalled for many years, so he championed the cause of finishing the erection of the building. He finally managed to complete the structure of the cathedral, without the bell towers or any of the exterior ornamentation, consecrating it with a splendid ceremony in 1642. See: Fernández de Echeverría y Veytia, *Historia de la fundación de la Ciudad de la Puebla de los Ángeles en la Nueva España, su descripción y presente estado*, 1962, I:See chapter IV, dedicated to the construction of the cathedral and its consecration by bishop Palafox. Page 53 and subsequents.

Classical, late-Renaissance taste. These were of cut, sculpted, quarried stone, and concentrated around the main entrances of the residences belonging to distinguished members of Pueblan society. Examples would include two of the oldest houses in Puebla, still extant in the city: the Casa del Deán (figure 2); and the Casa de las Cabecitas (figure 3).

Figure 2. The Casa del Deán, belonging to the dean of Puebla's cathedral, Don Tomás de la Plaza, built c. 1580. The façade has retained some characteristics typical of Puebla's architecture at the time. The buildings had few windows and doors, walls were finished with limestone, and all the ornamentation, built in quarried, cut stone, was concentrated at the main entrances.

Figure 3. The Casa de las Cabecitas, another example of the elementary architecture built in Puebla during the latter half of the sixteenth century.

As we have seen, the Puebla de los Ángeles was an experimental urban enterprise, created within the context of a segregationist urban policy—the *república española* vs. the *república indiana*—which aimed at keeping the Spanish population separate from the indigenous one. However, this segregationist policy did not last long, as López de Villaseñor's documental collection proves. The several official decrees that granted land plots to indigenous settlers—on the periphery of the city, while the city center remained exclusive for Spaniards—are proof of how quickly the city diversified from the outset. The practice of the *repartimiento de indios* was another way by which the presence of the native population in Puebla was felt very early on.

In contrast to the city's basic architecture and infrastructure, even in the second half of the sixteenth century the city already appeared to have a strong symbolic dimension, one evident in its coat of arms. As established earlier, when the city of Puebla was founded, the Franciscan Order—represented by Fray Toribio de

Benavente, *dit* Motolinia—was a central participant in the foundational project. My belief is that the Franciscans were quite conscious of their intentions in actively delineating the religious-theological dimension of the city. The Franciscan Order in New Spain has already been credited with exerting a strong influence on the creation of urban settlements in the sixteenth century in the Puebla-Tlaxcala region, and effecting the way the urban layouts were designed in these cities.[171]

Motolinia's account of the creation of Puebla consists of four sections. The first part deals with the symbolic dimension of the city; the second deals with the social and moral justification for the establishment of Puebla; and the third section is in essence the chronicle of the foundation. Finally, the fourth and final part is a discourse on the ideal characteristics of the foundational site. In this last segment, Motolinia lists the many advantageous resources the city has at its disposal: fresh and plentiful water, quarries with high-quality stone for construction purposes, and nearby forests and arable land.

The beginning of the chronicle is crucial for untangling the symbolic personality of the city. Motolinia establishes an analogical and symbolic relationship between the Heavenly Jerusalem and the city of Puebla, quoting the Book of Revelation, chapters 21 and 22 directly. He states that Puebla is a city founded upon a connection with the celestial city, although Puebla does indeed remain as the earthly version, located in New Spain, the land of *Anahuac.*

> Cibdad de los Ángeles no ay quien crea auer otra syno la del cielo. Aquella está edificada como cibdad en las alturas que es madre

[171] Yanes Díaz, for instance, informs us that the Franciscans were responsible for the founding of the indigenous city of Tlaxcala. Additionally, and in the specific case of Puebla, Yanes also ventures the hypothesis of how the Franciscans, in joint collaboration with the civic authorities, shared the responsibility of designing the urban trace of the city of Puebla: "¿Quiénes trazaron la ciudad: los funcionarios de la Corona o los frailes? Lo más probable es que la decisión de la traza y disposición de los futuros edificios religiosos, administrativos, militares o civiles había quedado en manos tanto de los funcionarios reales como de los franciscanos…". See: Gonzalo Yanes Díaz, *Desarrollo urbano virreinal en la región Puebla-Tlaxcala* (Puebla, Mexico: BUAP-UNAM, 1994).

> nuestra, a la qual deseamos yr […] Otra nueuamente fundada e por nombre llamada çibdad de los Ángeles, es en la Nueua España, tierra de *Anauac*.[172]

Motolinia's writing, observed as a whole, was a complex articulation of several modes of thought, i.e., it incorporated a series of theological discourses as well as an elaborate system of cultural beliefs. A literary analysis of his writing reveals a vast array of differing influences. Initially, the most quoted text in *Memoriales*—the book that includes the chronicle of Puebla—is undoubtedly Scripture, and this shows through in Motolinia's abundant usage of metaphors, similes, and quotations taken from the Old and New Testaments. He quotes both in Latin and in Spanish, sometimes even intermingling both languages in the same quote.[173] According to Nancy Joe Dyer, an impressive and varied number of sources can be identified in Motolinia's writings: Antonio de Nebrija, for instance, can be appreciated in Motolinia's use of the Spanish language, specifically his grammar and lexicography.[174] Erasmus of Rotterdam was presumably another important influence for Motolinia: the Dutch theologian apparently affected the friar's vast employment of symbolic language.[175] Adding to the list of influences, Girolamo Savonarola, Aesop, and the Church Fathers—particularly Augustine—can be identified in his writings through quotes and direct references.[176]

At the outset of the chronicle, and in quite a straightforward manner, Motolinia imprints an eschatological character to the city of Puebla. In Chapter 2, it was posited that eschatological doctrine, as seen and understood from Motolinia's

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[172] Benavente, *Memoriales: Edición crítica, introducción, notas y apéndice, Nancy Joe Dyer.*, 363.
[173] Nancy Joe Dyer claims the most widely used version of the Bible employed by Benavente was the famed Complutensian Polyglot Bible, an edition sponsored by Cardinal Francisco Ximénes de Cisneros at Alcalá de Henares University, towards 1520. See: Ibid., 42.
[174] Ibid., 43–45.
[175] Ibid., 45–52.
[176] Augustine of Hippo is quoted directly twice in Chapter III of *Memoriales*, in Fray Martín de Valencia's biography—contained only in Benavente's *Historia de los Indios de la Nueva España*—and quoted again in Chapter XI of the *Historia*.

position—which is to say as a sixteenth-century Franciscan Brother Minor, influenced by the internal reformist Observant movement of his order—was a likely influence, to a lesser or larger degree, on his view of the world.[177] It follows then that eschatology played a part in Motolinia's *Weltanschauung*, as it presumably did with some of his fellow brethren: for example Fray Gerónimo de Mendieta, Fray Juan de Torquemada, or Fray Diego de Valadés. Finally, as I suggested earlier, a strand of Augustinian doctrine can be found in the articulation of the mytho-theological dimension of Puebla de los Ángeles.

If imagery from the Book of Revelation was a direct influence on Puebla's symbolic articulation, and if Augustinian doctrine also influenced the theological conception of the city, the point of convergence—the one that Motolinia himself conjured up in his chronicle of the foundation of the city—was no other than the Heavenly Jerusalem.

> [Y] puestos en este valle de lágrimas, la buscamos con gemidos ynumerables, porque hasta vernos en ella, siempre está nuestro coraçón inquieto y desasosegado. Qué tal sea esta ciudad, ya está escrito, porque la vio y la contempló Sant Juan Euangelista en los capítulos xxi. e xxii. del *Apocalipsi*.[178]

As Motolinia points out, the celestial city is lavishly described in the Book of Revelation, as the angel reveals to John the Divine the city of heaven in all of its meaningful constructive and symbolic detail:

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[177] At that time Motolinia, together with the other eleven first missionaries sent to New Spain in 1524, was stationed at the San Gabriel Chapter or Province of Franciscan Monasteries, in Extremadura, Spain. The monasteries in this Province were created in the midst of a reformist movement to the interior of the order; known as the Observant branch, it was a direct inheritor of the Spiritualist branch, abolished by Pope John XXII in the fourteenth century. The movement was known for having been influenced by eschatological doctrines, and by writers such as Joachim of Fiore. See Chapter 2 for a more detailed exposition of this subject.

[178] Benavente, *Memoriales: Edición crítica, introducción, notas y apéndice, Nancy Joe Dyer.*, 363.

> And in the spirit he carried me away to a great, high mountain and showed me the holy city Jerusalem coming down out of heaven from God. It has the glory of God and a radiance like a very rare jewel, like jasper, clear as crystal. It has a great, high wall with twelve gates, and at the gates twelve angels.[179]
>
> …
>
> The angel who talked to me had a measuring rod of gold to measure the city and its gates and walls. The city lies foursquare, its length the same as its width; and he measured the city with his rod, fifteen hundred mile; its length and width and height are equal.[180]
>
> …
>
> I saw no temple in the city, for its temple is the Lord God the Almighty and the Lamb.[181]
>
> …
>
> Then the angel showed me the river of the water of life, bright as crystal, flowing from the throne of God and of the Lamb through the middle of the street of the city.[182]

Undoubtedly, the Heavenly Jerusalem is the most powerful and conjured urban archetype in the history of Christianity. And this can be particularly true in the context of a medieval-influenced cultural landscape, such as the one that the Franciscan missionaries brought with them to the New World. Indeed, as Luis

[179] Revelation, 21:10-12.
[180] Revelation, 21:15-16.
[181] Revelation, 21: 22.
[182] Revelation, 22:1-2.

Weckmann suggests, the methods of evangelization developed by the mendicant orders in New Spain, were ultimately an exegesis of the doctrines developed by the great scholastic writers of the Middle Ages.[183]

In the context of Puebla's symbolic representation as it appears on the city's coat of arms, we can observe that it evokes a city-temple; and this should come as no surprise, considering that the associations between temple and city are very close in the Christian tradition. The heavenly abode of God is Christianity's home; the symbol of home is complemented, in the Judeo-Christian tradition, by the symbol of a temple, which is where God resides. For the Judeo-Christian tradition, the inspiration to somehow embody the temple in architectural or physical terms, and the form imagined for that temple, came from the design of the temple built in Jerusalem by Solomon. The design of the temple was originally revealed to David as recounted in the Book of Chronicles: "Solomon began to build the house of the Lord in Jerusalem on Mount Moriah, where the Lord had appeared to his father David, at the place that David had designated, on the threshing of Ornan the Jebusite."[184]

To the image of Solomon's Temple—carefully described, measurements and all, in the Books of Chronicles and Kings—we must also add the imagery related to the descent from heaven of a city during the end of times as described by John the Divine in the Book of Revelation. Returning to the Temple, however, it must be noted that, "[a]ccording to tradition, the Temple followed the designs of God and therefore could be interpreted as the archetypal work of architecture—a work that revealed a true order beyond the whimsical tastes of man and any temporal expressions of political power",[185] as Alberto Pérez-Gómez has noted, so that it is then easy to understand the tremendous importance this building carries for any

[183] Luis Weckmann, *La herencia medieval de México*, Second Edition (Mexico City: El Colegio de México - Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1994), 186.
[184] 2 Chronicles 3:1
[185] Alberto Pérez-Gómez, "Juan Bautista Villalpando's Divine Model in Architectural Theory," *Chora: Intervals in the Philosophy of Architecture* 1, no. 3 (1999): 126.

relationships existing between architecture and Christianity at large. Furthermore, it is interesting to observe that while most of the physical (drawn) architectural reconstructions of the Temple of Salomon are actually early modern in date, produced in the wake of Juan Bautista Villalpando's famous *In Ezechielem Explanationes* published in the late sixteenth century, one of the very few medieval examples is actually a drawing that includes a plan and two elevations, by a twelfth century Franciscan friar, Nicolas of Lyre (see figure 4).

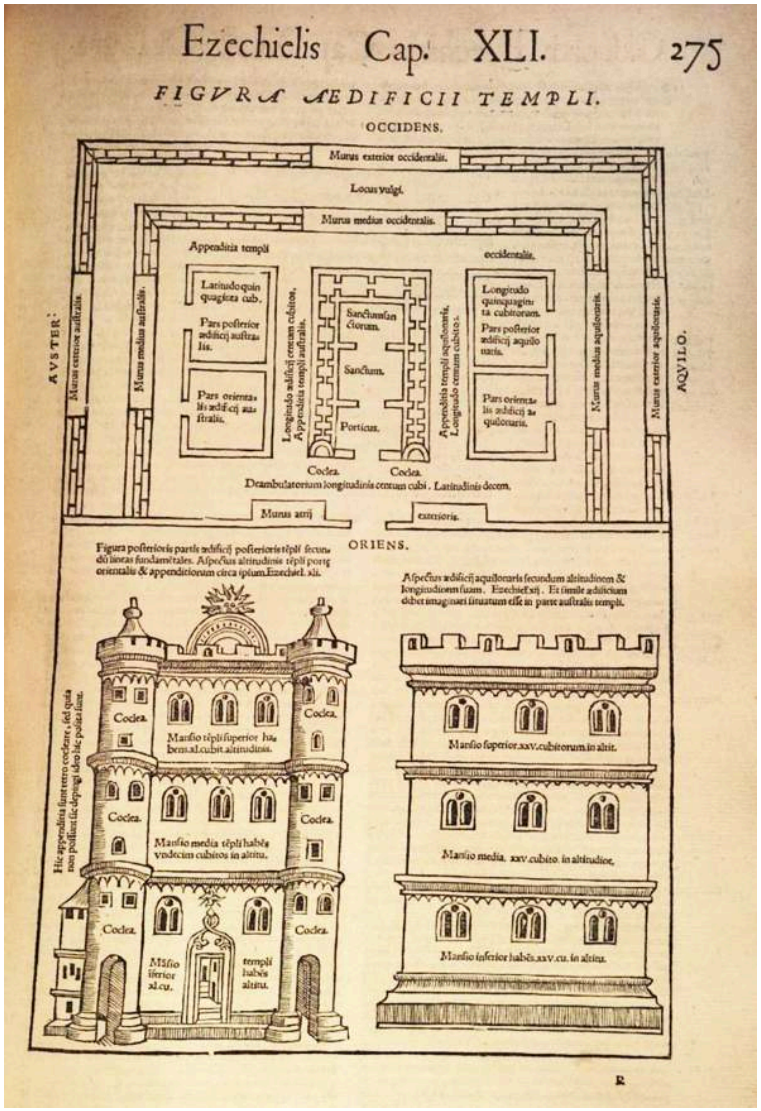

Figure 4: Nicolas of Lyre, Temple of Solomon, taken from .Bibliorum Sacrorumcum Glossa ordinaria & Nicolai Lyrani expositionibus. Lyon, 1545, fol. 275R.

Additionally, the Heavenly Jerusalem was a symbol constantly employed by the mendicant orders in New Spain. They used it as a rhetorical device of evangelization throughout the sixteenth century, and the graphic evidence of their use is still abundant.[186] Images of the Heavenly Jerusalem were not uncommon in the form of mural painting, and can be found in the sixteenth century conventual complexes built by the Franciscans and other mendicant orders scattered throughout New Spain's territory. An example would be the Franciscan convent of Tecamachalco, in the present-day state of Puebla, built in 1541, in which a painter named Juan Gerson decorated the choir loft's ribbed vault of the church with several biblical images. One of these scenes portrays the Heavenly Jerusalem as a squared-plan city, walled, with three towers and three entrances at each side, evidently following the description given by John in Revelation 21 and 22 (see figure 5).

[186] Many authors have tackled the subject of the Heavenly Jerusalem or the Temple of Jerusalem as archetypes, and their usage in colonial Mexico. Antonio Rubial has analyzed the presence of the Heavenly Jerusalem in New Spanish painting, and Martha Fernández has studied the "images" of the Temple of Jerusalem in New Spain, as symbolic models that inspired the built forms of the conventual complexes erected by the mendicant orders, and even as models employed in the configuration of the built forms used for cathedrals and female convents in New Spain. See: Antonio Rubial García, "Civitas Dei et novus orbis: La Jerusalén celeste en la pintura de Nueva España," *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* 20, no. 72 (June 8, 1998): pp. 5–37; Martha Fernández, *La imagen del Templo de Jerusalén en la Nueva España*, First Edition, Colección de Arte 52 (Mexico City: UNAM, 2003).

Figure 5. The Heavenly Jerusalem, as portrayed by artist Juan Gerson at the Franciscan convent of Tecamachalco, state of Puebla, Mexico, c.1541.

Therefore, if we are to concede that the evangelical efforts carried out by the mendicant orders in New Spain were loaded with eschatological connotations, we can now easily observe how the image of the Heavenly Jerusalem fits into the larger scheme outlined by the Franciscans in terms of their conversion campaigns and objectives. The image of Jerusalem was viewed as the city of God, the ultimate destiny of the righteous on Earth; it was employed as a symbol for God's institution on Earth—the Christian Church—and was represented at the same time by His temple. It was constantly invoked in an act of visual rhetoric by the mendicant orders in New Spain. An example is subtly present in the work of an early Franciscan missionary, the *mestizo* Friar Diego de Valadés (1533-1582). In his *Rhetorica Christiana*, a treatise on the various methods of conversion utilized by the Franciscan missionaries in New Spain, presented to the Council of the Indies and published in 1579 in Perugia, Italy, Valadés illustrated his treatise with various engravings that were used as mnemotechnical rhetorical devices.[187] One of these

[187] Valadés, Diego de, *Rhetorica christiana* (Perugia: Petrumiacobum Petrutium,1579)

engravings is a veritable graphic compendium of the Franciscan orders' evangelical duties in the New World (see figure 5).

At its center, the composition shows the contingent of twelve Franciscans who arrived in New Spain in 1524, performing a ritual procession and led by none other than their *pater piorum*, Saint Francis of Assisi. Scattered around the procession of the twelve—thirteen if we count Saint Francis—various other missionaries are shown performing evangelical duties: teaching the Indigenous peoples about the creation of the world or *creatio mundi*; baptizing them or *baptismus*; catechizing them or *discunt doctrina*, etc. They are all set in an architectural open space that resembles the atrium of a Franciscan conventual complex, such as the ones built by the order throughout the territory of New Spain in the sixteenth century. At the center of the atrium there is a temple with four towers, and a dome at its center. The procession of the twelve Franciscan missionaries can be seen passing by in front of the central church building, and at each corner of the atrium there is a chapel, wherein missionaries can be seen preaching to the native peoples. The layout resembles that of a typical Franciscan convent, in which the church building would be located at the center, and a large atrium wherein evangelical activities such as those depicted in the engraving were performed.

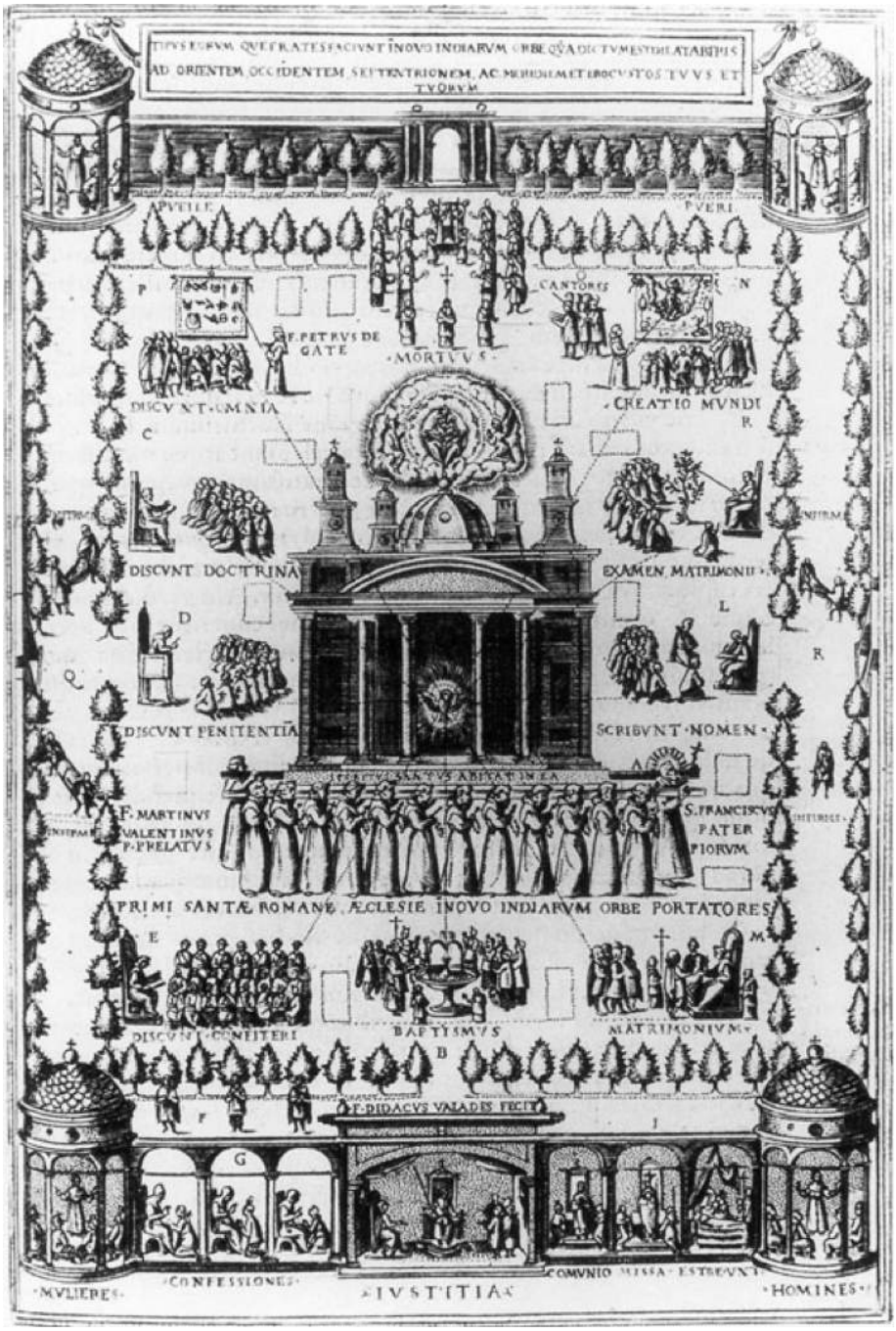

Figure 6. An engraving taken from *Rhetorica Christiana*, by Friar Diego de Valadés, published in Perugia, in 1579. Presumably drawn by Valadés himself, the engraving follows the procedures by which a mnemotechnical device operates; by graphically representing the various concepts that the author wishes to communicate to the viewer. In this case, what Valadés wanted to represent are the various evangelization efforts by the early Franciscans in the New World, and the techniques they employed to convert the natives of New Spain.

On close inspection, the coat of arms displays a representation of a city

(alternatively a temple) with five towers, much like representations of the Heavenly Jerusalem produced during the Middle Ages (figure 6). The city-temple is flanked by two angels, and above the angels, the letters K and V are displayed, which stand for *Karolus Quintus*, the acknowledgement of the figure of Emperor Charles V. The angels in turn are touching the towers of the city-temple, as if engaged in the act of constructing or caring for the edifice. The city-temple has three entrances, suggesting at least two things; one, that the city-temple could be perfectly imagined as possessing a squared plan; and two, that if the city-temple was squared in plan, it could very well have twelve gates in total, just as in the description given by John in Revelation 21. It is relevant to remember that the number twelve not only represents the number of gates to the city, but its measurements: when the angel takes a rod to demonstrate John its perfection, the dimension of the city is twelve thousand stadia, and the walls are one hundred and forty-four cubits, the square of twelve.[188] Another important feature is the framing banner that displays a motto: *Angeluis suis Deus mandavit de te ut custodiant te in omnibus viis tuis*, a reference to Psalm 91, 11 (see figure 6 for a detailed representation of the coat of arms). The association with Psalm 91 is another powerful corroboration of the city's angelic or supra-terrestrial affiliation.

Finally, another important feature is the river running next to the city. It recalls the passage by John in Revelation, 22:1: "[T]hen the angel showed me the river of the water of life, bright as crystal". At the time of its foundation, the city could boast of having an abundance of water sources: rivers, thermal waters, and natural springs. As Fernández de Echeverría wrote: "Si anduvo liberal la Divina Providencia en la copia de bellas cualidades de que colmó a la Ciudad de los Ángeles, en ninguna más que en la abundancia de aguas con que la quizo regalar."[189] The presence of water as a symbolic element in the coat of arms evidently points towards the water of life described in Revelation—an archetypal symbol of abundance, life, and fertility in all

[188] For the Heavenly Jerusalem's measurements, see: Revelation, 21:12-17
[189] Fernández de Echeverría y Veytia, *Historia de la fundación de la Ciudad de la Puebla de los Ángeles en la Nueva España, su descripción y presente estado*, 1962, I:Vol. I, 233.

senses—and to the water present in the earthly city of Puebla.

Furthermore, it is important to point out that, as Keith D. Lilley affirms, "[T]he city that lay at the heart of the medieval world—the *axis mundi*—was of course Jerusalem".[190] Lilley has researched the symbolic forms of the Middle Ages, and very much as in Puebla's case, in medieval Europe the Heavenly Jerusalem was used in the imagination and configuration of cities such as Padua, in Italy, or Chester, in north-west England. In the case of the latter, and based on the account *De Laude Cestrie* by Lucian, an incumbent of St Werburgh' abbey, the city of Chester was likened to the Heavenly Jerusalem. Lilley reports that in Padua's case, and according to a chronicle written by a local judge, Giovanni da Nono, the association between the celestial city and Padua was delivered in the form of a dream, in which an angel conveyed the vision to a legendary king of Padua named Egidus.[191]

The notion of visions delivered in dreams, by angels, undeniably resonates with the tradition relative to Puebla; there are obvious similarities. A popular legend speaks of a vision of the viceregal metropolis received prior to its creation by angels. The legend, paradoxically enough, involves the bishop of Tlaxcala, who is credited as having been one of the initial proponents of the project of foundation, only to later become, in Julia Hirschberg's words, an "encarnizado enemigo del nuevo establecimiento", apparently because the chosen site for the foundation of the city was never to his liking (see Chapter 3 in which the role of Bishop Julián Garcés is discussed at more length).[192]

[190] Keith D. Lilley, *City and Cosmos: The Medieval World in Urban Form* (London: Reaktion Books, 2009), 15.
[191] Ibid. See chapter one, "Urban Mappings."
[192] Hirschberg, "La fundación de Puebla de los Ángeles," 191.

Figure 7. A representation of the Heavenly Jerusalem, from *Liber Floridus*, by Lambert von Saint-Omer, 1112.

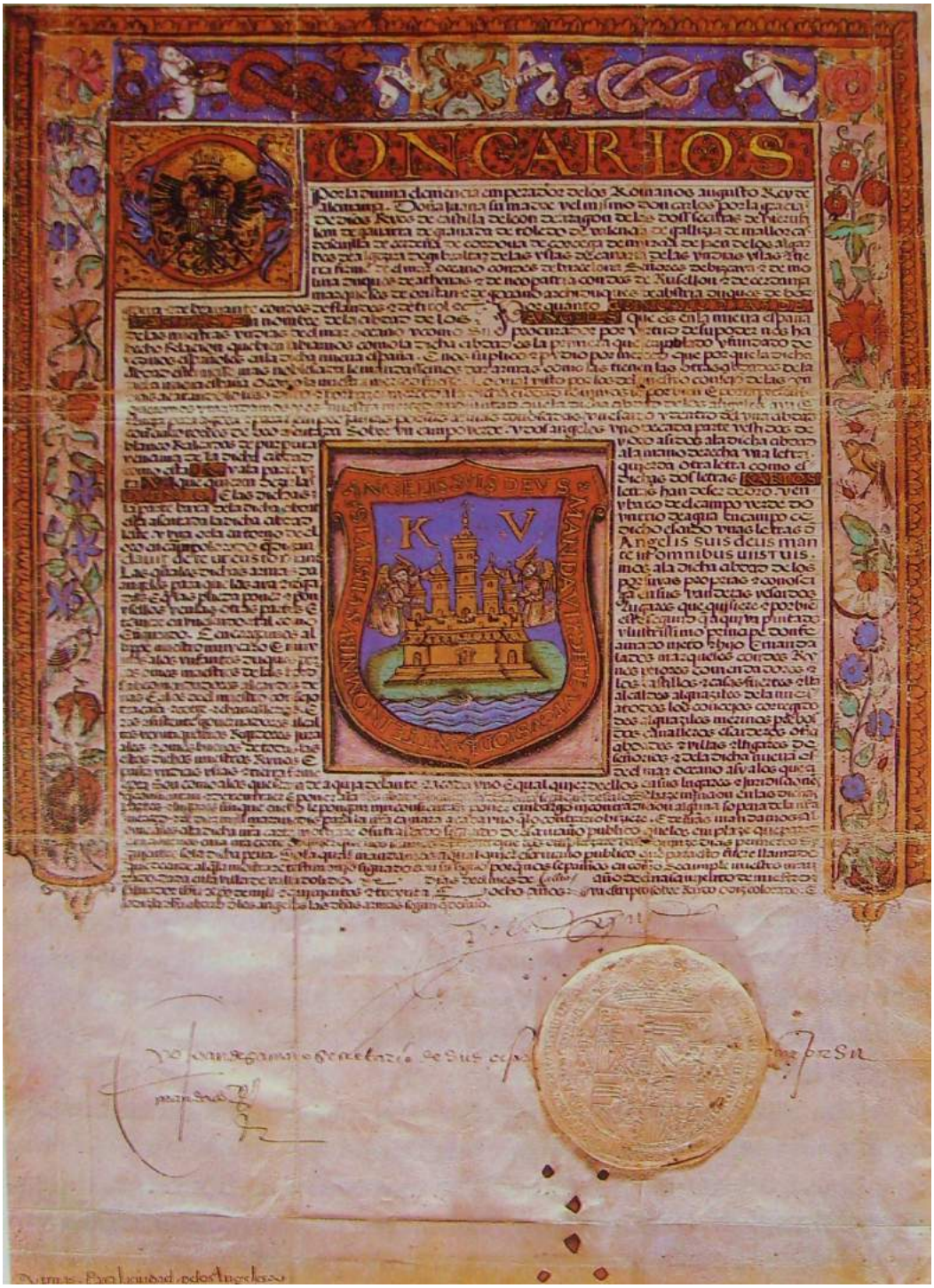

Figure 8. The Cédula Real of the city of Puebla, containing the official coat of arms at the center of the document. It was signed in Valladolid in 1538 by Queen Juana de Castilla and her secretary, Juan de Sámano.

Figure 9. The outline of Puebla's coat of arms in black and white, taken from the original design that is part of the Cédula Real from 1538.

This legend was recounted by the eighteenth century historian Mariano Fernández de Echeverría y Veytia, on the eve of September 29, the day of Michaelmas or feast of Saint Michael the Archangel of the year 1530. According to the tale Bishop Garcés, while having a pleasant dream, had a vision of a most beautiful valley surrounded by three rivers of crystalline water. In the dream, Garcés could see that the site possessed all of the ideal qualities to be desired in a city. After contemplating the site, Garcés saw a group of angels descending from the heavens, who thence proceeded to lay out cords on the ground, tracing the characteristic, grid-like structure of the city. Lastly, the legend also established that Garcés later asked a group of Franciscans to accompany him to look for the site of his dream. When the group finally came upon it, he instructed the mendicant friars on how the

site would be the ideal place to found the city they had in mind.[193]

Setting aside for a moment the matter of the propitious dream, another important question regarding the coat of arms is the authorship of its design. Fernández de Echeverría y Veytia, in his influential *Historia de la fundación de la Ciudad de la Puebla de los Ángeles*, elaborated a theory wherein he concluded that the person to have influenced the design of Puebla's coat of arms was not Motolinia but another Franciscan, a contemporary and close associate of his: Mexico City's very own first bishop, Friar Juan de Zumárraga. Fernández de Echeverría y Veytia claims Puebla's City Council asked the crown of Spain for a coat of arms from as early as 1532, and that a *cédula real* containing a coat of arms was indeed granted by the crown on that year. Fernández de Echeverría y Veytia then questions the reasons as to why Puebla's coat of arms would have what he considers a peculiar design.[194]

He claims the shield does not possess characteristics typical of other coats of arms granted by the Spanish crown at the time. Veytia points out the lack of what he deemed traditional insignia, such as Spain's imperial crown; a miter that would refer to the city's diocese; a castle, or a tower, instead of a five-towered city-temple; and, finally, the presence of angels. He also points towards what was to him a strange choice of motto, the quote from Psalm 91. He argues that the coat of arms, containing the initials of emperor Charles V, would have been more coherent if the motto would have been something along the lines of *A edificavit civitates munitas*; or, due to the presence of the river in the shield, a motto such as *Thiminis impetus letificat civitatem*, would have been more appropriate. Thus, concluded Veytia, the coat of arms' configuration must have resulted from the intervention of a prominent religious figure. The coat of arms was based on obvious religious motifs, instead of highlighting a relevant historical, topographical, or military feature or event. He determined that perhaps it was Friar Juan de Zumárraga, visiting the imperial court

[193] Fernández de Echeverría y Veytia, *Historia de la fundación de la Ciudad de la Puebla de los Ángeles en la Nueva España, su descripción y presente estado*, 1962, I:Vol. I, 41–42.
[194] Ibid., Vol. I. See chapter XIX dedicated to a discussion on the coat of arms. Pages 197–209.

in the year 1532, who might be responsible for sharing the myth surrounding the foundation of Puebla, embodied in Bishop Garcés' dream. Veytia even goes as far as to suggest that Zumárraga perhaps even communicated the dream to the Emperor.[195] The twentieth century historian and chronicler, Efráin Castro Morales, when commenting on Veytia's historiographical work, recognized that the eighteenth century historian had been mistaken in thinking the *cédula* from 1532 included a coat of arms, since Veytia never knew the actual document, but only knew about it through secondary sources. Nowadays it is generally accepted that the 1532 *cédula* granted Puebla the official title of "muy leal ciudad", but not with it a coat of arms.[196] However, as inexact as Veytia's claim to the origin of the city's coat of arms might be, he did foreground the unquestionably unusual character of the design, while offering what appeared to him the most plausible explanation.

In any case, it appears that the Franciscan order had a marked interest in carrying out the experimental foundation of Puebla de los Ángeles. Iif we concede that they were influential in the creation of the city, it is easier to understand the deliberate and planned articulation of its symbolism, and how this symbolism would be loaded with religious references. The symbols represented in the coat of arms display elements of very popular Christian doctrines: medieval eschatology, the Augustinian doctrine of the two cities, and angelology.

Earlier (in Chapter 3), I discussed the role that the angels, as a theological concept, could have played in Puebla's symbolic dimension. This argument was made from an Augustinian perspective and, more specifically, from concepts extracted from *De civitate Dei*. In his work, Augustine contextualized and explained the role of the angelic contingent, understood as God's emissaries vis-à-vis humankind's role in the world. However, Augustine's notions regarding angelology are merely representative of a whole tradition of patristic hermeneutical exegesis of Scripture. Angels, according to Jean Daniélou, have always occupied a very prominent position

[195] Ibid., I:Vol. I, see chapter XIX.
[196] Ibid., Vol. I, see footnote on page 198.

in Christian theology, although in the Modern era the laity has largely forgotten their significance. Modern Christians have come to understand the figure of angels as personifications of psychological realities, or have attempted to understand them through spiritist or theosophical discourses. Such misunderstandings, claims Daniélou, do nothing but muddle the way Christianity conceived angels from the early patristic Christian era.[197] The French Jesuit scholar deftly explains the various roles originally played by angels. To begin with, angels are the transmitters of the Law to humankind:

> In the days before the Law, just as under the Law itself, it was the angels who guided our revered ancestors toward the divine realities, either by prescribing the rules for their conduct, or, as interpreters, by revealing to them the holy ordinances, the secret vision of mysteries that are not of this world.[198]

Angels also reinforce the foundations of the Church; according to Daniélou, they follow Christ in leading humanity back into heaven.[199] Of particular attention is the role they will have in the Second Coming: "At the end of time, it is the angels who will be the ministers of the Lord at the resurrection of the dead."[200] We just need to remember that Scripture confirms this idea in the gospel according to Matthew: "And he will send out his angels with a loud trumpet call, and they will gather his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other."[201]

Given such important functions often overlooked today, it is hardly surprising that angels were employed as central elements in the construction of a mythological origin to the city of Puebla.

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[197] Jean Daniélou, *The Angels and Their Mission: According to the Fathers of the Church* (Westminster, Md.: Thomas More Publishing, 1987), vii–viii.
[198] Ibid., 7.
[199] Ibid., 48.
[200] Ibid., 107.
[201] Matthew 24:31

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While it has been crucial to establish a link between the image of the city-temple in Puebla's coat of arms with the concept of the Heavenly Jerusalem, it is also quite important to discuss how the built environment of the city of Puebla during the latter half of the sixteenth century might have expressed that ideal condition. However rudimentary the architectural environment must have been, there are two powerful built elements in sixteenth century Puebla that speak of its idealistic condition: its gridded layout and its *via crucis* or Way of the Cross.

First I shall examine the gridded layout as connection to Puebla as an ideal city; the orthogonal urban layout, which is also linked to the Heavenly Jerusalem archetype, is evidently a case of sacred geometry being set into practice.[202] Puebla's urban form has been studied mostly from a functionalist stance, inferring that the form that an urban settlement adopted was a product of ordered and rational Renaissance urban principles, presumably adopted in Puebla's tracing of its urban gridded layout. The now-classic study by author Eloy Méndez Sáinz is a case in point. Méndez Sáinz carried out a thorough study of Puebla's urban form, publishing his "Urbanismo y morfología de las ciudades novohispanas: el diseño de Puebla", in 1988.[203] The author exposed the basic characteristics of the layout: the streets run parallel with the central axes, wherein the point zero is the main square. The axes, according to Méndez Sáinz, have a 24°, 30' inclination with respect to the east (see figure 9). Furthermore, the grid is generated by two axes, the *cardo maximus* and the

[202] My affirmation regarding the concept of "sacred geometry" is largely informed by Alberto Pérez-Gómez's writings. As he wrote "[p]rior to the nineteenth century, the architect's concern for *mathemata* was never really formal […] Architectural intentionality was transcendental, necessarily symbolic. Its mode of operation was therefore metaphor, not mathematical equations." For Pérez-Gómez, then, all geometry and proportion prior to the nineteenth century retained its symbolic capacities, relating the mortal (changing, imprecise and unpredictable) world of experience to a mathematical order associated with the superlunary world and the Judeo-Christian divine. See: Alberto Pérez Gómez, *Architecture and the Crisis of Modern Science* (MIT Press, 1983), 7.

[203] Eloy Méndez Sáinz, *Urbanismo y morfología de las ciudades novohispanas: el diseño de Puebla*, Second Edition (UNAM - BUAP, 1989).

decamanus maximus, just as in a Roman castrum, and finally, the intersection of the axes produced a rectangular space that comprised the main square, around which the prominent civic and religious buildings were to be erected. The city blocks were 200 by 100 *varas* (a vara measuring approximately 83.59 cm), which would make the blocks 83.59 m, by 167.18 m.[204]

There were two reasons for the declination of the North-South axis, according to Carlos Montero Pantoja: the first was to have stormwater runoff flow naturally down the streets and into the San Francisco River's zigzagging causeway; the second was to protect the settlement from the northern winds.[205] Méndez Sáinz supports the rationality and efficacy of these measures, and claims they are evidently of Vitruvian inspiration. However, he also proposed another interesting hypothesis: that the declination also obeyed military exigencies.[206] There are two prominent hills in Puebla's vicinity; the first stands to the northeast of the main square, and was called *Cerro de Belén*, nowadays called *Cerro de Loreto*; the second one is located due west from the main square, and was called *Cerro de San Juan*, nowadays known as *Cerro de la Paz*. Méndez Sáinz claims the hills and the gridded layout align in such a way that from the streets of the city, a clear linear perspective allows for a privileged view of both topographical features. If Sáinz is right, this condition could serve defensive purposes.[207]

While the gridded layout could indeed serve practical ends, the aforementioned interpretations are also best understood as retrospective projections of nineteenth and twentieth century positivistic assumptions. I believe that the urban form was also generated symbolically, bearing great meaning, and that this possibility should

[204] Ibid., 155.
[205] Carlos Montero Pantoja, *Arquitectura y urbanismo: De la Independencia a la Revolución, dos momentos claves en la historia urbana de la ciudad de Puebla* (Puebla, Mexico: BUAP, Ediciones de Arte y Cultura, 2010), 14–15.
[206] Méndez Sáinz, *Urbanismo y Morfología de Las Ciudades Novohispanas*, See Chapter IV: "El modelo probado en Puebla".
[207] Ibid., See Chapter IV for a detailed explanation and illustrative plans.

not be discarded so easily.[208] Lilley has explored the significance of rectilinear urban forms in Medieval Europe, and found that "these geometrical shapes […] were chosen deliberately by those creating new urban landscapes, but not simply for pragmatic reasons, rather to convey a symbolic form that was itself rooted in sacred geometries common to both city and cosmos."[209] The Classical world should be credited for handing down to Medieval Europe the tradition of sacred geometry, at least when applied to land surveying traditions.

Figure 10. An aerial view of the *Centro Histórico* district of the city of Puebla as it looks today. North points upwards, making evident the approximate 24° 30' inclination of the city's orthogonal gridded layout, with respect to the east.

Joseph Rykwert has pointed out how the *Corpus Agrimensorum,* a series of treatises probably composed during the first century AD,[210] were a "rationalized" tradition that the Roman world inherited from earlier Etruscan beliefs, and that these were

[208] See, for example, Fustel de Coulanges, *La ciudad Antigua*.... Joseph Rykwert, *The Idea of a Town*... and Pérez-Gómez, *Architecture and the Crisis*....
[209] Lilley, *City and Cosmos*, 41.
[210] O.A.W. Dilke, "Roman Large-Scale Mapping in the Early Empire," in *The History of Cartography*, ed. J.B. Harley and David Woodward, vol. 1 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), 212.

themselves in turn based on the recognition of the sacredness of boundaries and ownership titles. He also pointed towards the cosmological implications of land surveying, basing this affirmation on how ancient sources such as Plutarch, Macrobius and Varro revealed this.[211] The cosmological symbolism began with the act of choosing a site for the new settlement. This single act entailed the examination of the site by the founder of the town, who had by then been observing the movement of animals, the flight of birds, and the movement of the clouds in order to detect any issues with the site or whether the day for proceeding with the founding rites would be propitious. In the Italian Peninsula, as Rykwert has noted, the practice of haruspicy or extispicy (divination through the examination of an animal's entrails, but particularly, in the case of the Ancient Romans, the animal's liver), was also associated with rituals practiced when founding a new town. A series of other rituals have been identified in the Early Roman Period, heavily influenced by Etruscan culture, and associated with new urban foundations; these include for example digging a hole in virgin soil and throwing into it fruits, other symbolic goods, or soil from the settlers' hometowns—in order to symbolically mix both soils, the new and the old,.[212]

Such foundation rituals proceeded to determine the two intersecting axes, the *cardo maximus* and the *decamanus maximus,* using the traditional tool of Roman surveyors, the *groma*. This was a vertical staff with four plumb lines hanging vertically. These axes provided the colony with the basis for laying out the new settlement, but their implications ran much deeper than mere functionality. The *decumani* were aligned with, and came to signify, in general terms, the course of the sun; while the *cardines*, on the other hand, provided and represented a symbolical axis for the earth.[213] Lilley summarized it in this form: "The *Corpus Agrimensores* texts and their gromatic derivatives provide one reason why surveying had cosmological symbolism in the Middle Ages. For the Romans the very act of surveying was itself cosmically

[211] Joseph Rykwert, *The Idea of a Town: The Anthropology of Urban Form in Rome, Italy and the Ancient World* (Princeton, New Jersey: MIT Press, 1988), 62,65.
[212] Ibid., 49–62.
[213] Lilley, *City and Cosmos*, 120.

oriented."[214] The *Agrimensores* practices were present in Spain during the Roman period; however it is unclear to what extent the land surveying practices of Imperial Rome persisted during the Middle Ages in the Iberian Peninsula. Some authors believe that the practice of determining land areas through the method of triangulation—presumably introduced to Spain by the Iberian Muslims, proof of which can be found in treatises written by the Andalusian mathematicians Ibn-al-Saffar and Maslama of Madrid—could have co-existed with the practices inherited from the Romans.[215]

Be that as it may, it appears as if by the late Medieval Period the *Corpus Agrimensorum's* land surveying techniques had been enriched by other urban planning traditions, perhaps derived from the same Roman past but completely re-invented and transformed. Vicente Bielza de Ory has identified a series of urban doctrines and influences that might have ended up shaping what was, at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards to the American Continent, an official stance on the part of the Spanish Crown as to how newly founded urban settlements were supposed to be established. These influences range from the ordinances issued by the King of Aragon and Valencia, Jaume II (who reigned from 1291 to 1327), for new towns in Mallorca (issued in 1300); the writings on an ideal Christian city by the Catalonian Franciscan monk and scholar, Francesc Eiximenis (1330-1409); the influence of the fortified new towns built in the regions of Languedoc, Aquitaine, and Gascogny, across the Pyrenees, better known as Bastides; and even the experience of founding Santa Fé de Granada, c.1490, at the time under the rule of the Iberian Muslims but under siege by the Catholic armies of King Fernando and Queen Isabel. One thing they all had in common was the model of a strictly orthogonal urban form, which was taken to the New World barely thirteen years after the founding of Santa Fé.[216]

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[214] Ibid., 119.

[215] Luis Teófilo Gil Cuadrado, "La influencia musulmana en la cultura hispano-cristiana medieval," *Anaquel de Estudios Árabes* 13 (2002): 59.

[216] Vicente Bielza de Ory, "De la ciudad ortogonal aragonesa a la cuadricular hispanoamericana como proceso de innovación-difusión, condicionado por la utopía," *Scripta Nova: Revista electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales, Universidad de Barcelona* VI, no. 106 (January 15,

López Guzmán, very much in alignment with Bielza de Ory, claims that the orthogonal urban form adopted by the Spanish Crown and applied to the American context is a product of Late Medieval urban traditions heavily influenced by the model of the Roman *castrum* and concretized, prior to the Spanish arrival on the continent, with the foundations of towns such as Santa Fé de Granada; Vera, in Almería; Puerto Real, in Cádiz; among others. He also points towards the importance Eiximenis might have exerted on the Franciscan missionaries in New Spain, who must have known the writings of the Valencian friar on the ideal (orthogonal) Christian city, as it was the most influential urban-theological model during the late fifteenth century.[217]

The writings of Eiximenis are of particular interest to me, considering that he was a strong influence in Late Medieval Iberian Franciscan thinking. Eiximenis was, like the Franciscan missionaries in New Spain, a Brother Minor, and his ideas regarding an ideal Christian city appear to have a series of interesting connotations that are closely linked to the concepts I have exposed regarding the foundation of Puebla. Antelo Iglesias characterizes Eiximenis' urban ideal as a Late Medieval concept, shaped by the friar's scholastic education; equal parts Thomist and Augustinian; and pre-figurative of Renaissance ideals regarding urbanism.

Eiximenis' urban ideal, shaped by his Patristic influence, contemplates the city as a result of humankind's historical development after its fall from grace. The city, then, is humankind's search to construct and inhabit a graceful community under God, and it is the embodiment of the fight between the *civitas caelestis* and the *civitas Diaboli*. His city is markedly hierarchical, i.e., a City-State; additionally, the city is seen by Eiximenis as a *cos místic*, a mystical body. If Divine Law is to inform the ruling and organization of the ideal city, it will invariably produce the ultimate *res*

2002).

[217] López Guzmán, *Territorio, poblamiento y arquitectura: México en las Relaciones Geográficas de Felipe II*, 158–159.

publica, the Heavenly Jerusalem.[218] Finally, it is notable how Eiximenis conceives the physical aspect of the city: it should be a squared city; walled, and on each side of its four walls, there shall be three doors; the palace of the prince or ruler, and the cathedral, shall be located at the main square, which shall be the main public space of the city.[219]

In short, Puebla's orthogonal urban layout can be taken as a solution instructed by an ancient tradition, directly traceable to Ancient Roman practices and transformed by late Medieval and early Renaissance ideals. The role of Christian theology appears central to Puebla's creation, and as we have seen in the writings of Motolinia and Torquemada, they, as Franciscan missionaries, chose to view the creation of the city as a transcendental act, one in which its symbolic dimension fit into their belief system. The coat of arms of Puebla, with its imagery representing the city in its ideal state, also appears consistent with a series of Christian doctrines that appear in harmony with the Franciscan theological worldview. Its striking geometrical layout is not a mere functionalist conceit—an imposition, so to speak, from the mind of a planner—but rather an acknowledgment of the *given* (pre-existing) qualities of *place* and the importance of its cardinal orientations, resonant with the order of the heavens. It is my belief that such theological and symbolic considerations should be considered as central to the creation of the city, if we are to grasp fully the significance of the orthogonal urban form. While we must take into consideration the pragmatic aspects of the design as well, what is at stake here is that the orthogonal urban form chosen for Puebla—and presumably for other cities created around the same time—by the civic and religious authorities fit into their understanding that everything in a Christian world was ordered and had a rightful place in a divine hierarchy. As Lilley informs us, a central analogy at play in the medieval world was that of the heavenly order above extending through to the

[218] Antonio Antelo Iglesias, "La ciudad ideal según fray Francesc Eiximenis y Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo," *La ciudad Hispánica, Universidad Complutense de Madrid* 6 (1985): 19–24.
[219] Ibid., 29.

human scale: in other words, the microcosm-macrocosm analogy.[220]

The civic authorities may have already understood the orthogonal urban form as a practical solution; in this they were perhaps influenced by early Renaissance urban theory, represented mainly by the confirmed presence and influence of treatises such as Alberti's and Vitruvius' in New Spain and Spain at the time.[221] And it has been shown that the orthogonal urban form was a favorite solution for Spanish civic authorities when it came to creating new foundations, and invariably, this solution was exported to New Spain. On the other hand, it is difficult to ignore the possibility that religious authorities, namely the Franciscans, were also enthusiastic about choosing an orthogonal urban form for the new towns they helped to create in New Spain during the sixteenth century—including Puebla—because it perpetuated and was in agreement with, in one way or another, their Christian theological worldview.

[220] Lilley, *City and Cosmos*, 7.

[221] See Chapter 1 in which the influence and presence of both treatises in late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in New Spain, is discussed.

5. THE *VIA CRUCIS* OF PUEBLA AND THE RECONSTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM IN THE NEW WORLD: THE SYMBOLIC DIMENSION OF PUEBLA – *PART II*

A second important physical element, which Puebla shares with the holy city of Jerusalem, is the *Via Crucis,* otherwise known as the processional and devotional Way of the Cross. While the *Via Crucis* is a significant instance of Puebla's explicit effort to mirror the city of Jerusalem—the *axis mundi* itself—it is an element that was concretized some six or seven decades after the foundation of the city.

Puebla's *Via Crucis* has been scarcely researched, and little is known of its architectural or urban significance in the context of the city's history or of other such complexes in New Spain. [222] No comprehensive architectural or historiographical analysis of the *Via Crucis* has ever been carried out. However, my intention here is to merely outline the articulation and history of Puebla's *Via Crucis*, suggesting how it helped to strengthen the symbolism of Puebla during the period of study, with an emphasis on its mirroring of Jerusalem.

In order to review the history of processional *Vias Crucis*, it is important to remember that the initial site of foundation for the city of Puebla appears to have been located in the present-day barrio of El Alto, somewhere close to where the Franciscan convent now stands. As discussed in Chapter 3, scholars agree that the first foundation took place on the eastern bank of the San Francisco River, probably in the vicinity of where the Franciscan conventual complex.[223]

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[222] Mexico City possessed an architectural *Via Crucis* complex, which has now disappeared save for one of its chapels, the one corresponding to the second station. The *Via Crucis* in Mexico started at the Franciscan convent, and continued down what was called the Calle del Calvario Street, nowadays Benito Juárez Avenue. The first three stations were locaed inside the San Francisco convent grounds; eight chapels were located along Benito Juárez Avenue,in a straight line, running parallel to the Alameda park, and the last three stations were located in the Calvary Chapel, now destroyed, which was located close to the San Diego convent. See: Alena Robin, "Domingo Ferral y el Vía Crucis de la ciudad de México," in *Atas do IV Congreso Internacional do Barroco Íbero-Americano* (Minas Gerais: Centro de Estudios de Barroco Iberoamericano, 2008), 1287–1302.

[223] Alcalá y Mendiola, *Descripción en bosquejo de la imperial cesárea muy noble y muy leal Ciudad*

Puebla's *Via Crucis* is intimately linked to the early history of the city, as well as to the Franciscan order in Puebla and its conventual complex, in two senses: first, it was initiated and promoted by the Franciscan Order, particularly, as we will see, by its Third Order; and second, the processional ritual's first stations were celebrated within the grounds of the Franciscan convent. From that starting point they took to the city's streets: mainly along the present day 12 Norte Street, between 14, and 22 Oriente Streets (see figures 14 & 16 for details), advancing up a hill northeast of the convent, formerly called *Cerro de Belén* and today known as *Cerro de Loreto*. Toward the end of the sixteenth century, the elaboration of the *Via Crucis* from the convent contributed a new dimension to Puebla's original narrative. Originally conceived as a mirror of the *civitas caelestis,* the city now came to have a direct connection to ideal *urbs*: the city of Jerusalem

The Passion of Christ has been a main tenet of the Christian religion since its beginnings, becoming a topic central to the faith. As Zedelgem explains, the devotion, during the first ten centuries of Christian history, was particularly sensitive to the faithful, since the events narrated about Christ's last days revolved around Jesus' painful death, his mother's personal pain, and the grief and suffering of his immediate family who experienced his tragedy.[224] In a basic manner, the devotional practice of the Way of the Cross can be defined as the physical and spiritual remembrance of Christ's path on Good Friday, recreated within a narrative based on the writings by the evangelists John, Mark, Luke, and Matthew—but not necessarily adhering in its entirety to them. It retells the events Christianity upholds as having occurred from Christ's death sentence by Pontius Pilate to his death by crucifixion at Mount Golgotha, on the outskirts of Jerusalem. During the ten first centuries of existence of the Christian religion, as Zedelgem notes, the patristic

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de Puebla de los Ángeles (paleographic edition of the c.1696 original), See chapter V; Fernández de Echeverría y Veytia, *Historia de la fundación de la Ciudad de la Puebla de los Ángeles en la Nueva España, su descripción y presente estado*, 1962, I. See chapter VII.

[224] Amédée da Zedelgem, "Saggio storico sulla devozione alla Via Crucis," in *Saggio storico sulla devozione alla Via Crucis a cura di Amilcare Barbero e Pasquale Magro. Edizione originale del 1949, traduzione dal francese di Paolo Pellizzari.* (Turin, Italy: Centro de Documentazione dei Sacri Monti, Calvari e Complessi devozionali europei, 2004), 67.

view of the remembrance of Christ's Passion was that it represented the triumph of life eternal over death. As Father Zedelgem explained: "I Padri della Chiesa non considerano la Via Crucis come un percorso doloroso, ma piuttosto come una via trionfale, che Gesù ha percorso da vincitore, portando sulle spalle il simbolo della vittoria."[225]

As proof of the devotion that the faithful have had surrounding the Passion of Christ, we can see the numerous pilgrimages carried out to the Holy Land, recorded as early as the fourth century. These pilgrimages included visits to sites associated to Christ's Passion, such as Calvary Hill; the Holy Sepulcher; the Mount of Olives; and the Garden of Gethsemane, among others. An example of these pilgrimages is the account written by a Galician woman (although some scholars attribute her place of origin to Aquitaine or Marseilles), probably a nun, called Aetheria or Sylvia, who traveled to the Holy Land in 381-384. The account of her voyage, now mostly known as the *Peregrinatio Silviae,* detailed the activities she witnessed and participated in, together with other pilgrims; they are certainly quite revealing when it comes to understanding the origin of the *Via Crucis*. This is a short excerpt of her account of a Good Friday she spent in Jerusalem during her voyage:

> By the time that they [the pilgrims and faithful] have come in front of the Cross it begins to be broad daylight. Then again that passage is read from the Gospel where the Lord is brought before Pilate, and everything which it is written that Pilate said to the Lord or to the Jews is read. Then the bishop addresses the people, encouraging them, as they have toiled all night, and are about to toil all day, not to be weary, but to have hope in God, who will give them a greater reward in return for that toil […] After the sixth hour we must all meet again in front of the Cross, that we may give ourselves to lections and prayers until night […] And continually prayers suitable to the day are interspersed. At the several lections and prayers there

[225] Ibid.

> is such emotion displayed and lamentation of all the people as is wonderful. For there is no one, great or small, who does not weep on that day during those three hours in a way that cannot be measured, that the Lord should have suffered such things for us.[226]

These early pilgrimages paid attention to sites such as Mount Zion, the Garden of Gethsemane, the Temple Mount, and the Holy Sepulcher; however, eventually, other sites of worship were added to the narrative with the building of shrines devoted to the remembrance of specific events of the Passion, such as the Chapel of Flagellation, the Chapel of Judgment, Christ's crowning with thorns, his vesting in a purple robe, and others.[227]

Another manifestation of the devotion towards the Passion was the symbolic recreation, in architectural terms, of such holy sites from Jerusalem elsewhere in Europe. One of the most notable and earliest examples of this phenomenon is the group of seven churches, all of them gathered in one architectural complex, built as part of the monastery of Saint Stefano, in Bologna, in the fifth century. This architectural complex is commonly referred to as the *sette chiese*, which refers to the series of chapels built to recall the church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem (see figure 10). According to Zedelgem, the complex was built by order of Saint Petronius, who was bishop of Bologna in the fifth century. The legend states that Saint Petronius once visited Jerusalem, and with the use of a cane, he walked around the holy sites, counting and measuring each step he took, in order to then reproduce those spaces architecturally back in Bologna.[228]

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[226] Egiria, *The Pilgrimage of S. Silvia of Aquitania to the Holy Places (circ. 385 A.D.)*, trans. John Henry Bernard (London, 1896), http://digital.library.upenn.edu/women/egeria/pilgrimage/pilgrimage.html#PILGRIMAGE.
[227] Zedelgem, "Saggio storico sulla devozione alla Via Crucis," 70.
[228] Ibid., 71.

Figure 11. Architectural complex of the *sette chiese*, at Saint Stefano monastery, in Bologna.

Throughout the Middle Ages, Europeans continued to travel to Palestine. The *Via Crucis* didn't acquire its present form, however, until the early modern period, when a good number of pilgrims who continued to undertake the long and perilous journey to *terrae sanctae* produced a literary genre of accounts. These were sometimes published together with meticulous descriptions of the holy sites, in some cases even containing maps of Jerusalem. These accounts, together with architectural, urban, and topographical information—although these were to a great degree fictional—transmitted with the maps, helped make more widespread the tradition of recreating Jerusalem and its holy sites. An example of these famous accounts was the one written by Christiaan Kruik van Adrichem (1533-1585), who had his work published for the first time in 1584. His description of certain cities in Palestine was entitled *Ierusalem, et suburbia eius, sicut tempore Christi floruit*. In this thorough description of the Holy Land, he included a map of Jerusalem that stands out for its detail. Van Adrichem labeled the city's walls, the different shrines, and the places playing a role in the narrative of the Passion of Christ (see figures 12 through 14).[229]

[229] Kenneth Nebenzahl, *Maps of the Holy Lands: Images of Terra Sancta Through Two Millenia*,

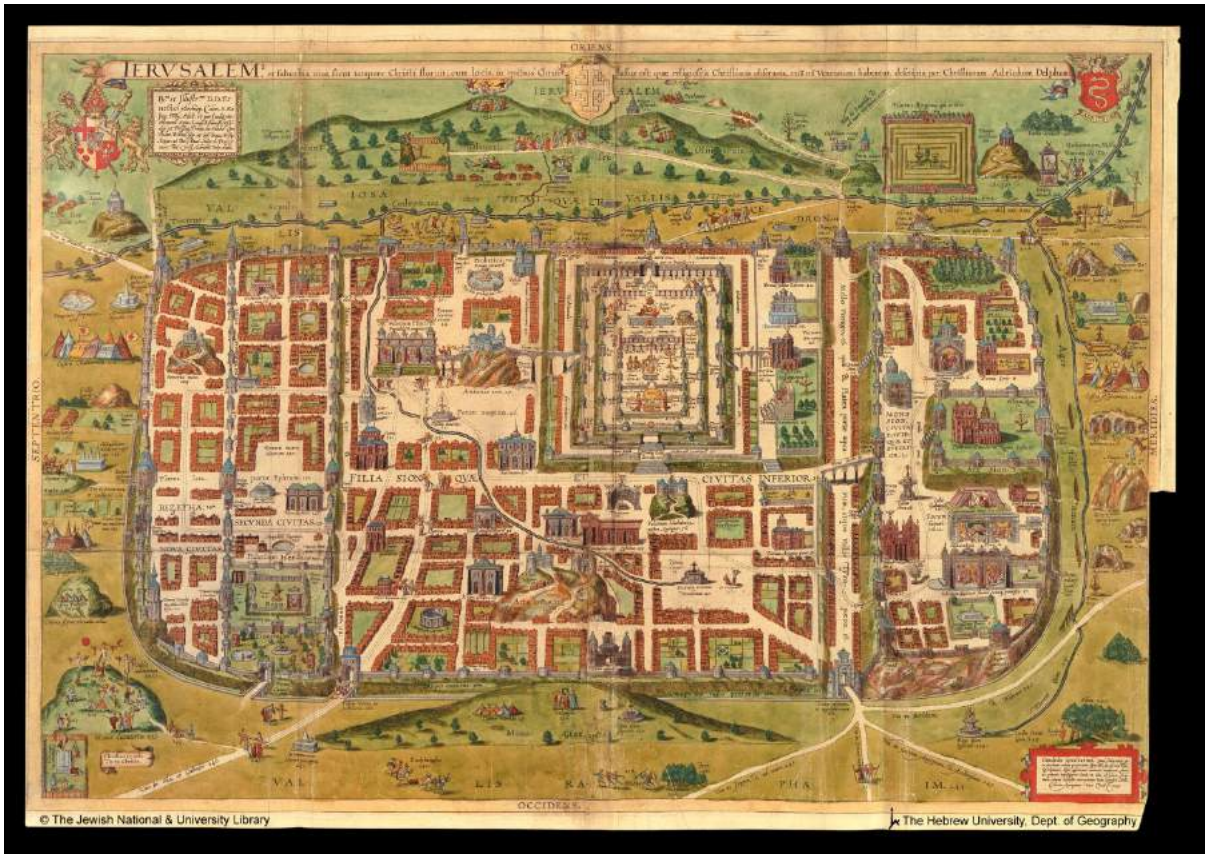

Figure 12: An imaginary map of Jerusalem, as depicted by Christiaan van Adrichem, contained in his *Ierusalem, et suburbia eius, sicut tempore Christi floruit...descripta per Christianum Adrichom Delphum*. This map belongs to the 1590 edition, printed in Köln, by Officina Birckmannica. Used with permission from the Hebrew National and University Library.

First Edition (London: Abbeville Promotional, 1990), 33.

Figure 13: Detail of Christiaan van Adrichem's map. This detail portrays the first part of the *Via Crucis* as it was shaped towards the end of the sixteenth century. As can be noted, the narrative starts at Pontius Pilate's palace. Source: Hebrew National and University Library.

Figure 14: Detail of Christiaan van Adrichem's map. This detail portrays the second part of the *Via Crucis* as it was shaped towards the end of the sixteenth century. As can be noted, the visual narrative ends at Mount Golgotha.

However another, even earlier event, this one occurring towards the end of the fourteenth century, also aided in the development of the devotional tradition of the *Via Crucis*: the Franciscan order established itself as the custodian of the Holy Sites in Jerusalem.[230] Zedelgem attributes their presence to a change in the perception that the faithful had of the Passion, which began some three centuries earlier. According to this theologian, the "new phase" in the devotion of the Passion of Christ, which began in as early as the eleventh century, was characterized by "una compassione profonda per Gesù sofferente e in una vera e propria partecipazione alle sue sofferenze e ai suoi dolori."[231] In other words, there was a change from the Early Christian notion of the Passion symbolizing the triumph of life over death. In the Middle Ages the narrative retelling of Christ's Passion became an event in which the faithful expressed a phenomenological empathy; in other words, the believer would place him or herself in the position of Christ, the Virgin Mary, or other characters, and acquired the whole range of emotions felt by them throughout the ordeal.

According to Cardini there was another dimension to the Franciscan Order's custodianship of the holy sites, so important to the observation of Christ's Passion. Because of the prolonged and marked interest in the Holy Land and the holy sites on the part of the Christian faithful, and the growing difficulty of travelling to Palestine given contemporary economic and personal security conditions, in the fifteenth century replications of the *Via Crucis* spread throughout Europe. These accommodated European interpretations of Jerusalem's topography as well as the architecture of the holy sites, and articulated a narrative dividing the Passion into several moments or stations (usually fourteen, although at this time there was no

[230] Tradition has it that St Francis of Assisi himself traveled to Palestine in 1219, and although he never actually managed to make it there, he indirectly established a long tradition between his order and *terrae sanctae*. The Franciscan's presence in Jerusalem and Palestine date back to the early thirteenth century, when the Franciscan province of Syria was established. Towards the end of this same century, they were allowed to establish themselves in the Cenacle, on Mount Zion. Pope Clement VI declared them the official guardians of the Holy Sites in 1342, and to this day, they are still the official Catholic guardians of the Holy Sites.
[231] Zedelgem, "Saggio storico sulla devozione alla Via Crucis," 72.

agreement yet as to the exact number or its order).[232]

The *Via Crucis* complex at Puebla de los Ángeles is an outstanding example of its kind, and should be considered alongside similar architectural complexes, such as the *Sacri Monti* in the Alpine region of Northern Italy, in Piedmont and Lombardy. These instances share not only a similar historic time frame for their construction, but they also share topographical similarities, as they both integrate in their architectural expression the urban fabric and a sloped topography, evidently invoking Jerusalem's own Calvary Hill. It is also important to remember that a mountain is an archetypal religious-mythical element that, by way of its topography, evokes a series of connotations closely tied to religious space.

In general terms, the devotional practice of the *Via Crucis* carries a series of phenomenological attributes symptomatic of the celebratory life and cycles of a city in the early modern period in New Spain. To begin with, the topography in an architectural-ritual complex such as Puebla's *Via Crucis* engages an intimate relationship between religious expression and landscape. In addition, through such practises the worshipper lives and experiences the city as a 'living body,' carnally. Furthermore, believers engage in the phenomenological experience of—truly feeling—Christ's ordeal, his pain, his sacrifice, and his redemption throughout the devotional ritual. It is paramount to note how the faithful experience his pain, his piety, and then make it their own.

In terms of the relationship that exists between religion and landscape, much has been written to account for the characteristics of religious space. Mircea Eliade explained how space acquires special characteristics for the religious man, as a hierophany manifests itself and reveals to participants the exceptional traits acquired by the space they occupy. "For religious man space is not homogenous; he

[232] Franco Cardini, "I Sacri Monti nella tradizione cristiana latina," in *Religioni e Sacri Monti Atti del Convegno Internazionale Torino-Moncalvo-Casale Monferrato, 12-16 ottobre 2004* (Turin: Centro de Documentazione dei Sacri Monti, Calvari e Complessi devozionali europei, 2006), 109.

experiences interruptions, breaks in it; some parts of space are qualitatively different than others", wrote Eliade.[233] This certainly can be said of the spaces dedicated to the re-enactment of Christ's way during Good Friday. It does not matter if it is not in Jerusalem: the processional route and the spaces, shrines, and places that re-create the Passion acquire a qualitative importance that sets them at an equal level to the original *Via Dolorosa* in Jerusalem and its holy sites. Matus, when discussing the topography intrinsic to religions, points out that Christianity was inherently conceived alongside its landscapes. It was born at the banks of the River Jordan with Christ's baptism, it continued with Jesus' ministry through the dry lands of Palestine, with the revelation and temptation in the desert, and it followed him as a backdrop to all of his teachings.[234] However, perhaps the most outstanding element present in the *Via Crucis*, both the original in Jerusalem and its replicas throughout Europe and later the New World, is the presence of a mountain or hill. Mountains are sacred topographical features in a diversity of cultures and Christianity is no exception, as we shall see.

The Syro-Palestinian topography is quite rocky, hilly, and contrasting in its natural landscapes. As Zatelli explains, the orography of this area, despite lacking high peaks, is still impressive due to the contrasts of very low basins like the Dead Sea and the topographical characteristics of the deserts, crisscrossed as they are by deep gorges.[235] From a symbolical-religious perspective, mountains and hills carry various symbolic meanings; for one, as outstanding topographical features they can be considered to represent the place where heaven and Earth meet. In other instances, a mountain or hill can be also understood as an *omphalos*, a symbolic

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[233] Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*, trans. Willard R. Trask (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1961), See Chapter One: Sacred Space and Making the World Sacred.

[234] Thomas Matus, "Religioni, ambiente, paesaggio," in *Religioni e Sacri Monti Atti del Convegno Internazionale Torino-Moncalvo-Casale Monferrato, 12-16 ottobre 2004* (Turin: Centro de Documentazione dei Sacri Monti, Calvari e Complessi devozionali europei, 206AD), 66.

[235] Ida Zatelli, "Monti e luoghi elevati nella bibbia ebraica: monti di dio e sacralità di Sion," in *Religioni e Sacri Monti Atti del Convegno Internazionale Torino-Moncalvo-Casale Monferrato, 12-16 ottobre 2004* (Turin: Centro de Documentazione dei Sacri Monti, Calvari e Complessi devozionali europei, 2006), 103.

navel. In the Hebrew tradition, this is evident in the construction of temples on the tops of hills, such as the Temple Mount itself, associated with two mythical mountains, Mount Zion and Mount Moriah. It is important to remember also that in the Hebrew tradition, the *Even haShetiya*, the Rock of Foundation, is considered the navel, the origin, and the original substance matter from which Earth was created.[236] Filoramo has written that mountains, in religious contexts, have enjoyed a double status of sacredness: for polytheistic religions they have expressed, to borrow Eliade's concept, a site for the manifestation of hierophanies; while for so-called religions of salvation, they have represented bridges for the transcendental. This condition, he believes, is expressed in the literature of the Christian mystics: Richard of Saint Victor described the degrees of contemplation as the ascension of a mountain; Saint John of the Cross titled one of his most important works, "Subida del monte Carmelo"; and Mechthild of Magdeburg defined God as "a mountain".[237]

Parallels between Puebla's *Via Crucis* and Jerusalem's have been noted since at least the eighteenth century. The chronicler and historian Mariano Fernández de Echeverría y Veytia wrote that: "Las capillas del Calvario o Vía Crucis […] son trece, todas muy decentes y muy adornadas y la situación la más a propósito que puede desearse para esta devoción, por la gran semejanza que tiene con el Calvario de Jersusalén en que murió nuestro redentor".[238] Other parallels have been pointed out; however the *Via Crucis* has to be contextualized in both Puebla and Jerusalem, from a topographical point of view, in order to better understand them. Traditionally, the *Via Dolorosa* or *Via Crucis* narrative starts with Jesus' trial presided by Pontius Pilate. For this reason, the *Via Crucis* nowadays starts somewhere close to Pilate's Palace, or close to the Antonia Fortress, near the Temple Mount. The narrative develops the accounts of the four canonical gospels, and from narratives

[236] Ibid., 96–97.
[237] Giovanni Filoramo, "I monti sacri nella storia delle religioni," in *Religioni e Sacri Monti Atti del Convegno Internazionale Torino-Moncalvo-Casale Monferrato, 12-16 ottobre 2004* (Turin: Centro de Documentazione dei Sacri Monti, Calvari e Complessi devozionali europei, 2006), 55–56.
[238] Fernández de Echeverría y Veytia, *Historia de la fundación de la Ciudad de la Puebla de los Ángeles en la Nueva España, su descripción y presente estado*, 1962, I:276.

that emerged in devotional literature throughout the centuries. These "added" stations are, for instance, that of the Ecce Homo; the wiping of Jesus' face by Saint Veronica; the House of Simon the Cyrene; the two falls of Jesus carrying the Cross, and others. The processional way ends with the final five stations being celebrated inside the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Mount Calvary, where the narrative speaks of Jesus being stripped, being nailed to the cross, dying by crucifixion, his body being descended from the cross, and finally being placed inside his sepulcher.

Now, the topographical parallels between Puebla and Jerusalem, as García Lastra and Castellanos Gómez have pointed out, commence with the existence of two streams of water bordering the east and west sides of first century AD Jerusalem. These were the Kidron stream that formed in the valley of the same name, and the Hinnom stream that ran through the valley of the same name, joining each other to the south (see figure 15). In Puebla, there were two bodies of water geographically enclosing the area of the first foundation of the city, the same area where the Franciscan convent and the *Via Crucis* were built. These bodies of water were the San Francisco River and the Xonaca stream (see figure 14). These authors also pointed out how the distance presumably walked by Jesus during his ordeal, 1,321 paces—approximately a kilometer—was also observed in Puebla, where the devotional precession is approximately one kilometer in length.[239] The topographical similitudes between Puebla and Jerusalem with respect to the *Via Crucis* are indeed remarkable, because in Puebla's case, the procession begins at the Franciscan convent, traverses a topographical descent, in order to then ascend the *Cerro de Belén*, or Bethlehem Hill; just as in Jerusalem the procession starts close to the Temple Mount (the Temple and the convent being analogues as we have seen), descends, and rises up again towards Calvary Hill. In Puebla's case, Calvary Hill is represented by the *Cerro de Belén*, wherein lies the *iglesia del Calvario*, or Calvary Church, evoking Jerusalem's own Church of the Holy Sepulcher. At the *iglesia del Calvario*, the representation of the last six stations of the *Via Crucis* are celebrated,

[239] García Lastra and Castellanos Gómez, *Utopía Angelopolitana*, See Chapter 5, dedicated to the Via Crucis of Puebla.

similar to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, which hosts the last five stations of the procession (see figures 15 through 18).

Figure 15. . In this image representing Puebla's El Alto barrio area, one can appreciate the general layout of Puebla's *Via Crucis*. It is notable how the Franciscan conventual complex was bordered by two streams during the sixteenth century. To the east was the Xonaca Stream and to the west the San Francisco River, which correspond to the Hinnom Stream and the Kidron Stream to the west and east of the Temple Mount in Jerusalem. The Franciscan convent is the place where the processional ritual commenced (the yellow line indicates the processional way), heading northwards towards the hillside of Bethlehem Hill, and culminating at the Church of the Calvary where the last four stations of the Way of the Cross are celebrated; very much as is with the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem. Source: Google Earth image edited by the author.

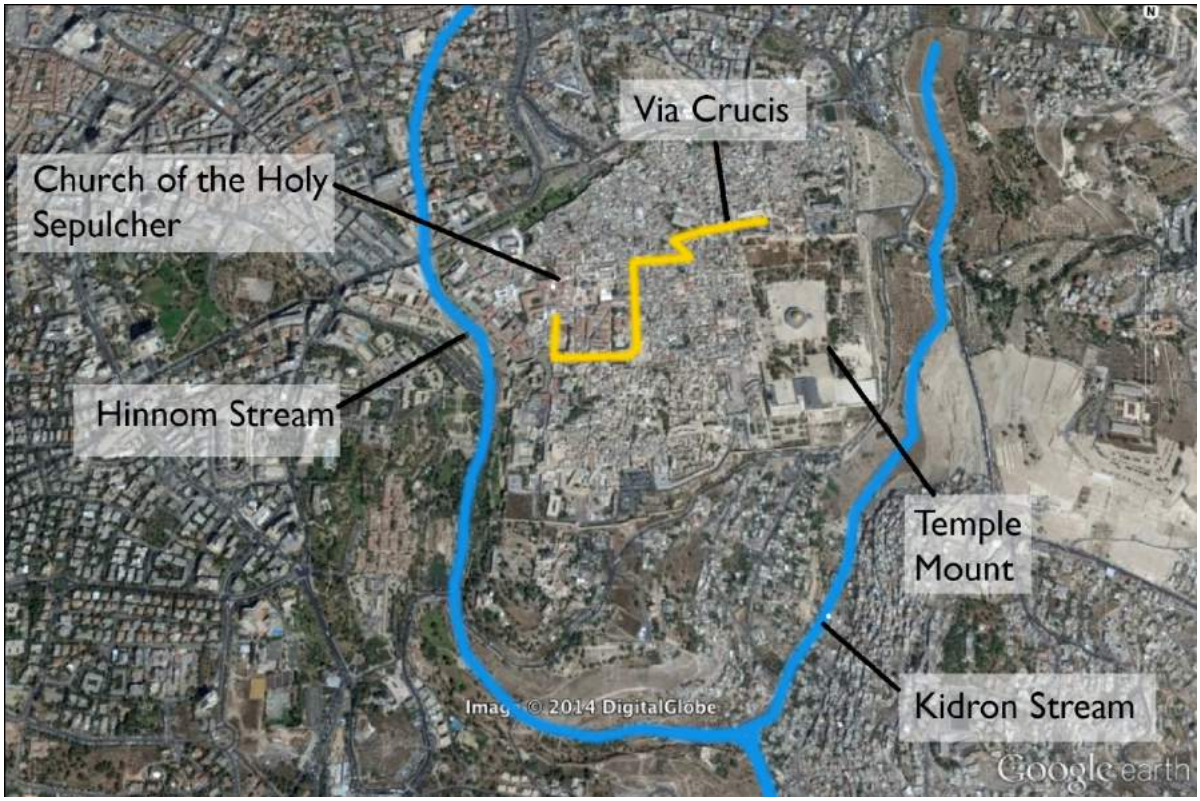

Figure 16. The Hinnom and Kidron valleys and streams (highlighted with blue lines), as they once surrounded the ancient Jerusalem. The yellow line highlights the processional way of the Via Crucis, which goes from the skirt of the Temple Mount, and follows down to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher.

According to Férnandez de Echeverría y Veytia, the last shrines that formed part of Puebla's *Via Crucis* were erected in 1606, without mentioning the date of construction for the earliest shrines. However, it can be inferred that the *Via Crucis* dates from at least the last decade of the sixteenth and the first decade of the seventeenth century.[240] García Lastra and Castellanos Gómez have studied the *Via Crucis* as part of their general hypothesis, which revolves around the notion of Puebla's existence viewed solely as a product of Franciscan millenarian doctrines, more specifically of Joachim of Fiore's writings. They also explain Puebla's *Via Crucis* in these terms; as a continuation of those millenarian ideals put into practice by the Franciscan order in Puebla. However, some of the major chronicles written about the city's history, such as those by Fernández de Echeverría y Veytia; Vetancurt; and

[240] Fernández de Echeverría y Veytia, *Historia de la fundación de la Ciudad de la Puebla de los Ángeles en la Nueva España, su descripción y presente estado*, 1962, I:276.

Alcalá de Mendiola, challenge the notion that the *Via Crucis*'s existence could be credited solely to the Franciscan Order. The chronicles reveal instead the creation of this architectural complex as a product of the efforts carried out mainly by the Third Order of Franciscans (whose members are lay men and women), and built thanks to the generosity of certain prominent members of Pueblan society of that period. For this reason, I believe it is more accurate to view Puebla's *Via Crucis* as an extension of the city's mythology, which indeed hinges on its mirroring of Jerusalem as an ideal archetype, while recognizing the fact that this devotional-architectural complex was a work carried out by Puebla's laity, who during this period were actively adopting and then elaborating the city's original mythological character on their own initiative.

Augustin de Vetancurt (1620-1700), a Franciscan friar, wrote a short chronicle on Puebla, published in 1698, and mentioned Puebla's *Via Crucis* in this way:

> Dos hermitas de S. Iuan Bautista y S. Diego en dos cerrillos à vista de la Ciudad donde concurre la Ciudad en sus dias; las de la Via Crucis del Calvario, que son la Roma Santa en los Iubileos, y en los edificios curiosos, Capillas, y Altares costosos, el Non Plus ultra donde la devocion Christina acude en concurso tan numeroso al exemplar de la Tercera Orden de N. P. S. Francisco, que fue necessario mandar, que à la mañana acudan las mugeres, y por la tarde los hombres.[241]

Vetancurt evidently chose to point out the popularity of the *Via Crucis*, such that it was decided (although he fails to mention by whom), that women would carry out the processional ritual in the morning and men would do so during the afternoons. He also clearly credits the Franciscan Tertiary Order for the construction of the architectural complex ("la Tercera Orden de N.P.S Francisco"). A later chronicler of the city, Miguel de Alcalá y Mendiola (1669-c.1746), is much more thorough when discussing Puebla's *Via Crucis*, giving individual credit for the construction and

[241] Vetancurt, *Teatro mexicano*, 56.

in some cases the decoration of each shrine constituting the *Via Crucis*. In every case, it turns out that the benefactors were mostly merchants, notable public servants, and in some cases artisans who donated their skills, by building altarpieces for instance, in order to enrich the shrines that constituted the devotional complex. He also pointed out the topographical similarities between Puebla's and Jerusalem's *Via Cruces,* and mentions the uniqueness of Puebla's *Via Crucis* relative to other similar complexes, due mainly to its outstanding layout and planning:

> Para el tiempo de la Santa Cuaresma y viernes del año a los que devotos frecuentan aquellos santos lugares se dispuso al principio por un varón de vida ejemplar, hermano del hábito exterior de nuestro padre San Francisco, nombrado Francisco Barbero, dando parte de los sitios Benito Conte Labaña, uno de los segundos pobladores, quien hizo merced la ciudad y después se los donó a la tercera orden de Penitencia para las fábricas de estas santas ermitas y estaciones, sus puestos están según y como en la santa ciudad de Jerusalén, donde se obró nuestra redención, y es muy para ver admirar la compostura y fábrica de cada una de las ermitas y lo costoso de ellas, y dicen muchos que han visto en distintas partes santuarios de la Viacrucis pero no otros como estos por su admirable disposición y traza del sitio […][242]

The fact that that members of Pueblan society, and not the religious or civic authorities, were directly responsible for building this architectural-ritual complex is important to my argument, because it signals how the city's mythology—namely its alleged divine origin—alongside its presentation as an ideal city, e.g., a mirror of Heavenly Jerusalem is, during this period (late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries), elaborated by Puebla's citizens on their own initiative. The communal effort at hand suggests the idea that architecture, as Pérez-Gómez affirmed, "was

[242] Alcalá y Mendiola, *Descripción en bosquejo de la imperial cesárea muy noble y muy leal Ciudad de Puebla de los Ángeles (paleographic edition of the c.1696 original)*, 155–156.

especially dedicated to the representation of significant human action."[243] Indeed, rituals, and the built spaces in which they took place, "allowed for the recognition of an individual's place in society and in relation to the natural world."[244] Seen under this light, I believe that the comunal effort to build the Via Crucis in Puebla, adds evidence to the argument of how a city in the early modern period in New Spain could still be based on what Pérez-Gómez deemed the "poetical content of reality, the a priori of the world". This condition is only later transformed by the instrumentalization of architectural and urban theories. In Pérez-Gómez's own words: "the functionalization of architectural theory implies its transformation into a set of operational rules, into a tool of an exclusively technological character."[245] Prior to this reductionism of architectural and urban form, "architectural intentionality was transcendental, necessarily symbolic […] Not only did form not follow function, but form could fulfill its role as a primary means of reconciliation, one that referred ultimately to the essential ambiguity of the human condition."[246]

[243] Alberto Pérez-Gómez, *Built Upon Love* (Cambridge, Ma.: MIT Press, 2008), 125.
[244] Ibid.
[245] Pérez Gómez, *Architecture and the Crisis of Modern Science*, 4.
[246] Ibid., 7.

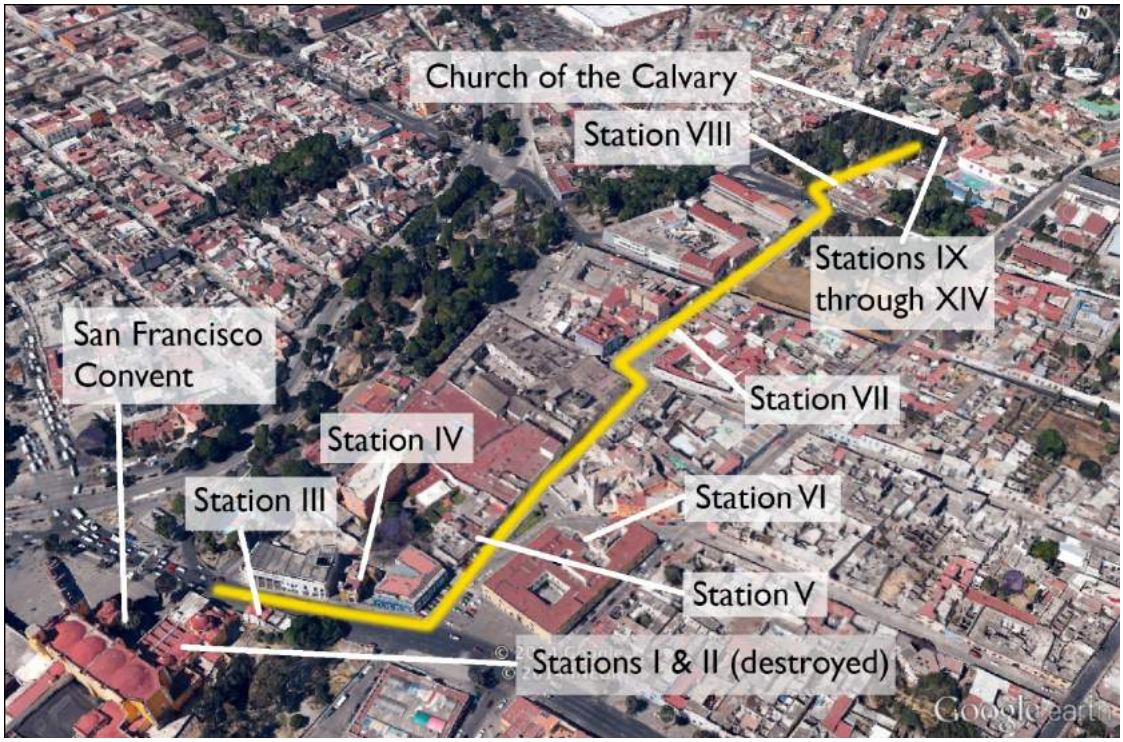

Figure 17. Detail of the chapels that make up the Via Crucis in Puebla, and the processional way (highlighted in yellow). It is important to point out how all of the chapels-stations, except station II, are still standing today, in contrast to Mexico City's *Via Crucis*, of which only one chapel (the second station), exists today. Further, it is also important to point out how the *Via Crucis* is still practiced up to this day in Puebla.

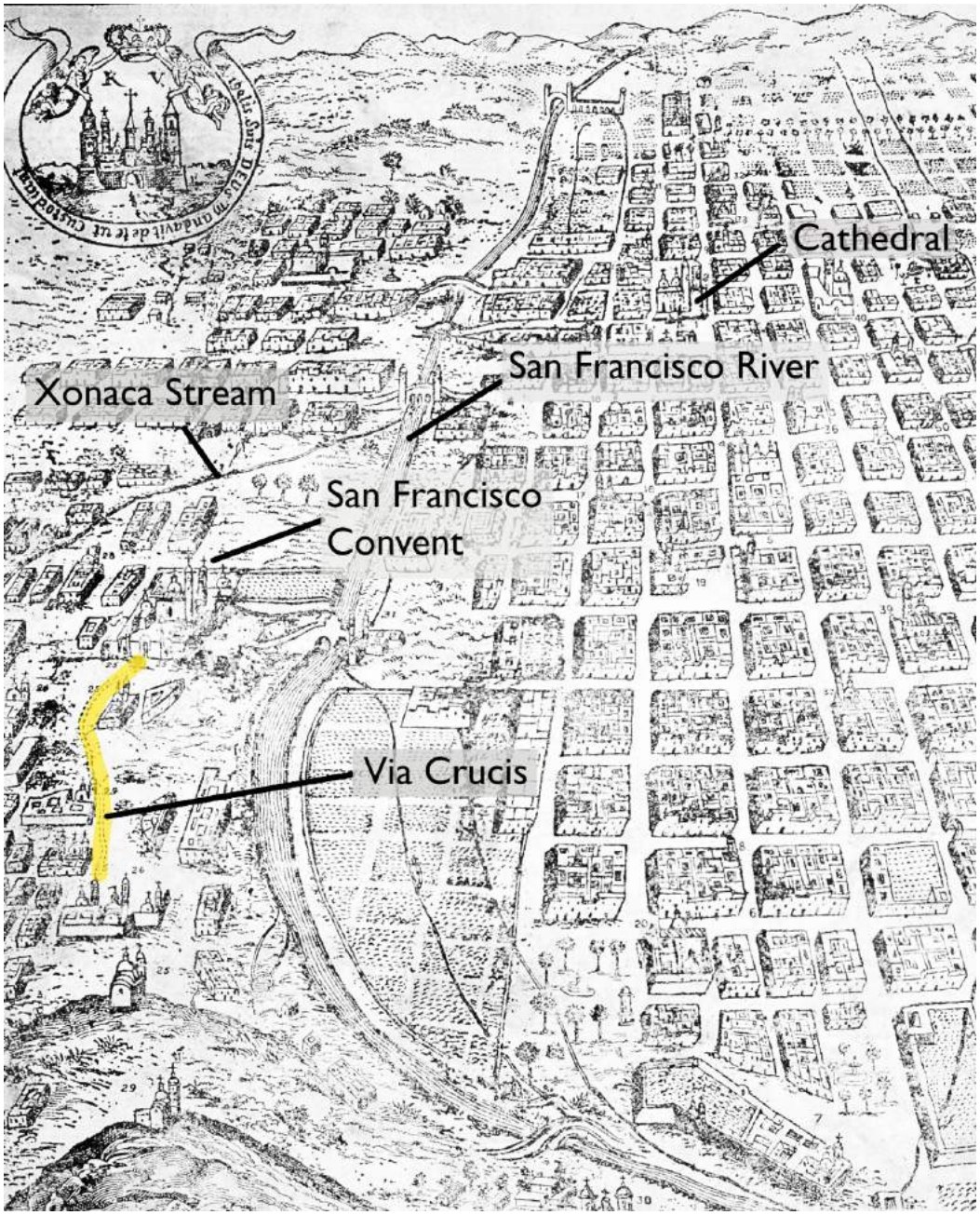

Figure 18. Detail from a c.1650 map of Puebla, showing the *Via Crucis* complex to the left. The view is shown from the north, and is quite accurate when representing the topography of the devotional complex and its surrounding landscapes and built environments. The portrayal of the Cerro de Belén is noteworthy, as is how the devotional procession ascends part of the hill, mimicking Calvary Hill in Jerusalem.

Françoise Choay also concurs with this assessment, pointing out a major shift in the relationship with the built environment in European thinking. This is registered,

according to her, during the period corresponding to the fifteenth century: "at the dawn of the first Italian renaissance," to be more specific.[247] Choay recognizes Leon Battista Alberti's treatise on architecture and the city, *De re Aedificatoria*, as a seminal work that signaled this shift. This text, according to her, also generated a "discursive genre", that of the architectural treatise. Previously, however, Choay explained the relationship between humankind and organized space in the European context in these terms: "It is easy to forget that religion and the sacred have traditionally been the major factors organizing human space, either through the action of the spoken word or through the written word."[248]

My hypothesis then, is that the inception of Puebla as a city, together with its mythology, clearly belongs to a tradition directly imported from Europe—unaffected by any pre-Hispanic previous conditions, as could have been the case with the city of Mexico; but further than this, Puebla's symbolic dimension is still articulated by a mythological interpretation of the world, one still largely untouched by the shift in the so-called "instrumentalization" brought about by modern philosophy and science in architectural and urban theory. Puebla's layout was not simply a diagram to "make the city work" in functional terms—far from it, in fact. The mytho-sacred image of Puebla can be traced back immediately to a medieval European genealogy. To borrow Lilley's terminology, Puebla was, at least until the early seventeenth century, an "embodied city." It was a city that acquired meaning, first, by borrowing from a mythological legacy that, as we have seen, flourished and was enriched by its citizens after being originally created by civic and religious authorities; and second, through the cyclical and ever-repeating rituals that commemorated Christ's life throughout the year including the most important, the Via Crucis.

This points, in general terms, towards an affinity with European medieval cities. As

[247] Françoise Choay, *The Rule and the Model: On the Theory of Architecture and Urbanism* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996), 4.
[248] Ibid., 3.

Lilley informs us, "[s]uch ritual bodily performances in and through the medieval urban landscape were important for generating and projecting a sense of urban identity and community."[249] Puebla's symbolic order facilitated in its inhabitants a bond with a sacred Christian universe. It offered a cosmological form that provided meaning not only to the city itself as *urbis*, but to the inhabitants as well: as they were, through their participation in their ritualistic universe, an integral part of the city as a whole.

[249] Lilley, *City and Cosmos*, 158.

Part II – *The Seventeenth Century*

6. THE REPUBLIC OF PUEBLA DE LOS ÁNGELES IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

At the outset of the seventeenth century, the viceroyalty of New Spain began to show some signs of becoming a cohesive society. At the time, however, the vast majority of the territories that comprised the colony—particularly those that presently constitute the present-day southwestern United States and northern Mexico—remained to a large extent unexplored and unconquered by the Spanish colonizers. The majority of the population lived in four provinces or intendancies: Mexico, Puebla-Tlaxcala, Michoacán (at the time called Valladolid), and Oaxaca (at the time called Antequera).[250] Thus, the heart of the viceroyalty was at the center of what is now modern Mexico. It comprised the valleys of Puebla-Tlaxcala, the valley of Mexico, the valley of Toluca, the plains of the Bajío region, and eastern Michoacán; it ended where the rugged sierra of Guanajuato began. In these territories lay the most important cities of the viceroyalty: some of them were ancient indigenous centers such as Tlaxcala, Texcoco, Cholula, or Tepeaca; others were the most important administrative cities founded by the Spaniards after the conquest—and where the vast majority of the Spanish population lived—including Querétaro, Guanajuato, Valladolid, and others. On the other hand, the two most important cities of the viceroyalty at this time were Mexico City and Puebla de los Ángeles, respectively. [251] As the creole Franciscan friar Augustín de Vetancurt, explained it, writing towards the end of the seventeenth century, "justo sera que después de tratar las excelencias de México se traten las de Ciudad tan celebrada como la Puebla, pues es la que obtiene el primer lugar después de México entre las demás ciudades."[252]

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[250] Jonathan Israel, *Raza, clases sociales y vida política en el México colonial, 1610-1670* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1980), 11.

[251] Ibid.

[252] Augustín de Vetancurt, *Teatro Mexicano: Descripción Breve de los Sucessos Exemplares, Históricos, Políticos, Militares y Religiosos del Nuevo Mundo Occidental de las Indias, Tratado de la Ciudad de México, y las Grandezas que la Ilustran después que la Fundaron los Españoles. Tratado de la Ciudad de la Puebla de los Ángeles, y grandezas que la Ilustran* (por doña Maria de Benavides viuda de luan de Ribera, 1698), 45.

The city played a central, vital role in the development of this incipient society because the main urban centers regulated and dictated the social, administrative, economic, and cultural spheres of life of their inhabitants. Manuel Miño Grijalva has established that the Spanish administrative cities in seventeenth century New Spain were in fact entities regulating significant adjacent, agrarian regions, brokering trade with other city-regions throughout the viceroyalty and abroad. As these entities established connections and communications with the rest of the colony and with other territories in the Spanish Empire, they grew and prospered as city-regions as much from their external relationships as from their internal dynamics. For Miño Grijalva, these metropolitan centers were many different things, namely: political centers that regulated the physical space around them; economic hubs for their surrounding regions; the most important concentrations of population in which various and contrasting ethnic and social groups coexisted; and administrative and operational centers for the various enterprises and corporations run by the Church.[253]

Now, the cohesiveness that New Spanish society began to experience at this time was due to the overcoming of the difficult political and social circumstances faced by the viceroyalty immediately after the conquest. These issues had been to a large extent linked to the uncontrolled exploitation of the indigenous population by the Spaniards through the *encomienda* system of servitude. The first *Audiencia* or governing council (1528-1531), headed by the despised conquistador Nuño de Guzmán (ca.1490–1558), represented the apex of this crisis; it was characterized by a callous exploitation of the indigenous population, and by the absence of a strong and definitive civic and political authority to bring order and a sense of governance to the viceroyalty. With the dissolution of the first *Audiencia* and the appointment of the second one, a much more efficient and exemplary institution, a period referred to by Jonathan Israel as "the great reconstruction of Mexico" ensued. With this term he

[253] Manuel Miño Grijalva, *El Mundo Novohispano: Población, Ciudades Y Economía, Siglos XVII Y XVIII*, First Edition (Mexico City: El Colegio de México - Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2001), 14–49.

referred specifically to the administration of the second *Audiencia* (1530-1535), led by the bishop of Santo Domingo, Sebastián Ramírez de Fuenleal (c.1490-1547), and to the administration of the first viceroy of New Spain, Antonio de Mendoza (1535-1550). Israel credits these two political institutions with inducing an impressive historical phenomenon that established the political and administrative basis of the viceroyalty. This phenomenon, according to Israel, was characterized by three distinct elements: the forging of an efficient administrative apparatus that would rule the colony until its independence; the remarkable work carried out by the mendicant orders, which was not limited to the conversion of the indigenous population, but extended to the consolidation of what Israel deemed a "veritable Christian society"; and by the desire of the indigenous nobility to recuperate, at least to regional levels, their ancient authority and prestige.[254]

This period essentially laid the foundations for New Spanish society and was intimately linked to the way the major cities of the viceroyalty developed from incipient urban settlements into sophisticated metropolitan areas. Along these lines then, a city's local institutions, corporations, its inhabitants, and their activities, are all central concerns that should be closely analyzed in order to show how New Spanish urbanism, and Puebla de los Ángeles in particular, came to mature during the seventeenth century. This is the subject matter of this chapter, and I will begin to address it by delineating some of Puebla's most important social and cultural characteristics. I will then describe the urban and architectural attributes of Puebla de los Ángeles during the first half of the seventeenth century in order to understand its consolidation and transformation into a truly urban center, becoming sophisticated and diversified in social and ethnic terms by the mid-seventeenth century.

I will commence by discussing the city's social and ethnic diversity first. It is important to understand that a Spanish-created city like Puebla de los Ángeles or Mexico City for that matter—despite the segregationist policy in effect throughout the viceroyalty—enjoyed the coexistence of the various strata making up New Spanish

[254] Jonathan Israel, *Raza, clases sociales y vida política en el México colonial, 1610-1670*, 16–17.

society at the turn of the seventeenth century. As societies these were, according to Jonathan Israel, among some of the most diversified and complex in the world during the early modern period.[255] Israel's analysis of the complex demographics of New Spanish metropolitan areas examined each lineage or racial group's position within those societies, which role was assigned to each group, and how each performed their expected part or role within this society. In short, Israel's analysis identifies the social groups making up New Spanish society as pieces in a grander puzzle, identifying their social, political, and historical roles.

However, more recent scholarship, such as Magali Carrera's work, has chosen to consider the complicated relations between each racial group or lineage in viceregal society in more qualitative terms, disarticulating the various notions that informed association with each group, and understanding that the concept of race—seen from a twenty-first century perspective—is insufficient to explain association with a certain lineage or *casta*. This type of research has also delved into the understanding of how association with a certain lineage determined to a great extent each individual's attitudes and behaviors. An individual's association with a certain stratum also determined his or her mobility within the city, which is to say which spaces of the city they were expected to inhabit and use, and which ones they were not.[256] As Carrera informs us, "differentiation and alignment of kinds or categories of people of New Spain, [hinged on] terms of the social estates and moral qualities they represented."[257] This is to say that, for instance, Spanish identity was not defined by a set of physical characteristics such as skin, eye, or hair color, but rather, and perhaps more importantly, by the "pureness" of that person's blood (meaning no trace of Jewish, Moorish, or Black African heritage in his or her bloodline would be found). Secondly, a respected Spaniard would be judged by a set of attitudes, behaviors, and associations to (as well as acceptance by) other members of society belonging to the

[255] Ibid., 31.
[256] Magali M. Carrera, *Imagining Identity in New Spain: Race, Lineage, and the Colonial Body in Portraiture and Casta Paintings* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2012), See particularly "Chapter One: Identity by Appereance, Judgement, and Circumnstances", 1–21.
[257] Ibid., 2.

same stratum. Spanish-ness would be defined, for instance, by the type of clothes and jewelry the individual would wear, the level of refinement of that person's spoken language (uncluttered by 'plebeian' slang or any vocabulary extracted from indigenous languages), by the associations, confraternities, guilds, or charities they would participate in, and by the urban spaces he or she would inhabit or navigate, among other similar considerations. A Spanish woman belonging to the upper scales of viceregal society, for instance, would only be seen in certain public gardens, churches, and marketplaces in the city, and always accompanied by her husband, a male next-of-kin, or a servant. She would not be seen in or near bars, public baths, dancehalls, or even in courts of law. Her home would be located, obviously, in a Spanish neighborhood as well.[258]

In general terms, New Spain's multi-ethnic society was composed, firstly, of the indigenous population. At the turn of the seventeenth century this formed not only the largest ethnic stratum in New Spain, but was pivotal to the sustenance of the colony's economy, to the point that all Spanish enterprises depended upon the native population for labor. A great portion of the various indigenous ethnic groups remained nomadic and unconquered in the northern territories of the colony during this period; the situation in the Yucatan Peninsula was similar.[259] However, in the viceroyalty's central territories, the mostly sedentary indigenous peoples were forced to live in their villages or cities, to carry out their traditional occupations and trades, and to work under the *encomienda* servitude regime for the Spaniards, as well as to pay tributes to the Crown, as it was required of them.[260] At the turn of the century,

[258] Ibid., 1–5.

[259] Hausberger, "La vida en el noroeste: Misiones jesuitas, pueblos y reales de minas," 443–471; Laura Caso Barrera, "Vidas fugitivas: Los pueblos mayas de huidos en Yucatán," in *Historia de la vida cotidiana en México: Mesoamérica y los ámbitos indígenas de la Nueva España*, Second Edition, vol. I (Mexico City: FCE - El Colegio de México, 2004), 473–500.

[260] Silvio Arturo Zavala, *La encomienda indiana* (Madrid: Helénica, 1935), As Zavala informs us, the *encomienda* system progressively evolved from a notion of perpetual servitude in the sixteenth century, to what Zavala deemed a "simple cesión de tributos debidos a la Corona por los vasallos indios" -- in other words, a limited and legally demarcated obligation -- in the first half of the seventeenth century, before eventually being legally dissolved in the eighteenth century. See Chapter VIII, pages 270-293.

there are estimates that place the indigenous population at around a million-and-a-half to two million, but their numbers were to be decimated during this century by the recurring epidemics that they endured.[261] Despite the segregationist policies that remained in effect at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the authorities, both Spanish and indigenous, were unable to stop the constant flow of migration towards the Spanish administrative cities from the indigenous villages, perhaps because as Israel informs us, the working conditions and opportunities were better in the city than in rural settings such as haciendas, mines, or textile sweatshops.[262] Once the indigenous population settled in Spanish cities like Puebla, they still remained segregated in spatial terms; they always occupied the peripheral areas of the Spanish cities, usually referred to as *barrios*.[263]

The Spanish population was not the most populous, but was undoubtedly at the top of the social pyramid. It must be noted, however, that there were various strata within the Spanish community, from derelicts to middle-class merchants and tradesmen, to a small elite that bore noble titles.[264] The *criollos*, the offspring of Spaniards born in the New World, and excluded from holding important administrative and ecclesiastical positions in the Viceroyal administration for that sole reason, were for all other intents and purposes considered part of the Spanish population. Other important and influential communities of Iberian immigrants present in the viceroyalty, such as the Basque, the Portuguese, and the Iberian-Jewish communities, are distinguished in Israel's analysis as they were all considered outsiders of the largest groups of Iberian settlers who came to New Spain, most of

[261] Jonathan Israel, *Raza, clases sociales y vida política en el México colonial, 1610-1670*, 37.
[262] Ibid., 48–49; Ivonne Mijares, "El abasto urbano: Caminos y bastimentos," in *Historia de la vida cotidiana en México: La ciudad barroca*, vol. II (Mexico City: FCE - El Colegio de México, 2004), 117–130.
[263] Montero Pantoja, *Arquitectura y urbanismo: De la Independencia a la Revolución, dos momentos claves en la historia urbana de la ciudad de Puebla*, 20–23.
[264] Javier Sanchiz, "La nobleza y sus vínculos familiares," in *Historia de la vida cotidiana en México: La ciudad barroca*, Second Edition, vol. II (Mexico City: FCE - El Colegio de México, 2005), 335–338.

whom were Castilian, Andalusian, and Extremaduran in origin.[265]

In terms of population, and right after the indigenous groups, the largest community in New Spanish society were the *mestizos*, the term referring to the racial mixture between a Spaniard or *criollo* and a member of any of the indigenous ethnic groups. Their numbers kept growing throughout the seventeenth century although, as Israel points out, they were not at first identified as *mestizos*, but were instead either considered Spanish or Indian, depending on which context they grew up in. The black and mulatto communities constituted a relevant—albeit smaller portion of the ethnic mosaic of New Spanish society. The black community in New Spain was originally brought as slaves to New Spain. Overall, the possession of a black slave in the viceroyalty was a sign of social prestige among the wealthy Spaniards or even among the indigenous nobility, and they were commonly employed as house servants. Otherwise they were assigned very specific jobs, such as foremen in charge of supervising fleets of indigenous workers at haciendas, factories, or mines.[266]

Despite the difficulty in investigating the demographic details of Puebla de los Ángeles during the seventeenth century due to the lack of primary sources, researchers have estimated that towards 1678, based on a census register carried out by the diocese, the city had close to 70,000 inhabitants. However, taking into consideration that boys under fourteen and girls under twelve years of age were not counted, the city could have had approximately 100,000 inhabitants.[267] This indicates that since its foundation, roughly one-hundred and forty years earlier, the city had prospered eminently: becoming a powerful economic hub where large agricultural, textile, and manufacturing industries had been created and thrived. There are no reliable sources, however, that can identify the ethnic breakdown of the city's population until well into the eighteenth century, when the bishopric of Puebla ordered a comprehensive census to be carried out. In the year 1777, then, Puebla had an approximate

[265] Jonathan Israel, *Raza, clases sociales y vida política en el México colonial, 1610-1670*, 86–136.
[266] Ibid., 74–75.
[267] Miguel Ángel Cuenya Mateos and Carlos Contreras Cruz, *Puebla de los Ángeles: Historia de una ciudad novohispana* (Puebla: BUAP, Gobierno del estado de Puebla, 2007), 112.

population of 57,000 inhabitants (once again without counting the city's young children population)—the decline relative to the 1678 census was the result of massive deaths due to the recurring epidemics. Out of the total population of the city at this time, almost thirty percent identified themselves as Spaniard; approximately twenty-one percent identified themselves as indigenous; and half of the population was recorded as belonging to a caste, whether mestizo, *pardo* (people of African and other ethnic background), or any of several others. From that same group, some 14,000 people were registered with unspecified information as to which caste they belonged to.[268] This ethnic categorization informs us that the city had, like the rest of the viceroyalty, become a multi-ethnic and preeminently *mestizo* society. Despite the fact that the city of Puebla had been founded as an exclusively Spanish city, if we suppose that the population's ethnic breakdown in the eighteenth century was similar to the preceding century, then we could presume that in the seventeenth century the Spanish inhabitants accounted for approximately a third of Puebla's total population. This does not mean that New Spanish society was any less hierarchical, since societal norms still held very strict rules and designated roles for each member of these social strata.

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Continuing with an analysis of Puebla's urban consolidation in the seventeenth century, we can observe that the governance of the city—as with other settlements of the time—was represented on the one hand by civic authorities, and on the other by ecclesiastical ones. These two entities, although clearly distinct and independent from each other, were intimately intertwined; as the participation of one in the affairs of the other was frequent, their boundaries were often blurred.

The *cabildo municipal* or city municipal council was the most important government corporation in a New Spanish city; it participated in and had an influence on

[268] Ibid., The percentages and figures are taken from the ethnic breakdown table in page 124.116–124.

practically all aspects of civic life. The members of the *cabildo* were prestigious residents of the city; holding a position in the *cabildo* added to their social standing, and the highest posts virtually guaranteed economic benefits. The main positions of the *cabildo* were the *alcades ordinarios* (whose most important responsibilities were the resolution of legal matters, and lobbying in the city's favor in the spheres of the Viceroyal administration); *regidores* (aldermen, who pursued issues related to economic, social, public health, water distribution, and commercial legislation issues, among others); and *escribanos* (official scribes, present at all public hearings, in charge of writing precise minutes that would then constitute the official registrar books); at the head of the council was the *alcalde mayor*. Other officials associated with the *cabildo* were the *alguacil mayor*, *alférez real* (the official city's herald), *procurador, capellán del cabildo*, among others.[269] It must be noted, however, that there is evidence in some annotations to the registrar books suggesting the existence of semi-autonomous indigenous *cabildos*. These indigenous authorities represented and ruled the peripheral barrios, inhabited mostly by the native population. However, more research needs to be done to detail and better understand this phenomenon.[270]

Regarding the city's ecclesiastical authorities, the diocese of Puebla-Tlaxcala was the first in the history of New Spain. It was originally created by decree of Pope Leo X in his *Bula Sacri Apostolatus Ministerio*, issued in 1519. Its original name was the *Carolensis* diocese, in honor of the Emperor Charles V; it was named before the Spanish conquerors had any knowledge of the size, dimension, or extension of the territories that would later constitute New Spain. In 1525 the seat of the diocese was transferred to Tlaxcala, and a few years later, in 1539, it was transferred to the city of Puebla. Over the years, the boundaries of the diocese evolved as the Spanish authorities realized the extension and complexity of the vast area they were administering. By the seventeenth century, the bishopric of Puebla administered over a large territory comprising the present-day states of Veracruz, Puebla, and Tlaxcala,

[269] Ibid., 73–74.
[270] Frances L. Ramos, *Identity, Ritual, and Power in Colonial Puebla*, First Edition (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2012), 94.

and a considerable portion of the present-day southeastern state of Guerrero, reaching from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific Ocean; likewise, it administered important cities, including the region of Puebla-Tlaxcala, and important indigenous fiefdoms such as Tepeaca, Huejotzingo, and Cholula.[271]

The diocesan see was located in the city of Puebla and according to Gil González Davila, a chronicler writing in the first half of the seventeenth century, was rich in terms of the number of churches, convents, and clergy at the service of the city. These included six convents of mendicant orders: the Dominicans, Franciscan Minors, Augustinians, Discalced Carmelites, Discalced Franciscans, and Mercedarians. The Society of Jesus was, already present in the city by the mid-seventeenth century, with an opulent church and a college, the *Colegio del Espíritu Santo*. Additionally there were a number of female convents; a school for young girls; four parishes; the cathedral church; San Sebastián church; Santiago church; and San José church. There were two shrines in the city, one dedicated to San Diego, and built by the indigenous communities; the other dedicated to San Juan Bautista. The city, boasted González Dávila, had five hospitals; "el Real es el más ilustre en edificio, y dote", he wrote, meaning that the *Hospital Real* was the best funded and had the best facilities. Finally, the city also had an orphanage run by the diocese: the orphanage of San Cristóbal, dedicated to *niños expositos,* or foundlings.[272]

All the institutions so far listed, i.e., hospitals, the city council, female and male convents, and others, fell under the political denomination of *corporations*. As Richard Boyer once wrote, "Hispanic society of the peninsula and the New World was a self-conscious medley of corporate groups composed of *cortes*, *señoríos*, guilds, towns, *patrias*, and communities which would resist attempts to envelope and rationalize them. Each had long enjoyed individual standing under law with special privileges and

[271] Ernesto de la Torre Villar, "Erección de obispados en el siglo XVIII. El obispado de Valles," *Revista de Estudios Novohispanos - UNAM*, no. 3 (January 1970): 2–7.
[272] Gil González Dávila, *Teatro eclesiástico de la primitiva iglesia de las Indias Occidentales, vidas de sus arzobispos, obispos, y cosas memorables de sus sedes*, vol. I (Madrid: Diego Díaz de la Carrera, 1649), 71.

jurisdictions which each was determined to preserve."[273] Such corporations were established from the early on in New Spain's establishment as an overseas territory of the Spanish Crown. For instance, the *Real Audiencia* was instituted, and *corregidores* (chief magistrates) and officers of the Royal Treasury and were appointed, not long after the war of conquest. It appears, however, that *corporaciones* were even more intricate and sophisticated than Boyer informs us. Recently, Annick Lempérière has proven that these corpora were directly responsible for the establishment of cities and villages; they articulated the whole of the *corpus politicum* of a city or town, and of New Spain as a whole. These corporations had a number of characteristics. Lempérière cites, for example, that a corporation would be created when a group of persons had a common objective to fulfill, which was always framed in terms of the general social good. Corpora would have a constitution or set of rules under which their members would be recruited, and they had councils and elections to renew or choose their constituents. Corporations were responsible for most of the dimensions and institutions of *civitas corpus* or civic life. They were created to satisfy a specific need for the citizens, whether education, religious devotion, public health, charity work, specialized professional interests (guilds), or others. There were small corpora, such as professional guilds (the silversmith guild, the stone masons guild, etc.), *cofradías* or confraternities, nested within larger corpora, such as hospitals, church parishes, orphanages, or universities. The city of Puebla, we should remember, was itself perceived as a *corpus politicum*, and was in itself ruled by a corporation: the city council.[274]

Puebla's Symbolic Dimension in the Seventeenth Century

Continuing with the investigation of Puebla's symbolic dimension, and in order to understand the cultural development of the city as an urban experiment, it is interesting to consider the state of the city's foundation mythology the century after

[273] Richard Boyer, "Absolutism versus Corporatism in New Spain: The Administration of the Marquis of Gelves, 1621-1624," *The International History Review* 4, no. 4 (November 1, 1982): 480–481.

[274] Annick Lempérière, *Entre Dios y el rey: la república. La ciudad de México de los siglo XVI al XIX* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2013), 11–73.

the city's establishment, since as we have seen it played an important role at the time. Tracing the development of Puebla's mythical narrative from its inception in the sixteenth century, Antonio Rubial has demonstrated how the mythology surrounding Puebla's foundation persisted into the seventeenth century and in fact spawned the birth and development of *poblano* patriotism. It appears that its mythological narrative fueled a bond or emotional attachment to the *patria chica* or little homeland characteristic of Puebla's self-identification as an angelic, heavenly, and sacred city. This identification persisted well into the eighteenth century, according to Rubial, and I would argue that it persists, with certain modifications, even up to the present.[275]

It is important to remember that the city was founded as a theological and social experiment satisfying the need to create a city exclusively for Spaniards, and serving as a means to curb the phenomenon of the *encomienda* system of servitude. For the Franciscan order, which had openly participated in and championed the foundation, the act of creating a city solely inhabited by Spaniards represented the opportunity to realize a theological experiment: a city as an ideal Christian republic, inspired by the notion of mirroring the heavenly city of God on earth, at least at a symbolic level. This symbolic dimension—as I have suggested—was crafted so successfully that by the end of the sixteenth century, or some fifty years after the city was founded, it was appropriated by the laity. I have argued that the construction of an elaborate *Via Crucis* symbolically equating Puebla to the city of Jerusalem, the holiest city in Christendom, proves this point. In the mid-seventeenth century the foundational myth retained its presence in the city's collective pathos, and the notion of Puebla's angelic and heavenly origin was very much alive and well. Bishop Juan de Palafox y Mendoza touched upon the subject when he wrote in the middle of the seventeenth century:

[e]n obispado de ángeles, todos han de vivir y amarse con la pureza de

[275] Antonio Rubial García, "Los ángeles de Puebla. La larga construcción de una identidad patria," in *Poder civil y catolicismo en México, siglos XVI al XIX* (Mexico City: Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas UNAM - Instituto de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades BUAP, 2008), 103–110.

ángeles; y los que se hallaron a la fundación, se hallarán a su protección y conservación; podremos decir con verdad de esta ilustre y santa ciudad lo que el profeta rey de la Ciudad del Señor: Angelis suis Deus mandavit de te ut custodiant.[276]

PUEBLA'S URBAN AND ARCHITECTURAL CONFIGURATION IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

In terms of its infrastructure, the city of Puebla in the seventeenth century had—as previously mentioned—become the second most important metropolis in the viceroyalty, overshadowed only by the capital Mexico City. In the city's annals, one episode stands out that illustrates Puebla's ambitions at this time, which went as far as aspiring to replace Mexico City as the capital of the viceroyalty. This famous chapter involved Mexico City's epic flooding of 1629, in which twenty thousand families purportedly left the capital to settle in Puebla. Seeing the poor state the city of Mexico was in, the Puebla city council did not lose the chance to make a formal proposal to the viceroy that the capital be moved to Puebla. They argued that Mexico City was in disarray due to the damage, disease, and famine provoked by the flood, and that this had caused a state of unrest among the population.[277] Evidently, the city council's aspiration was not realized, and Mexico City's unrivaled predominance was never challenged again to this degree. However, the episode speaks of Puebla's confidence as a wealthy, powerful, and alluring city, which coincides with the economic zenith of the whole of the viceroyalty. Indeed, the decade of the 1620s marked an era of economic prosperity for New Spain, and Puebla appeared to

[276] Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, *Carta Pastoral y Dictámenes de Cura de Almas. A los Beneficiados del Obispado de la Puebla de los Ángeles, Puebla*, 1646, f.199. Quoted in: Rubial García, "Los ángeles de Puebla. La larga construcción de una identidad patria," in *Poder civil y catolicismo en México, siglos XVI al XIX* (Mexico City: Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas UNAM - Instituto de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades BUAP, 2008), 103–28.
[277] Jonathan Israel, *Raza, clases sociales y vida política en el México colonial, 1610-1670*, 183.

personify this social and economic affluence.[278]

In terms of urbanism and architecture, it is important to note once again that Puebla's urban layout was articulated by an orthogonal grid generated from the intersection of the *cardo maximus* and *decumanus maximus*. The results were street blocks in the shape of rectangles, 200 by 100 *varas castellanas,*[279] while the width of the streets was ample; street crossings were squares of 14 by 14 *varas* in length. Each street block was divided into eight *solares* or land plots; these same plots were the ones given to the initial settlers in the sixteenth century, and they were 50 by 50 *varas*, or 2,500 square *varas*, somewhere close to 1,750 square meters. This represented enough space to erect a home, with some land for vegetable and fruit gardens and for raising a few domestic animals, and stables.[280] The central layout or *traza central* constituted then the heart of the city and, all in all, it was made up of some 118 street blocks.

The point of intersection formed by the *cardo* and *decumanus* gave way to the space dedicated to the *plaza pública* or Main Square; and this square to a large extent framed the city's social life. This was the site in which official, civic, and religious events such as decrees, criminal and justice events such as public punishments or *actos de fé* took place, as well as the site of the popular and frequent public festivities, and where the most important religious processions necessarily passed. However, in the everyday life of the city, the main activities that took place at the main square or *plaza pública* were commercial in nature; the city council was in charge of administering the vendor stalls, the nature and quality of the products offered, and the quantity offered so as not to result in a surplus or scarcity of key products.[281] Moreover, the *plaza pública* determined the city's urban configuration well beyond the square's own spatial limits, given that it indirectly dictated how the urban

[278] Ibid., 30.
[279] The *vara castellana* was the most widely used unit of measure employed in New Spain, which measured 83.59 cm, approximately.
[280] Montero Pantoja, *Arquitectura y urbanismo: De la Independencia a la Revolución, dos momentos claves en la historia urbana de la ciudad de Puebla*, 16–17.
[281] Ibid., 17–18.

hierarchy would operate. At the main square the key civic and ecclesiastical buildings were erected: the cathedral, the city hall, the city jail, the *alhóndiga* or civic granary, courthouses, and other administrative buildings aligned themselves along its perimeter. Within a short distance, the various architectural complexes built by the mendicant orders dotted the city, along with the seminars and colleges. It is perhaps almost redundant to emphasize how the *traza principal* in Puebla enjoyed urban utilities found nowhere else in the city; potable water and pavements in the main central streets did not exist in the peripheral *barrios*.

The main square also structured social hierarchies; living in proximity to it was indicative of a citizen's prominence. A well-defined urban segregation was normal during the seventeenth century in Puebla. It was embodied, on the one hand, by the *república española*, which occupied the *traza central*; and on the other hand the spatial territories inhabited by the lower strata of the population, namely the *república indiana* at the periphery of the *traza central*. Fausto Marín-Tamayo has documented how indigenous peoples were repeatedly evicted from the *traza* or the central part of the city, when any attempts on their part to settle in that part of the city occurred. However, lower-class Spaniards would sometimes locate, as diocese and parish records showed, in ethnically mixed *barrios*, such as the barrio of Analco, San José, or San Marcos. In general, the indigenous and other ethnically mixed *barrios* formed a horseshoe shaped periphery that ran East-North-West of the *traza central*.[282]

Besides the plaza principal, there were other plazas or public squares in the city; these were usually referred to as *plazuelas*, the term referring to their lower rank and area when compared to the main plaza. These were usually located in the *arrabales* or peripheral barrios. Among the principal *plazuelas* there was the San José *plazuela*, which acted as a city park or *alameda*, the *plazuela* de San Agustín, used as a site of a *tianguis* or market, the *plazuela* de la Concordia, the *plazuela* de la Compañía,

[282] Fausto Marín Tamayo, "La división racial en Puebla de los Ángeles bajo el régimen colonial," in *Ángeles y Constructores: Mitos y realidades en la historia de Puebla, siglos XVI y XVII*, Second Edition (Puebla: BUAP, 2006), 91–126.

so called because of the Jesuit college in front of it, and a good number of others. Other important urban elements present in seventeenth century Puebla were the *huertas,* or urban gardens. These were used as buffers between the *traza principal* and the mostly indigenous barrios to the west. In the 1698 plan of the city (figure 1), *huertas* can be seen clearly to the north and south of the *traza principal*, and a few can be spotted to the west, intermingling with the street blocks of the barrios.[283]

In the seventeenth century, there were five parishes dividing the city into smaller territories; the indigenous parishes were in turn partitioned into various *barrios*. The parishes were, firstly, El Sagrario, which constituted a great deal of the *traza central* and which hosted the majority of the Spanish population and the wealthier strata of *poblano* society; then there was the parish of San José, to the north of the *traza central*, which was an ethnically mixed territory with the presence of a large Spanish community. San José parish, together with the Sagrario, made up for little over half of the city's population. The parish of Santo Ángel de Analco was the third most important parish, and although it was originally settled by indigenous Tlaxcalans in the second half of the sixteenth century, by the seventeenth it was also ethnically mixed, with a numerous *mestizo* population, a majoritarian indigenous population, and a smaller but considerable Spanish presence. Then there were the smaller parishes of San Sebastián, to the south of the city, mostly indigenous in demographic composition; and the parish of Santa Cruz, to the northeast of the *traza central*, mostly indigenous as well. The parish of Santa Cruz and Analco were both settled on the eastern bank of the San Francisco River, closer to the San Francisco convent (see Figure 19 for a graphic representation of the city's parishes).[284]

[283] Montero Pantoja, *Arquitectura y urbanismo: De la Independencia a la Revolución, dos momentos claves en la historia urbana de la ciudad de Puebla*, 19–23.
[284] Marín Tamayo, "La división racial en Puebla de los Ángeles bajo el régimen colonial," 110–116; Cuenya Mateos and Contreras Cruz, *Puebla de los Ángeles: Historia de una ciudad novohispana*, 114–125.

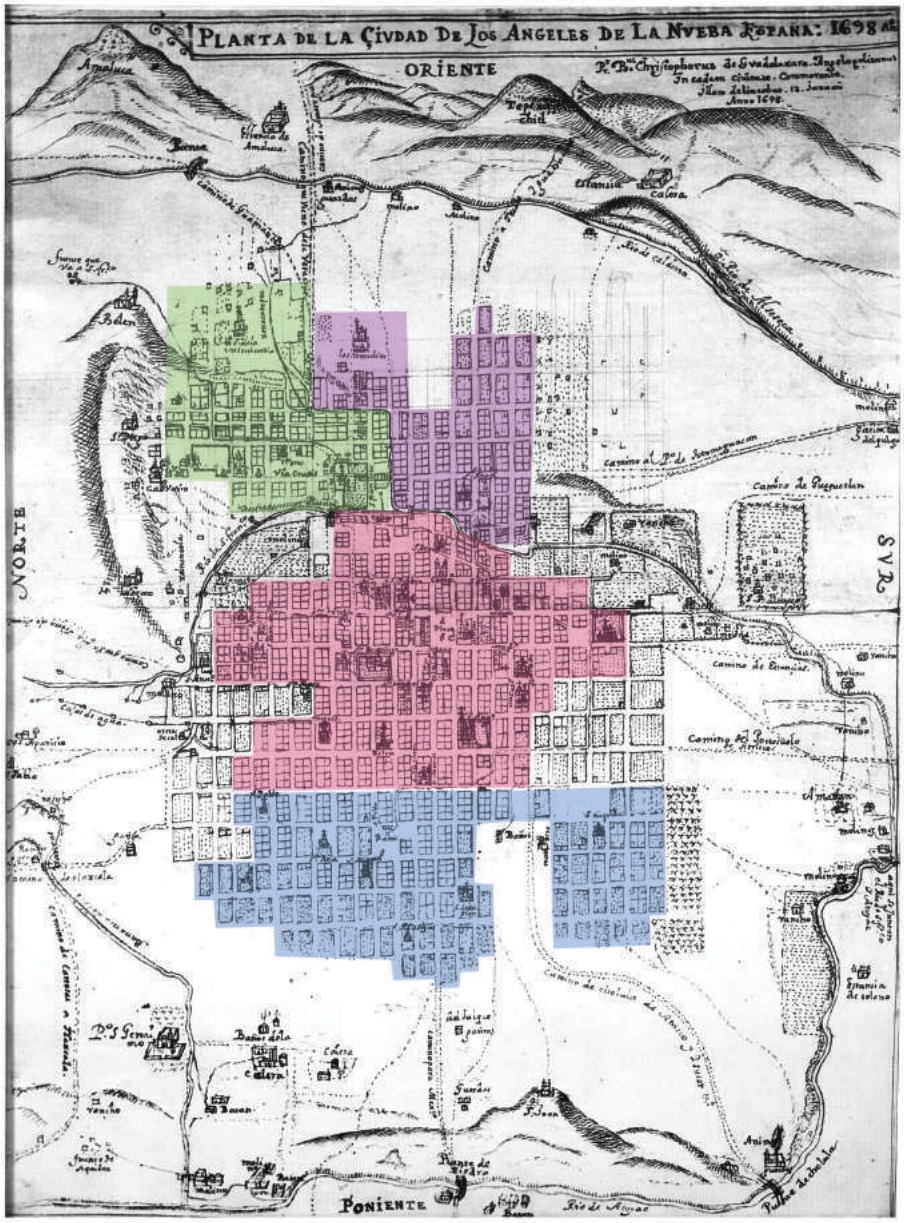

Figure 19. A plan of the city of Puebla towards 1698, showing approximate urban delimitations by parish; in which due east points upwards. At the center of the city, the *traza central* is shown, constituted by the parishes of El Sagrario and San José, where the vast majority of the Spanish population lived. To the east, and across from the San Francisco River, were the mostly indigenous and mestizo parishes of Santo Ángel Custodio de Analco, and Santa Cruz, the latter situated to the north of Analco. To the west of the traza central there were a series of indigenous settlements, grouped under the parish of San Sebastián, and which included the barrios of Santiago, San Pablo de los Naturales, Santa Ana, and San Miguel. It can be noted that the *traza central* is depicted with the most delineated urban layout, displaying the division of urban plots clearly. It is important to note how, when the indigenous *barrios* street blocks border with the *traza central*, they also display clear urban

plot divisions, however, as we move further towards the periphery, the urban layout begins displaying undefined division of land plots. This indicates that these were probably *arrabales*, or urban slums, in which people erected meager constructions, and were scattered with urban gardens, or *huertas*. These urban gardens were, in the sixteenth century, the *traza central's* border, later acting as buffers between the *traza central* and the indigenous settlements. They began to disappear as the city's urban density increased, giving way to more construction.

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The contrasts between the opulent *traza principal* and the—mostly—indigenous slums in the city's periphery must have made for quite a spectacle. It is worth remembering that Puebla's piety was reflected in the numerous and lavish religious architectural complexes that the city boasted, as mentioned earlier. The *traza central* also displayed several lavish residential palaces belonging to the city's most prominent members. The city's architectural imagery, as Montero Pantoja has pointed out, was dominated by the outline of the religious buildings and their massive volumes, their overall heights, and their opulence: a series of convents and their cloisters, church buildings and their bell towers, a string of chapels and administrative ecclesiastical buildings, together with hospitals, orphanages, seminaries, and colleges, which dotted the *traza central*. Ecclesiastical buildings were taller in height than residential or even civic buildings, and because of their bell towers and domes appeared taller still, dominating Puebla's skyline.[285] During the seventeenth century, *poblano* architecture began acquiring a series of traits that would set them apart from the rest of New Spain. In the sumptuous *traza central*, some of the principal ecclesiastical buildings, together with some of the regal residences of the prominent members of *poblano* society, began to be decorated with Talavera or glazed majolica-style tiles, characteristic of the Puebla-Tlaxcala region, and whose manufacturing tradition had been imported from Spain in the sixteenth century. The colorful yellow, blue, white and green patterned designs were intermingled with plain brick tiles, arranged in herringbone patterns in the building façades, while some domes were decorated, on their exterior, with lush Talavera tile patterns (figure 20). In other cases, façades were decorated with brick tiles only, and these would highlight the white, stuccoed

[285] Montero Pantoja, *Arquitectura y urbanismo: De la Independencia a la Revolución, dos momentos claves en la historia urbana de la ciudad de Puebla*, 23–24.

cornices, friezes and architraves of the elegant *poblano* buildings (see figures 21 and 22).[286]

Figure 20. A pair of domes belonging to the church of San José, an ethnically-mixed barrio founded in the sixteenth century. The church was erected at the outset of the seventeenth century, and its two domes are pictured here, each one exhibiting different exterior finishes. The dome to the left was decorated with Talavera glazed tiles, forming simple geometrical patterns, and its overall design is seen as more elaborate than that of its partner to the right. Its tambour or drum exhibits a window on each of its eight sides, flanked by columns and with an elaborate cornice and attic. The dome to the right employs a simpler geometry; elaborated and finished with brick tiles, it displays simple stuccoed architectural ornamentation, such as Solomonic columns and their pinnacles.

[286] Manuel González Galván, *Trazo, proporción y símbolo en el arte virreinal: antologia personal* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2012), 115–116.

Figure 21. The façade of the Tridentino Seminar complex, founded by bishop Juan de Palafox y Mendoza (1640-1649). This architectural complex housed the colleges of San Juan, San Pedro and San Pablo; the college of San Pantaleón; and the Palafoxiana Library. The façade is stylistically characteristic of the Puebla-Tlaxcala region, developed throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The brick tile patterns, which contrast with the white-stuccoed cornices, friezes, architraves, spires, window and door jambs and lintels, along with the cut quarry stone carved ornamentation, were outstanding instances of the architectural imagery of seventeenth century Puebla.

Adding to the lush architecture of the city with its various textures and colors, Puebla was framed by exterior perspectives of the several mountain ranges that surround the Valley of Puebla. The principal features are the Popocatépetl, Iztaccihuatl and Malinche volcanoes; these serve as a backdrop to the city, along with the Belén and San Juan hills at the edge of the sprawling city, which marked the city limits until the twentieth century. However, while the city was surrounded by topographical landmarks, the views to the inside of the urban layout were dominated by the straight and endless perspectival streets, a Renaissance urban ideal if ever there was one. The city of Puebla belonged to a group of Spanish American cities, together with the city of Mexico, Potosí, Bogotá, or Lima, that reached an apogee

during the seventeenth century, despite difficult socio-economic situations due to economic instability, fear of popular revolts, constant epidemics, and lack of a substantial workforce, among others.

Figure 22. The façade of San Pedro's Hospital, originally founded in the late sixteenth century, remodeled during Juan de Palafox's tenure as bishop of Puebla (1640-1649), and continued during Bishop Manuel Fernández de Santa Cruz's tenure (1676-1699). The church building exhibits a quarried stone façade, ornamented in a late-Renaissance style. The adjacent hospital facilities were ornamented on their exterior with red brick tiles; while door and window frames, cornices, friezes and architraves were white and elaborated in stucco. The hospital's sober architecture is illustrative of Puebla's regal personality during the seventeenth century.

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When Thomas Aquinas wrote his commentaries to Aristotle's "Politics", he touched upon the subject of the city. Specifically, Aquinas wrote that "he [Aristotle] says that the city is a perfect society; and this he proves from the fact that, since every association among all men is ordered to something necessary for life, that society will be perfect which is ordered to this: that man have sufficiently whatever is necessary for life. Such a society is the city."[287] This commentary demonstrated the interest that the Fathers of the Church seemed to have for the city as a concept, as well as its possibilities for improving mankind's material quality of life, and this in turn was intimately associated with their desire for espousing the law of God with the law of man, i.e., to make the city a part of the Christian tradition. Augustine of Hippo wed the city's material quality of life to humankind's spiritual needs; and he did so by interpreting the ultimate attainment of civic life as a life of peace, "the heavenly city possesses this peace by faith; and by this faith it lives righteously when it refers to the attainment of that peace every good action towards God and man; for the life of the city is a social life."[288] The value of the polis has been ingrained in European culture for centuries, and as Europe became Christian, so the concept of the city was transferred to the Christian tradition, providing for it a paramount position. Augustine of Hippo imagined the Christian faithful as a world community, i.e., a heavenly city, but he still admitted the need for the earthly city to exist, "[T]he earthly city, which does not live by faith, seeks an earthly peace, and the end it proposes, in the well-ordered concord of civic obedience and rule, is the combination of men's wills to attain the things which are helpful to this life."[289] The city as an intellectual concept was, in the Spanish-Christian worldview, the apogee of civilization; in the case of Spanish America, the foundation of cities under a Christian mandate was an inherent part of the colonization process, and it delivered, for everybody to witness, the protection of Christian values led by the ruling Spanish

[287] Thomas Aquinas, "St. Thomas Aquinas's Commentary on Aristotle's Politics," trans. Ernest L. Fortin and Peter D. O'Neill, *Sentantia Libri Politicorum: Commentary on Aristotle's Politics*, Book One, Lesson I, ¶ 31, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.dhspriory.org/thomas/Politics.htm.
[288] Augustine, *The City of God. 2 Vols.*, Book XIX, Chapter 17.
[289] Ibid.

elite. The city was, in short, the apex of the exported version of Spanish civilization imposed on the colonized territories.

In the following chapters, I will show how during the seventeenth century, the city of Puebla would enact, on its own terms and conditions, a culture characterized by ostentation, excess, festival, and drama, as other cities in the American continent were also doing. This society was styled by an emerging creole bourgeoisie that had replaced the first generations of rugged conquerors and settlers, those who had been its first inhabitants. I will also show how, a hundred years after its foundation, the city's symbolic dimension shifts completely from the image it had acquired directly from its foundational mythology—crafted to establish the image of a heavenly city in the New World—and evolved instead into a multi-ethnic and sophisticated metropolis. Puebla during this period was a prosperous city that nonetheless faced various challenges such as economic competition from other manufacturing and agricultural regions in New Spain; it needed to cater in social and cultural terms to a diverse audience, in order to maintain the relative peace, order, and affluence that it had gained since its creation. In the following pages I will show how the civic and ecclesiastical authorities organized the extraordinary array of public festivities that transformed the perception of the city and the use of its public space whenever they were celebrated.

I will also show how architecture and art were used to the same ends. I will do this by discussing Juan de Palafox y Mendoza's bishopric and the transformation he undertook through architecture, articulating a city that, unlike its counterpart a hundred years before, was now more complex and diverse. I will describe how the formerly angelic and heavenly symbolic dimension of the city was transformed, a hundred years later, into that of a diverse, monarchical and Viceroyal republic, and how it managed to remain loyal to both the King and Viceroy—as well as to itself, personified by its local and regional identities. In short, I will demonstrate how Bishop Palafox attempted to articulate a veritable ideal Christian republic in the city of Puebla, understood in the light of Spanish American Catholicism, and guided by a long

tradition of Christian intellectual social thinking coupled with the early modern impetus of Tridentine reform.

7. PUBLIC FESTIVITIES AND URBAN SPACE IN PUEBLA DE LOS ÁNGELES DURING THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Puebla de los Ángeles in the first half of the seventeenth century was a world unto itself. It enjoyed the co-existence of a variety of peoples, landscapes, societal strata, corporations such as confraternities and guilds, and a powerful and complex religious apparatus with an army of clergy, both male and female. Some of them lived in cloisters in retirement, while others preached from the pulpits of their parish churches. If one conjures up the image of an endless array of coexisting inhabitants, situations, and organizations, one can begin to comprehend the common analogy of city and theater, as appropriate to the early modern viceregal city as to the European metropolis.[290] While it might be tempting to refer to urban life during the viceregal seventeenth century, and to label the cultural manifestations observed at this time as 'baroque', it is also a problematic characterization due to the loaded nature of the term. While the term baroque has been to a large extent applied to a series of more or less defined cultural and artistic manifestations originally from Western Europe, the definition of what constituted the baroque in viceregal New Spain is still debatable. Cultural historian Mariano Picón-Salas affirmed that the general character of the mother country's baroque culture, "added complexity in the Spanish American environment."[291] Indeed, the Spanish American Baroque, or Baroque of the Indies, as Picón-Salas labeled it, was evidently related to the elusive and laberinthyne Spanish Baroque, but the differences between them have proven to be somewhat difficult to pinpoint. Antonio Rubial García has written that if there is one characteristic proper of the New Spanish Baroque, it was that it found an outlet of expression in urban life. He further credits viceregal Baroque culture as having been the crucible for regional identities; *criollismo* then, was propitiated by a culture of festivity and grandeur, what Rubial García deemed "los paraísos terrenales y las patrias criollas".[292] Picón-Salas

[290] Will Coster and Andrew Spicer, *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 169.
[291] Mariano Picón-Salas, *A Cultural History of Spanish America, from Conquest to Independence* (University of California Press, 1962), 93.
[292] Antonio Rubial García, *El paraíso de los elegidos: Una lectura de la historia cultural de Nueva*

also pointed to urban life as the most refined and accomplished expression of baroque culture to be seen in New Spain. New Spanish architecture—according to him the most refined of all architecture produced in the whole of the Americas during this period—acted as a backdrop to this so-called 'Baroque of the Indies', which was characterized by the pomp and circumstance of urban pageantry.[293] Stephanie Merrim, in a perhaps overenthusiastic manner, labeled this urban phenomenon "'the Spectacular City': the real, throbbing, galvanic, excessive cities of colonial Spanish America, locus of the Spanish "civilizing" campaign for the New World".[294]

Public celebrations were certainly characteristic of Puebla's urban life during the seventeenth century; while most of these could be construed as minor events, others were grandiose and abundant in symbolism and interpretation. The *cabildo municipal* or city council participated in the organization of the most important festivals, whether secular or religious; most of the festivities they participated in had a religious motive. With regards to this, it is important to remember that temporal and spiritual powers were intimately intertwined in New Spain. Public festivities were significant contributors to social cohesion in Hapsburg-era Puebla de los Ángeles.[295] As Linda Curcio-Nagy wrote: "for city councilmen during the Hapsburg era, festival patronage was more than just appeasement of potentially disgruntled citizens or a means to influence the mood of the public. It also was a means to demonstrate a government sensitive to the needs of the general population."[296] Although she was writing specifically about Mexico City, this was also true for the diverse and complex society that made up the city of Puebla. In Puebla, as in any other important city in the

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España (1521-1804), First Edition (Mexico City: FCE - UNAM, 2010), see Chapter IV: La era barroca. Los discursos de una elección divina, 210.

[293] Picón-Salas, *A Cultural History of Spanish America, from Conquest to Independence*, 93–94.

[294] Stephanie Merrim, *The Spectacular City, Mexico, and Colonial Hispanic Literary Culture* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010), 2.

[295] Cuenya Mateos and Contreras Cruz, *Puebla de los Ángeles: Historia de una ciudad novohispana*, 84.

[296] Linda A. Curcio-Nagy, *The Great Festivals of Colonial Mexico City: Performing Power and Identity* (University of New Mexico Press, 2004), 9.

kingdom of New Spain, there was a universe of religious festivities that possessed a hierarchy of their own. The church in New Spain had established a classification of celebrations divided into several ranks, with a priority given to commemorations dedicated to the life of Jesus and the virgin Mary. After these came local celebrations dedicated to the patron saints of each city, and then those saints that were adored in each barrio or parish.[297] When it came to secular celebrations, occasions were various and they ranged from the ascension to power of a new monarch, the birth of an heir to the throne, or the arrival of a new viceroy to the kingdom of New Spain. The arrival of a new viceroy was perhaps the most illustrative and relevant secular event in the public life of New Spanish society, one that displayed the hierarchical character of social life during the seventeenth century. Finally, as Pilar Gonzalbo Aizpuru pointed out, there was no civic event that was not solemnized with a religious activity, and no ecclesiastical celebration that did not acknowledge the hierarchical preeminence of the civic authorities. Therefore, all urban celebrations in New Spain were permeated with protocol and traditions, some written and others established by way of convention and custom.[298]

My concern in this chapter will be an informed description of some of the most notable urban celebrations in Puebla, and the importance of public space as setting for these celebratory events. I will discuss the role played by streets, plazas, and architecture in general, as well as how urban space was reconfigured through the erection of ephemeral structures, processions, public spectacles like mock fights, jousts, and bullfighting; in these events, due to the temporary alteration of social norms and routines, the population at large took to the streets, changing the configuration of the urban social order. A description of these celebratory events will be attempted, with information extracted from both secondary and primary sources, in order to recreate the way urban celebrations in Puebla de los Ángeles might have been experienced. Finally, I will consider the issue of how these celebratory

[297] Pilar Gonzalbo Aizpuru, *Vivir en Nueva España: Orden y desorden en la vida cotidiana*, First Edition (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 2009), 306.
[298] Ibid., 314.

expressions were informed by the intricate and sophisticated power relations that came to define the society of Puebla de los Ángeles throughout the seventeenth century, in particular through the birth of a series of local identities that struggled to maintain their voice and presence in the face of Spanish and *criollo* dominance.

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As mentioned earlier, the arrival of a new viceroy to the region accounted for the most important and sumptuous celebratory events in the life of the prominent New Spanish cities. In order to understand why the arrival of a new viceroy was so laden with meaning, however, it must be understood that the Viceroyalty of New Spain was a world that hinged on order and hierarchy. These were such fundamental concepts that it was only through them, as if through a lens, that the *novohispano* worldview was rendered visible and legible. It would be safe to affirm that the power wielded by the Spanish authorities—both secular and religious—over the populations of the conquered territories emanated from the notion, clear and visible to all, that a sense of hierarchy was in place, and that this sense of hierarchy, if altered or upset, would unavoidably translate into disarray or chaos.

At the top of the spheres of power in the Spanish empire lay, unequivocally, the king. When it came to the crown's overseas possessions, the Council of the Indies, which operated from Spain, was the supreme administrative corpus that aided the king in exercising his rule in the colonial territories. Meanwhile, the agents representative of the king in the crown's overseas territories were the viceroys and governors, whose power was sometimes more nominal than real, since other principal actors in the viceroyalty's bureaucracy, like the judges of the *Real Audiencia*, were directly appointed by the crown. Simultaneously, the *Audiencia* acted as supreme body of justice, an advising organ to the viceroy, and themselves exercised certain legislative functions. This situation, as John Leddy Phelan has pointed out, represented an easily upset balance of power, as proven by the many and frequent rows between the

viceroy and the *Audiencia*.[299] In any case, the viceroy's main duty, succinctly put, was to be chief administrator to the various agencies that surrounded him; he served as presiding officer of the *Audiencia*, he was vice-patron of the ecclesiastical authorities, and he also served as president to the *junta superior de la real hacienda,* or royal treasury council.[300]

However, and despite Leddy Phelan's justified hesitation concerning the viceroy's absolute power, the figure of the viceroy has been historically revised of late, in order to reveal how it was perceived by the bulk of the population: as a figure granted with unblemished nobility, virtuosity, and unparalleled merits. At the root of this symbolic power bestowed upon the figure of the viceroy, lay an analogy that involved, once again, the concepts of hierarchy and order. In early modern New Spain, as in Spain itself, the notion of an analogical relationship between heaven's order and that of the earthly realm was a common one, and also had an influence on civic life through the embodiment of various social and religious expressions. For instance, when the city of Puebla was founded to mirror the City of God, the Heavenly Jerusalem itself—an unsurpassable urban model characterized by order and beauty, and a city that presented the very possibility of Christian salvation—the analogy of '*thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth*' was also in play. Alejandro Cañeque argues that in early modern Spain, the concept of nobility and their inherent right to rule was founded on this same precept.[301] As an example and guide to unpack this notion, we might consider a book written by an Augustinian friar named Jerónimo Saona, titled *Jerarquía celestial y terrena*, and published in 1603 in Cuenca, Spain. DIscussing the implicit order and hierarchies of the cosmos, Cañeque describes how the nobility in the early modern Hispanic world derived their divine right to rule from a divine celestial order, an order that had to be emulated here on earth, in order to render this worldly realm legible.

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[299] John Leddy Phelan, "Authority and Flexbility in the Spanish Imperial Bureaucracy," *Administrative Science Quarterly* 5, no. 1 (June 1960): 50–52.
[300] Ibid., 53.
[301] Alejandro Cañeque, *The King's Living Image: The Culture and Politics of Viceregal Power in Colonial Mexico*, 1st. ed. (New York, N.Y: Routledge, 2004), 38 and subsequent.

The adherence to hierarchy brought forth the beauty of the universe in which, for the residents of New Spain, there were three levels of existence. First came the supracelestial level embodied by the Trinity itself; at this level there was no hierarchy since the Trinity's tripartite nature informed equality among its constituents. Then there was the celestial level, the realm of angels and other divine entities, with an inherent hierarchy in which, for instance, the seraphim stood above the cherubim, and these in turn over the dominions and the virtues, coming then down to the archangels and other flanks of lower ranking angels, very much the way Pseudo-Dionisyus the Aeropagite established it in his *De Coelesti Hierarchia*. Finally, there was the subcelestial realm, which was equivalent to the world we inhabit. Within this structure of the universe, a fundamental notion was at stake: the understanding that proximity to the godhead always equaled a more intimate understanding of His infinite wisdom. According to Cañeque, and informed by the writings of Jerónimo de Saona, Spain's royal family was structured in a similar way, with the king acting as the main messenger or executor to God's will on Earth, while the people surrounding him acted as an army of messengers that aided him in disseminating his rule, in order to bring order to his possessions. Across the sea, his majesty had chosen a proxy to represent him in the territories of the Indies, the viceroy himself, who was just as an archangel was to God: one of those messengers or agents or delegates who helped establish the king's will in his distant territories. The viceroys appointed by the king, as Cañeque reminds us, were usually high-ranking officials from the Council of the Indies, were gentlemen in good standing, and sometimes even possessed noble titles. They had the rare privilege of having seen and met the king, a figure that, from such a great distance, appeared as a living deity or mythical figure to the New Spanish vassals.

The now classic vignette written by Irving Leonard, contained in his book, "Baroque Times in Old Mexico" originally published in 1959, described the arrival in New Spain of the archbishop and viceroy, Friar García Guerra (1611-1612). Leonard illustrated how a newly appointed viceroy made the trip from the port of Veracruz to Mexico City, culminating with the entrance of the new officer into the capital city, which was

celebrated with great pomp and circumstance. This trip included visits to various cities along the way from the coast of the Gulf of Mexico to the capital, such as Jalapa, Tlaxcala, Puebla, and others, while the expenses that went into preparing these celebrations at each venue were hardly restricted. Leonard recounts how, once in Mexico City, the viceroy rode a pureblooded mare beneath a royal canopy, carried by the city councilors on foot and wearing purple satin outfits designed to make the royal figure of the viceroy stand out. The parade was complimented by the participation of the judges of the *Audiencia Real,* who followe d in the procession behind the viceroy, together with magistrates and other civil servants and along with the Viceroyal nobility and aristocracy, in a bombastic display of power and luxury.

Another outstanding characteristic of these public festivities was the fact that representatives of all social strata, including the indigenous communities, were active participants, organizing elaborate dances accompanied by chants, as well as certain displays of ability such as the flying pole dancers.[302] But perhaps the summit of the celebrations was the triumphal entrance of the royal figure and his ride through the ephemeral arch constructed to that end, adorned with a complex set of allegorical symbols and paintings transmitting a carefully crafted message about the new ruler.[303]

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[302] Irving A. Leonard, *La época barroca en el México Colonial*, 17th ed. (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2004), See chapter one, 17–42.

[303] Probably the most famous case of an ephemeral arch ever built in New Spain was the one designed by Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, who also wrote a booklet of poetry as an accompaniment to the arch and its enigmatic symbols. It was designed in honor of the celebrations for the ascension to the throne of Viceroy Don Tomás Antonio de la Cerda, Count of Paredes, and Marquis de la Laguna (1680-1686). This was an arch erected in front of the west entrance to Mexico City's cathedral, and made from wood, cloth, and plaster. Sor Juana herself described the architectural styles of the arch, which was divided into three parts, as being Corinthian, composite, and Doric, with simulated jaspers and bronzes. There were panels with canvases lined by columns and Latin inscriptions. The arch's central canvas was a depiction of the viceroy and his wife as the god Neptune and his wife Amphitrite. Octavio Paz wrote that Sor Juana depicted the Marquis de la Laguna as Neptune in her efforts to try to establish an aquatic allegory between the marquis' title of "de la Laguna" (of the lake), and "the fact that Mexico City had been founded on a lake".[303] The allegories, however, went further, and in the depiction of various colors that the arch sported, Sor Juana made an allegorical connection to Neptune's various virtues and attributes, which were also virtues and attributes that she ascribed to the marquis. In this way, the arch was meant to embody, for all the public to see, the new viceroy's political and personal virtues as ruler and public figure. See: Octavio

The parade would then proceed to the cathedral, where the viceroy was presented to the church authorities and would pledge alliance to the ecclesiastical authority. It had taken the viceroy at least two months to arrive at the capital city, but another two months of festivities would now ensue in which the viceroy and his wife were the guests of honor at diverse private and public acts and events. Bullfights, mock jousts, music concerts, poetry recitals, fireworks displays, indigenous dances, banquets, and theater plays were all activities that would have been celebrated in the viceroy's honor after his arrival in the capital.[304] These celebrations, including the months-long ceremonial welcoming of the new viceroy, all had in common two things: they used public space as setting; and they required the involvement and participation of all strata of society. These characteristics translated into an alteration of the way in which the city was lived and experienced by its inhabitants because, at least temporarily, they took possession of the most important public venues available, invited and promoted by the city council itself.

Perhaps the most important primary source detailing a voyage, arrival, and reception of a new viceroy to New Spain was the chronicle written by Cristóbal Gutiérrez de Medina, a chaplain and royal almoner, who traveled with Don Diego López de Pacheco, duke of Escalona and marquis of Villena, seventeenth appointed viceroy to New Spain, (August 28, 1640 - June 10, 1642). Gutiérrez took the initiative to document the trip he made with his master to the New World, "por lo cual determiné escrivirla para ser conocido, quando soy reconocido Capellan y limosnero mayor del Marques (sic) mi señor",[305] and wrote down every minute detail of the trip, and of the festivities in which they took part. Coincidentally, López de Pacheco traveled and arrived at New Spain together with the newly appointed bishop of the city of Puebla de los Ángeles, Don Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, who also came to New

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Paz, *Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz o las trampas de la fe*, 18th Edition (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2004), 212.

[304] Curcio-Nagy, *The Great Festivals of Colonial Mexico City*, 15–18.

[305] Cristóbal Gutiérrez de Medina, *Viage de tierra y mar, feliz por mar y tierra, que hizo el Excellentissimo señor marques de Villena mi señor, yendo por virrey y Capitan General de la Nueua España...* (Mexico, en la imprenta de Iuan Ruyz, 1640), 2, http://gredos.usal.es/jspui/handle/10366/110851.

Spain as *visitador general*, or royal auditor of the Viceroyal administration. Palafox would be responsible, two years after their arrival in New Spain, of arresting López de Pacheco, of stripping him of his investiture as viceroy, and sending him back to Spain due to the unrest that López de Pacheco's cousin, Joao IV, eighth duke of Braganza, had caused as leader (later king) of Portugal's insurrection against the crown of Spain in 1642. In any case, Gutiérrez de Medina's chronicle of the new viceroy's passage through the city of Puebla evidences the importance that these celebratory events had for the citizens of this city; it speaks of the reactions they provoked among the local population, which were—if we are to take Gutiérrez de Medina's word for it—comparable to a form of collective ecstasy or collective agitation upon the sight of the viceroy. This seems to corroborate Cañeques' hypothesis regarding the symbolic image created around the figure of the viceroy, who appears—as Gutierrez de Medina's chronicle illustrates—as a figure who was a chosen one, higher in the hierarchical scale for being closer to the King of Spain, and therefore a divine intermediary.

> Mientras mas yba entrando su Excelencia en este Reyno, mas yba creciendo el acompañamiento, festejo, y alegria del […] con muchas carroças, y gran tropa de gente partiò para la Puebla de los Angeles […] era tanto el concurso de gente de à cavallo, y à pie, que no se podia romper por el campo, con muchos arcos triunfales repartidos à trechos, de yervas, y de flores; (hechuras como he dicho de la curiosidad de los Indios) saliò el Alcalde mayor, la Ciudad, y Regimiento con toda la nobleça, y el Señor Obispo con muchos de los Capitulares de su Iglesia con tanto numero de carroças, que se contaron mas de ciento, y tanta gente de à cavallo y à mula, que se parecían ejércitos en campo, bandadas de mugeres, que olvidadas de su recogimiento, y llevadas de su afecto en tropas con griteria le echavan mil bendiciones, unas dezian su cara dize que es hijo de un serafin, otra, linda cara tienes, Buenos hechos haras; que fue lo del Fislosofo *bona facies, bona facies*, otras, sea bien venido el Virrey grande, y el deseado de todos; el

> enxambre de los muchos muchachos, que fue increible davan vozes con muchas banderillas, diziendo, Viva el Duque Marques de Villena, para verificar, que las acclamaciones de niños califican merecidas alabanças: *Ex ore infantium, & lactentium perfeciti laudem*: corros de Clerigos enternecidos dezian, bendito sea el embiado en el nombre del Señor: *Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini*: otros *Redemtionem missit Dominus Populo suo*; y huvo Clerigo, que dixo; cierto, que en esta occasion en lugar del *Te Deum Laudamus*, aviamos de cantar; *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel, quia visuavit, & fecit Redemptionem plebis sue*; otros, à las puertas de todas las casas emos de poner el Sol de las armas de tan gran Señor con su letra *Post nubile Phoebus*, que no puede aver geroglifico, que explique major nuestra dicha […] Con estos jubilos de comun acclamacion de todo el Puebla, y acompañamiento tan sin numero, yendo la reposteria delante con muchas azemilas siguiendo à un Clarin, siguiendole dos Compañias de infanteria, y tan copioso, y tan lucido acompañamiento llegaron al Convento de Frayles Descalços, que llaman San Antonio […] [306]

The celebrations for the appointment of a new viceroy and their passage through the city of Puebla, with their mobilization of thousands of people, the higher-ranking city and clergy officials attired in regalia, the various ephemeral arches constructed along the viceroy's path across the city, must have altered the usual rhythm of life in the viceregal city, and for a few days, the city was overcome with a jubilant festive spirit that reaffirmed the community of the city and its inhabitants and, even further, their place in the larger scheme of the New Spanish social universe.

The passing of a viceroy through the city of Puebla would apparently not last more than a couple of days; however, the various peripheral activities associated with the main event went on for several days or even weeks after the viceroy had left the city on his way to the capital. These festivities can be considered inherent parts of the

[306] Ibid., 27–28.

celebrations in and of themselves, and the importance they represented to the governing bodies becomes evident when we look at the expenses invested in them. These expenses were largely paid for by the city council and, as a matter of fact, all throughout the seventeenth century, the expenditures associated with the endless celebratory events that the city council largely organized, and to a large extent paid for, amounted to having the city in perpetual debt. As Cuenya Mateos and Contreras Cruz have demonstrated by way of archival sources found in Puebla's municipal records, the city, in order to cover the expenses collected by celebratory events such as the arrival of a new viceroy, and all of the activities associated to it, the city often incurred debt by acquiring loans from the Church and from private lenders.[307] This situation would change eventually with the arrival of the Bourbon dynasty to the Spanish Crown, when the profligate ways of the Hapsburg administrations were frowned upon and strict, rather conservative fiscal concerns were adopted across the Spanish dominions.[308]

Apart from the Viceroy's welcoming festivities, other popular events worthy of observance were often connected to landmarks of the Spanish royal family, and the Viceroy's family as well. Funerals, births, engagements, and marriages were all important events in all major cities across New Spain. For instance, in the Municipal Archive of the city of Puebla, hereafter referred to as AMP (Archivo Municipal de Puebla), a city council agreement or memorandum, dated July 19, 1602, established that a series of celebrations would take place in honor of the birth of the *infanta.* The document referred to Anne of Austria's birth, which had occurred the year previously, in 1601; she was the daughter of king Philip III and Margaret of Austria, and later would become the mother of King Louis XIV of France. This municipal memorandum acknowledges that the incentive for organizing such lavish celebrations originated in a letter sent to New Spanish authorities by the king himself, in which he demanded that his subjects celebrate the birth of her daughter through "*las alegrías*

[307] Cuenya Mateos and Contreras Cruz, *Puebla de los Ángeles: Historia de una ciudad novohispana*, 90–91.
[308] Curcio-Nagy, *The Great Festivals of Colonial Mexico City*, 74.

que acostumbran", or the traditions that they would usually adopt for such occasions.[309] This city council memorandum thus serves as a catalog of sorts for illustrating the most popular activities celebrated by the city whenever an event of such magnitude occurred. The document proposed a program or series of events that would make up the bulk of the celebratory activities in honor of the *infanta's* birth.

On the first day of festivities, the *casas de cabildo* (this term comprised the city hall, as well as other buildings belonging to the municipal authority, such as the municipal courthouse, jailhouse, and the *alhóndiga* or city granary) would be decorated with luminaries at nighttime. On that same day and concurrently with the special lighting of the various municipal government buildings, an *encamisada* would be celebrated for which the city hall would buy thirty flaming torches in order to distribute them among the participants. The *encamisadas* were celebrations dating from early modern Spain, which took place in villages and major cities alike. In these events the citizens would take to the main streets at night, some on horseback, others on foot, carrying torches in the manner of a procession, but in a jubilant spirit and for the celebration of a special occasion.[310]

According to the municipal memorandum, on the second day of the celebrations, a public masquerade would take place during daytime and in it all of the *vecinos* or city residents would be encouraged to participate and wear costumes. The next day, a celebration called a *sortija* would be organized and carried out "*delante de las casas de cabildo*", meaning the main square, as the city hall and the rest of the municipal architectural complex were located in the north-eastern side of the main square or *plaza principal*, where the city hall still stands to this day.

A *sortija* or *corrida de sortija*, was a lance game introduced by the Spaniards to the New World, in which two upright posts supporting a horizontal beam were set at

[309] AMP, Volume 0013, Document 698, July 19, 1602, folios 193F-194F.
[310] José Deleito y Piñuela, ...*Y También Se Divierte El Pueblo* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1988), 96.

the end of a track. In the middle of the horizontal beam a ring was loosely suspended. The objective of the game was for the participants, on horseback, to race at full speed and attempt to collect the ring with a lance. In certain parts of Rio de la Plata, and in the islands of Sardinia and Menorca, the tradition is still practiced to this day. In any case, the memorandum kept in the Puebla municipal archives indicates that a councilor named Alonso de Galeote would be in charge of organizing the *sortija*, and that 400 pesos in gold would be allotted to the event, including the construction of a set of wooden decks or stages necessary for the event to take place ("los tablados necesarios"); this speaks to us of how deeply the public space, the main plaza and the surrounding streets were altered during these events, suspending to a great extent the urban routine and replacing it with a festive atmosphere.[311]

On yet another day of celebrations there would be—according to the memorandum—twenty-four bullfights and a *juego de cañas*. The *juego de cañas* or "game of canes" in its literal translation into English, was an equestrian mock fight. Apparently it involved two teams of knights—in other occasions the descriptions mention a knight vs. knight joust—who would use long canes to knocking their opponents from their horse.[312] This was also a tradition introduced by the Spaniards which gained wide popularity in New Spain; it was played in many cities across the kingdom, including Puebla, whenever a series of festivities like the ones organized around the *infanta*'s birth took place. In a different memorandum, one written a few years later in 1673 and addressing the festivities in preparation for the arrival of viceroy don Pedro Nuño de Colón de Portugal, duke of Veragua, the details for the *juego de cañas* are specified down to the last detail, which evidences the popularity and importance of the game. The details included the number of teams or *cuadrillas* that would compete, the names of the leaders of each *cuadrilla*, all of them city councilmen, and even the colors that would represent each *cuadrilla*.[313]

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[311] AMP, Volume 13 of the Libros de Cabildo, Document 698, July 19, 1602, folios 193F-194F.
[312] Cuenya Mateos and Contreras Cruz, *Puebla de los Ángeles: Historia de una ciudad novohispana*, 104.
[313] AMP Volume 28 of the *Libros de Cabildo*, Document 92, folios 202V-203V, September 29, 1673.

However, the final day in the *infanta*'s celebrations was reserved for the most popular event: bullfighting. The temporary bullrings were erected at the main plaza, and evidently they had the power to gather citizens from all across the social spectrum. As Cuenya Mateos and Contreras Cruz have asserted, bullfighting could be considered early modern Spain's national celebration *par excellence*. The modern practice of tauromachy in Spain has its origins in the Middle Ages, around the beginning of the twelfth century, and became over time a festive event that would be carried out in every public celebration of a certain magnitude across the Hispanic world. Cuenya Mateos and Contreras Cruz have also established a symbolic dimension of the *corrida de toros* in New Spain, one that adhered to its society's hierarchical nature. The horseback lancers that participated in the ritual of the bullfight, according to these authors, were high-ranking officials or members of the *poblano* aristocracy, so that in a symbolic manner, they were acting as protectors of the *peones* or pages, who represented the lower ranking members of society, the *plebeyos*.[314]

[314] Cuenya Mateos and Contreras Cruz, *Puebla de los Ángeles: Historia de una ciudad novohispana*, 102.

Figure 23. "Fiestas en la Plaza Mayor", by Juan de la Corte, 1623. This painting depicts a *juego de cañas* or game of canes taking place at the Plaza Mayor, in Madrid, Spain. One can appreciate the overall organization of the mock fight played among *cuadrillas* or teams, each sporting a distinctive color.

A description of the urban festivities that took place in Puebla during the seventeenth century would be incomplete without mention of the various and frequent religious celebrations. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, and quoting Pilar Gonzalbo Aizpuru, religious celebrations were ranked in a hierarchy: the most elevated were those commemorations of the life of Jesus and the Virgin Mary; in a lower rank came the local festivals dedicated to patron saints of the city, barrios and parishes.[315] Throughout the city's municipal archives dating from the seventeenth century, there are memorandums that designate one or two aldermen each year to act as official representatives of the city council in the organization of the city's religious festivities. An example is a mandate dated March 3, 1628, naming the alderman Alonso López Berrueco as representative and organizer of the feasts of San Miguel, Santa Barbara, and the Holy Conception.[316] The feasts of Santa Teresa de Jesus, San Felipe de Jesus, San José, the Santo Ángel Custodio of Analco, and many others are referred to

[315] Gonzalbo Aizpuru, *Vivir en Nueva España: Orden y desorden en la vida cotidiana*, 306.
[316] AMP, Volume 17 of the *Libros de Cabildo*, Document 90, Folio 91V, March 3, 1628.

throughout the *Libros de Cabildo* or registrar books. These also outlined which alderman would be representing the city council on which year, as well as how and whence the expenses would be obtained to pay for the festivities. These books demonstrate that the calendar was dotted with festivities involving the participation of each and every *barrio* in the city, as each one had a patron saint that had to be commemorated; and it also shows the great commitment the city council acquired in paying and aiding in the organization of religious celebrations, even those pertaining to specific neighborhoods or barrios.

Religious festivities were crucial to the urban life of New Spanish cities because they had the capacity, for their duration, to affect the populace's perception of their shared public space, and to reaffirm each citizen's place and role in society. Civic festivities did this to some extent also, but religious celebrations had two added capabilities: they reaffirmed the cyclical calendar; and they acknowledged the role the city conferred to the city's inhabitants as a diversified citizenry—whether as a Peninsular Spaniard, as a Creole, as a Native Indian, as an African-Mexican, etc. Each person played the role their barrio and the city itself conferred upon them, providing civic life with a sense and purpose in the overall sphere of the New Spanish universe.

Within the city, each barrio had a patron saint that their inhabitants identified with, and a distinct social and demographic profile (as discussed in the previous chapter), which expressed the social and racial diversity of the city. The the barrio of San José, for instance, of mixed demographic makeup but inhabited mainly by middle class mestizos and a large community of Spaniards, took pride in celebrating their patron saint's feast and were very proud of the beauty of their church building. The church was, as the chronicler Mariano Fernández de Echeverría y Veytia wrote in the eighteenth century, magnificent and possessed three naves which were originally covered with a wooden *artesonado* or paneled roofs, replaced by a series of vaults and a dome in the mid-seventeenth century. Another fact that made the San José barrio inhabitants proud was the fact that their patron saint was considered the city's official protector against thunder strikes and storms. Puebla's weather during the

summers is characterized by a series of afternoon storms that can be copious in terms of rainfall, striking the city fast and flooding the streets instantly, with thunderstorms being quite common too. The eighteenth century chronicler Miguel de Alcalá y Mendiola wrote that the city council sponsored to a large extent the San José festivities.[317] Alcalá expressed San José's patronhood in these terms: "nos defiende de las tempestades y rayos de que es afligida esta ciudad, pues el año de mil seiscientos y treinta cuatro cayeron treinta y seis rayos en una fuerte tempestad".[318] Alcalá also wrote that, given the saint's important mission in protecting the city from thunder, two processions were done in his honor: one during his feast day, and another in September, at which time the sculpture of San José would be taken out in the streets and make the trip from the parish of San José, located about a kilometer north of the *plaza principal*, to the cathedral, where a series of masses were conducted in his honor.[319]

The parish and barrio of San José also possessed a processional sculpture of Jesus popularly known as "Jesus Nazareno", which was beloved by the city's inhabitants and is still used in the Easter procession, acting even today as a symbol of barrio pride.[320] Seen in this light, religious celebrations were acts that reaffirmed territorial, calendric, and social affiliations, and in the process aided the ruling elite in displaying their piety and their efforts at good governance and social inclusion.

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[317] A city council memorandum dated in August, 1611 expressed that the patronhood of San José would be officially established from then on, appointing him official protector of the city against thunder and storms. It also stated that the city council would assist in the festivities, to be celebrated in the parish church of San José barrio, and a detailed description of the costs that the council would assume is listed. See: AMP, Volume 14 of the *Libros de Cabildo*, document 280, August 13, 1611, folios 187V-188R.

[318] Alcalá y Mendiola, *Descripción en bosquejo de la imperial cesárea muy noble y muy leal Ciudad de Puebla de los Ángeles (paleographic edition of the c.1696 original)*, 172–173.

[319] Ibid.

[320] Mariano Fernández de Echeverría y Veytia, *Historia de la fundación de la Ciudad de la Puebla de los Ángeles en la Nueva España, su descripción y presente estado*, ed. Efraín Castro Morales, vol. II (Puebla, Mexico: Ediciones Altiplano, 1962), 205–209.

The most popular religious festivity in the city of Puebla was the feast of Corpus Christi, a celebration in the Catholic liturgical calendar that originated in the Middle Ages. This feast reinforces the belief in the body and blood of Jesus Christ and his presence in the Eucharist; and it occurs in late May or early June, depending on Easter. Across New Spain, the celebration of Corpus Christi became the most important religious festival of the liturgical calendar, and was celebrated in every major city in the Viceroyalty. According to Luis Weckmann, this was due to the importance the feast already possessed in the Iberian Peninsula, where it had been considered a sort of national holiday since the fifteenth century, and incorporated a solemn procession officially instituted by Pope John XXII (1316-1334).[321]

In Puebla, people of all walks of life, social strata, or background participated in the Corpus Christi processions, and it is relevant to discuss these events, for they incorporated elements of the carnivalesque in them, which was not by any means a common characteristic in religious festivities during this period. In the municipal archive, there are many documents evidencing how this feast was lived in the streets of the city during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It commenced at the Cathedral with a series of musical ensembles performing a program of liturgical music composed especially for the occasion. These musical performances then spilled out into the plaza and the streets of the city, continuing with a crowded and multitudinous procession.[322] Luis Weckmann relates that the first Corpus Christi procession in New Spain was celebrated in Mexico City in as early as 1526, and introduced in the city of Puebla in 1588.[323] Weckmann also relates that these processions, which flooded the streets of the most important cities in New Spain, were completely out of the ordinary compared to other religious urban corteges because the solemn spirit of a typical religious ceremony was, in the case of the Corpus feast, oddly amalgamated with an air of carnival. Giant papier-mâché puppets

[321] Weckmann, *La herencia medieval de México*, 207.
[322] Andrew Cashner A., "Playing Cards at the Eucharistic Table: Music, Theology, and Society in a Corpus Christi Villancico from Colonial Mexico, 1628," *Journal of Early Modern History*, no. 18 (2014): 384.
[323] Weckmann, *La herencia medieval de México*, 207.

sometimes referred to in the *libros de cabildo* or registrar books as *cabezudos*, similar to those still fabricated up to this day in certain parts of the modern-day state of Oaxaca, and seen in processions called *calendas*, were an inherent part of Corpus processions. These puppets had the shape of giants and dwarves with oversized heads.[324] A giant snake or dragon of sorts, with a multitude of mouths, called *tarasca*, was also seen in the parades organized during the feast of Corpus. This was a tradition imported, according to Weckmann, from the region of Provence, France, where a local myth told of a giant snake which harassed residents of the city of Tarascon until Saint Martha intervened.[325]

The Corpus feast also incorporated burlesque comedies, as is evidenced in a municipal decree from the city archive, dated May 31, 1651. This document stated that the festivity of Corpus had to be carried out "con el regocijo y suntuosidad posible", announcing also that the Corpus feast would boast two comedies that year, one on Corpus day and a second one on the eighth day of commemorations.[326] The comedy—or comedies, depending on the municipal annual budget—took place at the *plaza principal*, in front of the cathedral church; it must have represented a huge event, for each year the municipal registrar books show evidence of the arrangements for carrying out the comedies, a fireworks display, and the *tablados* or stage sets in which the artistic performances would take place, and which were set in the city's main square. The jubilant and carnivalesque ambience lived during the feast of Corpus also appears to have produced biting critiques of the regime, which were hardly tolerated at other times. Reports of satire aimed at the viceroy and vicereine were recorded in Puebla during the seventeenth century,[327] and a special point of contention were the comedies in themselves; as some documents in the city council archive demonstrate, these were sometimes deemed not "decent" enough. In May of 1609, for instance, a document contained in the registrar books orders that the two main burlesque actors had to carry out a special performance of the comedy at the

[324] Ibid.
[325] Ibid.
[326] AMP, Volume 23 of *Libros de Cabildo,* Document 63, folios 131R-131V, May 31, 1651
[327] Merrim, *The Spectacular City, Mexico, and Colonial Hispanic Literary Culture*, 27–28.

city council grounds, for the aldermen only, so that they would judge for themselves in advance whether the comedy was appropriate for presentation at the *plaza principal* for the public at large.[328] Another document in the same archive, dated May 1604, is a petition from an alderman, Alonso Rodríguez Cano, in which he wished to make public his opposition to the Corpus comedy to be interpreted that year. Although the municipal minutes do not specify the reason for the opposition, it was demonstrates the contentious nature of these performances.[329]

It is difficult to imagine the grand and jubilant spirit that enveloped the city and completely transformed it for a few days, having a profound, even cathartic, effect on its citizens. It is also important to point out that a small army of people and their labor was required to accomplish these events. Artisans of various specialties and the indigenous communities that inhabited the peripheral barrios all contributed by designing the *cabezudos* and the *tarasca* serpent-dragon (the papier-mâché dolls). The *cabezudos* sometimes wore wigs, while groups of indigenous peoples performed dances, sometimes in masks, all along the pre-established route of the procession. The route was adorned with *sombras*, ephemeral arches made with palm leaves; this work too was the responsibility of the indigenous communities, and paid for by the *cabildo*. Besides the day-time procession, the *cabildo* also sponsored evening fireworks for the full eight days of the Corpus celebrations.[330]

Apart from the calendric religious celebrations, there were festivities that were not part of the liturgical calendar, celebrated for special and unique occasions. During the first half of the seventeenth century, two of these events were remarkable. The first was the festivities in honor of the canonizations of Saint Ignatius Loyola and Saint Francis Xavier, celebrated in Puebla in 1623 in parallel with the beatification of Luis Gonzaga (another relevant Jesuit missionary and priest). The second was the consecration of the city's cathedral, celebrated in 1648 by the bishop at the time,

[328] AMP, Volume 14 of *Libros de Cabildo*, Document 176, folio 106R, May 6, 1605.
[329] AMP, Volume 13 of *Libros de Cabildo*, Document 815, folio 265R, May 28, 1604.
[330] Ramos, *Identity, Ritual, and Power in Colonial Puebla*, 124–125.

Juan de Palafox y Mendoza. The former event, a great cause of celebration for the Jesuit order in Puebla, was recorded in a *relación de fiesta,* a literary genre popular across the Hispanic world during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Also known as *relaciones de sucesos,* these chronicles were written to commemorate, record, and communicate the news of relevant and special events. The *relaciones* were adorned with grandiloquent prose that strung together a detailed narrative of a celebration or particular occasion. The *relación de fiesta* chronicling the events surrounding the Jesuit canonizations and beatification has been passed down to us; it was written by an anonymous author, most probably a Jesuit himself, and his familiarity with Puebla's streets and landmarks suggests he was a resident of the city. The following description is taken entirely from Julio Alonso Asenjo's paleographic, annotated study of the original manuscript, located at Madrid's Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia.[331]

The celebrations officially began on January 7, 1623, and were to last nine whole days. They began at the Jesuit's main church in the city of Puebla de los Ángeles, traditionally known as La Compañía (alluding to the order's official name of the *Society of Jesus*, or *La Compañia de Jesús*). The author describes the regal and outstanding decorations the Jesuit church displayed on that day, which apparently affected the perception of the church's spatial configuration for the occasion. Curtains were hung and floated across the naves, framing entrances and altarpieces; a great quantity of flower arrangements also enhanced the church's ambience, and a special—ephemeral—altarpiece dedicated to Ignatius, Francis Xavier and Luis Gonzaga, also stood out. At noon a series of trumpet and *chirimía*[332] calls signaled the

[331] Julio Alonso Asenjo, "'No se podía haser más': Relaciones de las fiestas por la canonización de Ignacio de Loyola y Francisco Javier en México (1622) y Puebla (1623). Texto crítico, paleográfico y anotado" (Universitat de València, 2007), http://parnaseo.uv.es/Ars/teatresco/Revista/Revista2/Relaciones_de_fiestas_en_Mexico_y_Puebla.pdf.

[332] The *chirimía* is a type of oboe, member of the shawm family of double-reed wind instruments, European in origin and introduced to Latin America by the Spanish. It was widely used by native peoples across Latin America in festivities. Its use persists up to this day, and it is many times accompanied, in various parts of central Mexico, by a double sided membranophone, or drum.

opening of the church and the crowds of people, already waiting outside, entered the building. A couple of hours later a procession left the church, at which point it was joined by representatives of other religious orders including the Franciscans, the Mercedarians, the Dominicans, and the Jeronomites, among others. Evidently the municipal authorities were, intimately involved in the festivities: the civic authorities, led by the mayor or *alcalde mayor*, formed a cortege at the head of the procession.

At this point, the anonymous chronicler reveals an interesting aspect of the procession, which could perhaps be better portrayed as a parade. He describes a succession of corteges or entourages that represented a number of different nations or cultures: the pre-Columbian empire of the Mexicans (the author was most probably referring to the Mexica); Japan; Portugal; the Ottoman Empire; France; and Spain itself, paraded in that order. The author described the entourages as consisting of groups of persons dressed in costumes, with a few men riding on horseback representing the rulers of each nation. In this way, an unidentified monarch led the Japanese retinue; a man dressed as a Mexica emperor, also on horseback—despite the anachronism—led the Mexican entourage; and a man representing Charlemagne, accompanied by his bishop Pepin, led the French entourage. Fascinatingly, a man portraying Suleiman the Magnificent led the Ottoman retinue. It is quite alluring to imagine the corteges while reading the descriptions provided by the author. For instance, the Japanese entourage was described as wearing silk, flower-patterned outfits or *espolines*, as well as *velillos,* which was a type of cloth with silver and gold embroideries. Moreover, the Japanese ruler, on horseback, paraded down the streets flanked by his guard, who were armed with harquebuses. In the words of the author himself:

> Seguía la monarquía del Japón, en buen número y bien vestidos, pues todos s[e] eran tellas, espolines, velillos de oro y plata así mesmo guardia de arcabuseros por delante y el rey japón, [en] un jentil cavallo, representava muy al vibo su magestad, delante la qual iban sus armas y, entre ellas, esta letra: Armas y almas, el Japón

> rinde a Ignatio y a Xavier, pues por ellos tiene el ser fee, creensia y religión.[333]

Every entourage carried what must have been a banner (the author merely states that each retinue displayed "una letra", referring to a phrase or aphorism, perhaps even chanted, although he does not make that clear), with phrases subtlety communicating Jesuit involvement with each of the nations characterized that day. The cortege representing the Japanese monarchy, for instance, expressed Ignatius and Xavier's missionary efforts in that country, which occurred in the second half of the sixteenth century. In a similar vein, the Ottoman cortege carried a banner that read: "Ygnasio y Xavier, columnas de la fee, claras lumbreras, hasen constantes y enteras mis mudables medias lunas."[334] The phrase most probably makes reference to Jesuit missionary efforts in the Ottoman Empire, which occurred all throughout the sixteenth century, and clearly expressed in the first sentence of the phrase, "Ygnasio y Xavier, columnas de la fee, claras lumbreras". On the other hand, the second part of the phrase, "hasen constantes y enteras mis mudables medias lunas", appears to make a reference to the mutable borders and threatening expansion of the Ottoman Empire relative to European sovereignty during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; in other words it is a question of the half-moon, as an Ottoman symbol, becoming a full-moon. This seems to be confirmed with the presence of an actor impersonating Suleiman. In short, the two sentences seem to suggest that missionary and conversion efforts would help slow Muslim advances in the Eastern Mediterranean. What all nations in the parade had in common was Jesuit involvement and some form of interest on the part of the Catholic order during the early modern period. Japan, together with other nations in Eastern and Southeastern Asia, were territories in which the missionary activities of the Jesuits were significant; the same can be said of the Ottoman Empire. Spain and France were evidently represented in the parade as being the two nations that together gave birth to the order: Spain providing the

[333] Alonso Asenjo, "'No se podía haser más': Relaciones de las fiestas por la canonización de Ignacio de Loyola y Francisco Javier en México (1622) y Puebla (1623). Texto crítico, paleográfico y anotado," 14–15.
[334] Ibid., 15.

founder and many of its key members, and France being the nation in which the order was created (in Paris, where Ignatius recruited some of his followers while at the University of Paris). Portugal was probably represented because of Jesuit involvement in its colonies, Brazil and Goa, as suggested by the phrase that embodied their entourage: "A las virtudes divinas de Ignatio, que es fuego ardiente, y al claro sol del Oriente rinde Portugal sus quinas."[335] The phrase seems to connect Ignatio's "ardent fire" to the Eastern Sun of Portugal's colonies, both in the east, Brazil in the eastern part of America, and Goa in the Indian sub-continent. In other words, Ignatio's missionary efforts would illuminate those lands while advancing the Catholic mission of global conversion. All of these nations, in one manner or other, played an important part in the Society's ascent to its position as, arguably, the most powerful institution in early modern Catholicism right after the Papacy.

It is interesting to see how the Jesuit order decided to exhibit and transmit its piety and vision of global missionary work to the citizens of Puebla in the seventeenth century. But even more than that, this parade can be seen as a symbolic act in which Puebla, and the rest of the viceroyalty of New Spain for that matter, was now part of that global network of Jesuit power. Indeed, the order would exert an enormous influence in the development of viceregal New Spain, advancing the missionary, educational, and cultural spheres in the colony until the eighteenth century, when their power was challenged by the Spanish Crown itself, and the Order suffered expulsion from all Spanish territories on 1767. On the other hand, it is in no way surprising that the inaugural parade was designed and articulated as it was. This is because Jesuit missionary efforts were to a large degree construed and defined, in the early modern period, as a globalizing enterprise. Author Luke Clossey has written about visual expression of the Jesuit global mission; he identifies iterations of their globalizing enterprises, and by extension of their identity as a Catholic order, in Jesuit mapmaking, and in Jesuit architecture by way of their church iconography.[336] He does

[335] Ibid.

[336] Luke Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization in the Early Jesuit Missions* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), see particularly Chapter 4: Imagining Global Mission.

not speak about manifestations of the Jesuit enterprise in ritual. Thus it is remarkable that the we find, in this parade carried out as part of the feasts and celebrations for the canonizations of Ignatius and Francis Xavier, another expression of the order's global missionary efforts, expressed in a visual, ephemeral, and urban form.

As mentioned earlier, the festivities for the Jesuit canonizations lasted an entire nine days, the parade being just the beginning of the celebrations. The parade took place on January 7, 1623. The next day, a Sunday, a grand mass was celebrated at the Cathedral, and later musical and fireworks displays were seen across the city. Similar events were held during the workweek, and on Sunday, January 15, another parade was seen through the streets of the city. This time the theme was completely inspired by classical mythology, and a series of floats paraded down the streets of the city. One float carried the god Pluto and Cerberus, representing the underworld; another float carried the goddess Tellus, accompanied by Ceres and Flora; yet another float displayed the god Neptune, sporting a long beard and a scepter; while the god Eolus was seen in another float, accompanied by the winds Boreas, Austro, and Zephyr. Finally, the last two days were characterized by the celebration of several bullfighting events, and *juegos de cañas*. On every day there was also a special mass in which distinguished members of the local clergy preached and officiated.[337]

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Throughout this chapter, I have tried to illustrate the way certain outstanding public festivities were carried out in seventeenth century Puebla de los Ángeles. My intent has hinged on the idea that, seen in retrospect, a symbolic and mythological intentionality was created in parallel with the city's foundation in the sixteenth century. A century later, however, the city had become a far more intricate social construct, with a hierarchical and diverse society. My thesis is that public festivities,

[337] Alonso Asenjo, "'No se podía haser más': Relaciones de las fiestas por la canonización de Ignacio de Loyola y Francisco Javier en México (1622) y Puebla (1623). Texto crítico, paleográfico y anotado," 24–27.

including processions or parades, and the various corollary activities associated with these processions, are an astonishing manifestation of Puebla's intricate society at the time. Moreover, from an urban standpoint, I intended to show how the city's everyday configuration and rhythm of life was completely altered whenever a public fête—whether civic or religious—occurred.

To date, little research has been done on the issue of public celebrations in early modern New Spain. Included among the few exceptions are the work by Frances L. Ramos, who investigated public festivities, rituals, and conflicts in eighteenth century Puebla; Linda Curcio-Nagy's work on Mexico City's great festivities during the Viceroyal period; and also Stephanie Merrim's work researching public festivities and literary culture in Mexico City during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[338] Public celebrations in seventeenth century Puebla, however, have been largely overlooked, with the exception of Cuenya Mateos and Contreras Cruz' chapter in their "Puebla de los Ángeles: Historia de una ciudad novohispana", in which they focused on the city council's expenditures and the city's perpetual debt.[339]

My work here complements these other sources, focusing on the ritual and ephemeral physical manifestations of Puebla's evolution as a city. While the eighteenth century saw a far more coherent regional identity emerge in Puebla, the previous century provides glimpses of how *poblano* identity was forged. In the passages of public celebrations described in this chapter, intricate relationships of power are exposed, which speak to us about the process of constructing and fashioning a diversified and hierarchical society. Evidently, public celebrations served as opportunities for displays of power on the part of the city councilmen, but they also operated in favor of the Crown. For instance, the welcoming of a newly-appointed viceroy served as an opportunity for the population at large to ratify their allegiance and loyalty to the viceroyalty, and to the King back in Spain. Another

[338] Curcio-Nagy, *The Great Festivals of Colonial Mexico City*; Merrim, *The Spectacular City, Mexico, and Colonial Hispanic Literary Culture*; Ramos, *Identity, Ritual, and Power in Colonial Puebla*.
[339] Cuenya Mateos and Contreras Cruz, *Puebla de los Ángeles: Historia de una ciudad novohispana*, See Chapter IV, "Fiestas civiles y religiosas", 84.

aspect of public celebration in early modern New Spain was the element of social cohesiveness that they served. In this sense, all social strata played out a role and participated somehow in public spectacles; guilds, confraternities, and other corporations established links during these festivities to various degrees. Thus, when examining public celebrations, we can observe how they played themselves out at three different levels: they were performed at a parish or barrio level, as in the parish of San José celebrations described in this chapter; at the next level they were city-wide festivities, like the celebrations in honor of San Miguel (adopted as the city's patron saint in the late sixteenth century); and they also operated at a level in which the celebration ratified belonging to the universal Catholic church, as was the case with the feast of Corpus Christi. In this way, the individual inhabitants of the city could be sure to be linked to their local, civic, and universal communities. Public celebrations also clearly displayed three different levels of the city's engagement in its broader political context: Puebla as a monarchical city; Puebla as a city subordinated to, observant of, and participatory in Spanish culture; and Puebla as a regional entity, in which the local councilmen and *poblano* aristocracy made sure to display their local power.

Even though all strata of society coexisted in the streets for the duration of public festivities, this does not mean that the hierarchical nature of New Spanish society disappeared during that time. Quite the contrary: hierarchies were clearly revealed and reinforced during public events. It is important to remember how, for instance, during the *juegos de cañas* and the bullfighting, the main participants were members of the aristocracy, and they took the opportunity to display themselves as descendants of conquerors and warriors (even if they were not). It is also important to remember that city council and ecclesiastical authorities were always at the head of processions and parades, and that their role as sponsors and organizers was always unequivocal, while the role of the large communities of mestizos, indigenous peoples, and other castes was always lesser in one respect or another. Although the making of objects—whether *sombras* arches, *cabezudos*, costumes, or other accoutrements of festival—was a role largely played by indigenous and mestizo communities and of importance

to the events, still mestizos, Indians and caste-members were left with relatively liminal or subsidiary roles; and in the great majority of cases, their role was limited to that of passive spectators.

Finally, another aspect I have tried to highlight—and which has largely been overlooked in other investigations of this topic—is the role public space played in these celebrations; the way it was radically altered, and how the inhabitants of the city availed themselves of it. By providing some vignettes, and rendering certain historical episodes surrounding public festivities in seventeenth century Puebla, my objective has been to illuminate the deep transformation of public space during festivities. To put it succinctly: the hyperbolic, fantastic, carnivalesque phenomenon of public celebration was a crucial aspect of urban life, and constitutes evidence that the city of Puebla de los Ángeles was, during this period, catering to its own diversity while attempting to remain loyal to Crown, God, and itself as a *patria chica*.

Finally, perhaps the most important celebration to occur during the seventeenth century was the consecration of the city's new cathedral. It has been left unmentioned thus far because it will open the upcoming chapter, in which I examine how Puebla de los Ángeles was rearticulated during the bishopric of Juan de Palafox y Mendoza (1640-1648), playing a new role as a dynamic, diverse, and loyal city-republic—very far removed from the urban experiment that had started a century earlier.

8. BISHOP JUAN DE PALAFOX'S ARTICULATION OF THE IDEAL CHRISTIAN REPUBLIC OF PUEBLA DE LOS ÁNGELES

Part I

Sacerdotes tui induantur iustitiam,
et sancti tui exsultent.

Psalm 131:9, quoted by bishop Palafox on his Pastoral Letter addressed to the Congregation of San Pedro Hospital, 1640.

The morning of Sunday, April 18, 1649, Puebla de los Ángeles' revered bishop, Don Juan de Palafox y Mendoza (1600-1659), was ready to commence the consecration ceremonies for the new city cathedral. The recently finished structure was the result of a project that had started over seven decades earlier, around the year 1573, when it was decided that Puebla, which had been the seat of the Tlaxcala bishopric since 1543, needed a regal cathedral to serve it. A movement began to replace the rather humble, adobe-walled, tile-roofed structure that had acted as cathedral up until then, and whose ruins still lay on the northeast corner of the new cathedral's atrium. When Palafox arrived in New Spain in 1640 to take up his post as bishop of the second most important city in the Viceroyalty, the new cathedral project was completely stalled. In a letter written to Philip IV, Palafox had described the construction site as abandoned, with the pillars of the building only halfway finished; no arches or vaults had been built, and the construction site was, according to the bishop, occupied by groups of derelicts, outlaws, and homeless people.[340] One of Palafox's principal objectives as bishop was, in fact, to finish construction of the new cathedral. Further, to the best of his abilities, he tried to resolve any cases of misappropriation and pilfering of funds that he came across, which had to a certain

[340] The fragment of the letter that described the state of the architectural works affirmed: "Llegué a la Puebla y hallé este templo edificado sólo hasta la mitad de los pilares y todo él, descubierto, sin instrumentos y materiales algunos, ni efectos prontos para comprarse; sin haberse comenzado arco ni bóveda alguna y sin esperanzas de poderse proseguir. A él se recogían foragidos por la justicia, por tenerse por sagrado; en las capillas vivían indios casados y con otras circunstancias de indecencia." Letter reproduced in: Miguel Zerón Zapata and Manuel Fernández de Santa Cruz, *La Puebla de los Ángeles en el Siglo XVII: Crónica de la Puebla* (Mexico City: Editorial Patria, 1945), 151.

extent contributed to the delay in construction.[341]

Upon his arrival in Puebla, the newly appointed bishop led a successful fund-raising campaign among the wealthy *poblano* aristocracy, with the aid of the city council.[342] Palafox himself allegedly contributed a considerable part of his personal funds to the construction efforts, in order to set an example.[343] After nine years of pushing forward the construction works on his inititative, by 1649 the new cathedral structure—namely the walls, the vaults, and the domes—had been completed. The main façade, the side façades, the bell towers, and much of the interior decoration were yet to be carried out. Nevertheless, finishing the building's architectural fabric *sans* ornamentation and bell towers, and supplementing it with the most important interior element needed to make the building act as a temple—the main altarpiece, known as the *Altar de los Reyes*—was by any measure a most admirable feat, and Palafox was well aware of this. It was at this point the consecration took place. In the following paragraphs, I will provide a summarized description of the consecration ceremony, entirely based on the only contemporary account recorded of the events, written by a cleric and vicar, Antonio Tamariz de Carmona, in a booklet published—most probably—in 1650, only a few months after the event occurred.[344]

When Palafox arrived in the Cathedral's atrium, very early in the morning of that Sunday, a large multitude had already convened despite the early hour along with a congregation of important clergymen; some of these had come from places as far away as Manila and Honduras, while many others had journeyed from nearby Mexico City. They had all been invited by Bishop Palafox to the consecration of Puebla's regal

[341] Ibid., 151–152.
[342] Ibid., "Rogué al Cabildo Eclesiástico también que cuidase en conformidad de la cédula que Vuestra Majestad fué servido de darme al intento con que, añadiendo yo, otros tres mil a los doce, ayudó él con nueve. Con esto se alentó la Ciudad y cuidó por su parte y muchos ciudadanos y eclesiásticos a quien yo hablé y exorté, viendo que se comenzaba, socorrieron muy considerablemente.". 151.
[343] Ibid., "librando luego en mis rentas doce mil pesos para su prosecución por dar ejemplo en los otros". 151.
[344] Antonio Tamariz de Carmona, *Relación y descripción del templo real de la ciudad de la Puebla de los Ángeles en la Nueva España, y su Catedral* (Puebla, Mexico: s.n., 1650).

new cathedral, and would also be serving him as ministers during the ceremony. Puebla's bishop, along with a retinue of his honorable guests, entered the empty cathedral and lit twelve candles, each accompanied by a cross, each of the twelve nailed to a different wall of the cathedral building; they would all be blessed by the bishop as part of the consecration ceremony. After lighting the candles they exited the temple and, once again in the atrium, Palafox engaged in personal prayer. After finishing, the bishop, together with a large contingent of guests, clerics, and acolytes, entered the cathedral, and the ceremony thus began in earnest with the chanting of an antiphon: *Adesto Dominus*. After the bishop pronounced the litany, he exited the cathedral again and began the ritual of blessing the lower, middle, and upper parts of the exterior walls. He circumambulated the building thrice, stopping each time at the main entrance, and pronouncing: *Attollite portas, principes, vestras*, while the Cathedral's Deacon, standing inside the cathedral building, responded: *Quis est iste rex gloriae?* To which Palafox replied: *Dominus fortis et potens*.[345]

After having prayed various psalms, he beckoned with his pastoral staff towards the entrance, and once there, thrice said: *aperite, aperite, aperite*, drawing a cross in the air with his staff. Another clergyman thus opened the main gates of the cathedral building, and then the bishop and his retinue all chanted, *pax huic domui*, while others chanted back, *in introitu vestro*. Palafox then began the consecration and exorcism of the temple's interior, traversing the building in its entirety. He consecrated the stones that made up the temple, followed by salt, water, and ashes, in which he wrote the Greek and Latin alphabets.[346] (The salt, water, and ashes were probably mixed, and the resulting paste poured on the cathedral's floor, where the bishop would write the Greek and Latin alphabets, which represented the Jews and Gentiles, respectively.)[347] After having completed the ceremony, Palafox exited the temple again; at the atrium, a large crowd of people awaited. A series of psalms and antiphons were then chanted, and the bishop preached to the crowds of people on

[345] Ibid., 22R–24R.
[346] Ibid., 24V–25R.
[347] "CATHOLIC ENCYCLOPEDIA: Consecration," accessed September 6, 2015, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/04276a.htm.

the uses and special significance of having and using a temple; later he addressed the clergy and city council authorities, commending them to take the new cathedral building under their care, and to carry out their responsibilities for its rites, .[348]

On Tuesday, April 20, two days after the consecration ceremony, there was a final rite that would finalize the entire ritual: the transferal of the Holy Sacrament into the new cathedral. To this end a procession, described by Tamariz as the most magnificent ever seen until then in Puebla, and led by the Holy Sacrament, began at seven in the morning of that day; with the act of depositing the Sacrament in the cathedral, the consecration was considered complete.[349] The peripheral activities, however, continued for several days after the consecration ceremony and were recorded by chroniclers as having been outstanding as well. Groups of young indigenous men dressed up as pre-Hispanic warriors and engaged in mock fights; men from the nearby town of Amozoc carried out jousts and horse races; and students from the Tridentine Seminar, in full costume, performed the *Moros y Cristianos* dance—to mention only a few of the events that took place. It is notable to mention that, during the celebrations, on Thursday, April 22, the then-Viceroy Marcos de Torres y Rueda passed away and the celebrations, while they were momentarily stopped, were by no means suspended.[350] The celebrations continued until Friday April 30, 1649, and had by then lasted practically two weeks. The consecration ceremony, together with the subsequent celebrations, was the last great event and public ritual headed by Palafox as bishop of the city. According to one of his biographers, Genaro García, that same Friday Palafox decided that he could no longer delay the return to his native Spain.[351] It was the end of his brilliant career as a statesman and as high dignitary of the Spanish Catholic church. He was being forced to return to Spain, much against his will, with his career having ended in disgrace.

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[348] Tamariz de Carmona, *Relación y descripción del templo real de la ciudad de la Puebla de los Ángeles en la Nueva España, y su Catedral*, 25R, 25V, 26R, 26V, 27R.
[349] Ibid., 30R.
[350] Genaro García, *Don Juan de Palafox y Mendoza*, Facsimile of original published in 1918. With an introduction by Efraín Castro Morales (Puebla, Mexico: Museo Mexicano, 2011), 213–214.
[351] Ibid., 215.

Before I reveal the reasons for this, I will elaborate on Juan de Palafox's short and intense tenure as bishop of Puebla.

In the last two chapters, I will attempt to reconcile Palafox's trajectory to his endeavors as architectural and artistic patron. I will also try to link his administration to selected themes in his extensive writings on theology, politics, and ethics, which I believe illuminate his intentions regarding architectural and artistic projects. It is my belief that Palafox, as shepherd of the city's flock, was deeply convinced of the need to reform the city of Puebla. The city was now far removed from the urban and social experiment founded one century earlier by the Franciscans and the second *Audiencia*, which had been intended initially to foster Spanish settlers, and try to wean them off the *encomienda*, the system of forced indigenous labor. Towards the mid-seventeenth century, the city was a diverse and multi-ethnic society that needed to remain loyal to the King, to the Viceroy of New Spain, and to itself as a *patria chica:* a city inhabited by *peninsulares*, *criollos*, and numerous racial groups including mestizos and blacks, and by indigenous peoples, the largest, fastest-growing, and one of the most neglected ethnicities in the city. Palafox, in his role as shepherd of Puebla's society, firmly believed that he had been entrusted with reconciling all of these communities' interests, both spiritual and earthly. He not only believed this as bishop or cleric, but also as a political actor; his realization stemmed from the belief that accommodating a diverse set of societies was an integral element to a successful unification and serene co-existence, not just of the city of Puebla, but all across the divergent elements that comprised the Spanish Empire during the seventeenth century.

Throughout this chapter and the next, I will refer to the "ideal Christian republic", as a synonym for bishop Juan de Palafox's political-religious project for the city of Puebla and its diocese. This term seeks to acknowledge the notion of the "urban republic", as the group of corporations that articulated the body politic of a city in New Spain (see Chapter 6); but beyond this, with this term I intend to extend the notion of the urban republic into the specific territory of Juan de Palafox's political philosophy, and

what his expectations for political life were. His political philosophy has many traits confirmed and common in early modern Spanish political thought, including the close marriage of temporal good governance, which sought the individual and communal good, and the Catholic religion, which sought the individual's eternal salvation.[352] These two conditions were reciprocal and integral to one another, because eternal salvation was only attained in conditions that guaranteed order and accord. However, Palafox's political-religious project was original in its focus on the coincidence of both a regional and a universal notion of govenrment, that is, one that espoused loyalty to the Spanish Crown, to local political and social interests and needs, and evidently and ultimately, to God.

Although art and architecture have been recognized as two prominent concerns for Palafox during his tenure as bishop of Puebla, hardly any attention has been dedicated to investigating his figure as an architectural and/or artistic patron. This is not surprising, given the fact that Palafox scarcely wrote anything concerning these two subjects, apart from a few ideas one can find scattered in his correspondence as a dignitary of the Spanish Crown, in pastoral letters, and in some of his political, ethical, and theological writings.[353] It becomes evident that he was not interested in writing on the subject of artistic or architectural creation from a theoretical standpoint; this is clearly indicated by the lack of any significant piece of writing addressing architecture or art directly. However, as I will try to prove in the following two

[352] The Leyes de Indias, a recompilation produced from a universe of decrees issued over centuries, and then applied to the Spanish possessions in America and Asia, in its Título Quarto, titled "Del patronazgo real de las Indias", stated: "Que el patronazgo de todas las Indias, sea reservado al Rey, y Corona Real, sin que en todo ni en parte pueda salir de ella. Que no se erija Iglesia, Monasterio, Hospital, lugar por ni Arzobispado, Obispado, Dignidad, ó beneficio eclesiástico, sin conocimiento, y presentación del Rey. See: Rodrigo de Aguiar y Acuña and Juan Francisco Montemayor y Córdoba de Cuenca, *Sumarios de la Recopilación General de Leyes de las Indias*, First Edition (Mexico City: UNAM - Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1994), Título Quarto, Del Patronazgo Real de las Indias, http://biblio.juridicas.unam.mx/libros/libro.htm?l=1379.

[353] One document that reveals Palafox as an architectural dilettante is a letter written to king Philip IV, on May 1, 1646, in which Palafox briefs him on the construction of Puebla's cathedral. In this document, Palafox employs specialized terminology to carefully describe the cathedral building and its architectural and ornamental elements.

chapters, art and architecture—in Bishop Juan de Palafox's universe—not only served the Catholic, post-Tridentine role of enlightening and spiritually educating the devotees' imagination, or that of bridging humankind to divinity, but had a further role: art and architecture served to reaffirm his role as shepherd, as veritable *epískopos*, as a guardian of his flock, so that architectural and artistic sponsorship, in his case, was a primary obligation for fulfilling his role as bishop. Extremely conscious of his ecclesiastical mission, Palafox was also quite articulate about the duties of a bishop, to the extent that he wrote a short treatise on the subject, entitled "Direcciones Pastorales", contained in his complete writings, volume IV. In it, Palafox is quite clear about a bishop's obligations,

> Las obligaciones del Obispo son tan grandes como lo es su ministerio, por ser el Angel de paz, y Mediador entre Dios, y los hombres, Sucesor de los Apostoles, Pastor de las almas, Guia de los pecadores para que hallen la verdad, y que la vuelvan á buscar perdida […] y assi con razón el Santo Concilio de Trento afirma, que les ha de pedir Dios cuenta muy estrecha de los talentos, que ha fiado á los Obispos.[354]

As can be construed from his writings, Palafox draws much of his insight on a bishop's duties from the Council of Trent which, almost a century after its final session had been celebrated, had managed to deliver across the Catholic world an "updated pastoral approach that stressed the role of the bishop and the parish priest in the ministry of the church", as Robert Bireley wrote.[355] Palafox took these precepts to heart, and I believe that his architectural endeavors were evidence of this.

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[354] Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, "Direcciones pastorales," in *Obras del ilustrissimo, excelentissimo, y venerable siervo de Dios Don Juan de Palafox y Mendoza*, vol. IV (Madrid: Imprenta de Don Gabriel Ramírez, 1762), 11.

[355] Robert Bireley, *The Refashioning of Catholicism, 1450-1700: A Reassessment of the Counter Reformation* (Catholic University of America Press, 1999), 57.

Lastly—and perhaps even more importantly to my thesis—for Juan de Palafox in his role as bishop, architecture served to articulate the *res publica*. In other words, it served to reconfigure what I have earlier defined as the ideal Christian republic. My wager then is that, through construction, architecture (realized through the work of the bishop) would carry out its mission as symbolic representative of human and divine institutions, and therefore be able to reshape the Christian republic of Puebla based on a completely different model from that on which it had originally been based. This is an important point for my investigation, because it carries the possibility, as I see it, of exhibiting the flexibility and potential of an early modern city in New Spain to refashion, reinvent, or reconfigure itself. This hypothesis is central to my entire research project.

This chapter started with a brief narrative of the city's cathedral consecration, which was the ultimate act of architectural and artistic patronage for Palafox, and it attempts to elaborate Palafox's vision of how architecture was employed in reconfiguring the city. The feat of consecrating the cathedral, for Palafox, resided in the act of providing a regal city with a splendid cathedral. However, it cannot be understood merely as a case of bishopric magnificence, as Nancy H. Fee argued.[356] My assertion is that the cathedral's construction is closely related to the act of urbanization. In other words the cathedral, as an architectural work, possessed the agency to play out a symbolic function of utmost importance for the city of Puebla: that of establishing in a concrete form, and concurrently sealing in a symbolic manner, the bond between God, Viceroy, King, and Puebla's citizenry. The cathedral's consecration ceremony symbolically marked the end of Juan de Palafox's milestone bishopric, and I will now attempt to use it to initiate an investigation into his prodigious architectural and artistic patronages.

[356] Nancy H. Fee, "Proyecto de magnificencia Trentina: Palafox y el patrocinio de la Catedral de la Puebla de los Ángeles," in *La catedral de Puebla en el arte y la historia*, First Edition (Puebla, Mexico: Instituto de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades - BUAP; Arzobispado de Puebla; Gobierno del estado, 1999), 153–76.

How Juan de Palafox y Mendoza came to occupy Puebla de los Ángeles' bishopric see is a compelling story. He was born in Fitero, a small town in the province of Navarra, northern Spain, on January 24, 1600.[357] Palafox was the son of an Aragonese nobleman, Pedro Jaime Palafox y Rebolledo, who carried the title of Marquis of Ariza. His mother's identity, although debated, has been ascribed to a woman of noble origins too, named Ana de Casanate y Espés.[358] He was born into an extramarital relationship, as he himself admitted in his autobiography, entitled *Vida interior*: "Lo primero: antes de nacer, siendo hijo del delito, por serlo fuera del matrimonio […] Lo segundo: procurando su madre cubrir los delitos de su honor […] defendió Dios aquella inocente criatura, antes perseguida que nacida."[359] Palafox would later be recognized as his father's legitimate son and heir, moving into his father's household and being adopted by his stepmother, while his mother joined a convent in order to expiate her "guilt".[360] He studied Canonical Law at the Universities of Alcalá de Henares and Salamanca, graduating in 1620. Thus began his brilliant career as jurist and politician. He went on to occupy a post in the Aragonese Courts or Cortes de Monzón, the regional parliament for the kingdom of Aragon, in 1626. A few years later, in 1629, he was appointed, for a brief sojourn, a jurist in the Council of the Indies. A few months later, Gaspar Guzmán, the Count-Duke of Olivares (1587-1645), Philip IV's principal minister, or *valido* (as favorite ministers were termed in early modern Spain), appointed Palafox as chaplain to Maria of Austria, Holy Roman Empress (1528-1603), daughter of Emperor Charles V. Thanks to this appointment, Palafox would accompany her in various journeys throughout central Europe, writing a report for Olivares entitled "Diálogo de Alemania y comparación de España con las demás naciones", on his return to Spain around 1632. On July 1633, Palafox rejoined his post at the Council of the Indies as jurist, and was quickly promoted to councilor. His tenure at the Council rounded out his political acumen, and provided him with specialized knowledge that he had begun to acquire when in the Aragonese Courts,

[357] García, *Don Juan de Palafox y Mendoza*, 15.
[358] Cayetana Álvarez de Toledo, *Juan de Palafox: obispo y virrey* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2011), 31.
[359] Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, *Vida Interior* (Puebla, Mexico: BUAP, 2012), 14.
[360] Ibid., 16.

focused on the intricacies of covering diverse territories or provinces under a single rule, as was the case with the Spanish Empire. Additionally, Palafox, during his tenure at the Council of the Indies, undoubtedly managed to gain great expertise on the intricacies of governing Spain's distant and very complicated overseas possessions.

Palafox's post as jurist at the Council of the Indies served as platform for his subsequent appointment as Bishop of Puebla de los Ángeles. However, that appointment came by way of another appointment demanded by the Count-Duke of Olivares. What the minister asked of Palafox was to adopt the title of New Spain's *visitador general*.[361] The position of *visitador general* acquired special significance under Olivares' ministry; this was because Olivares had outlined an ambitious plan whose objective was to reform the American colonies' finances and political environment. That milieu was at the time plagued by chronic corruption, cronyism, and constant challenges to viceroyal authority, mostly on the part of the increasingly powerful *criollo* groups. Another aspiration of Olivares' was to enlarge the Crown's tax base, both in the peninsula and in Spain's overseas territories—particularly in the viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru, the two most established and wealthy territories across the Atlantic. Olivares had already, for these reasons, sent *visitadores generales* to Lima and Quito before.[362] In addition to the financial cost to Spain, in the particular case of the Viceroyalty of New Spain the obedience and adherence to absolutist power demanded from the King to his New Spanish subjects seemed to be undermined by current practices there.[363]

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[361] A visitador general was a title equivalent to an inspector general, understood as an envoy in charge of examining the actions of high-ranking officials and civil servants, also similar to a general auditor.

[362] Álvarez de Toledo, *Juan de Palafox*, 86–87.

[363] The case of Viceroy Diego Carrillo de Mendoza, Marquis of Gelves' tenure (1621-1624), was a case still fresh in the minds of the high officials at the Council of the Indies. Viceroy Gelves, as was Palafox himself, played a role in Olivares' scheme to reform the financial situation in the New Spanish Viceroyalty, and was appointed as both viceroy and visitador general to New Spain towards 1621. Upon his arrival, Gelves learned that his predecessor, Viceroy Diego Fernández de Córdoba, Marquis of Guadalcázar, had earned the *Audiencia*'s antagonism, and that the *Audiencia* had managed, through chicanery, to convince the Council of the Indies to get Guadalcázar removed from office. This was the political climate that welcomed Gelves, who soon met with a similar fate to that of his predecessor. Gelves too drew the ire of

Although many years had passed since the famed 1624 insurrection, in which Diego Carrillo de Mendoza, Marquis of Gelves was ousted from his post as Viceroy of New Spain by a coup-d'état of sorts (see footnote 112), at the royal court in Madrid the incident had made a lasting impression. The high-ranking officials at the Council of the Indies were well aware that viceregal authority in New Spain remained on an unstable footing.[364] In 1639, in the midst of this convoluted political climate, Juan de Palafox was appointed bishop, and Diego López Pacheco y Bobadilla, Marquis of Villena (1640-1642), was appointed the new Viceroy of New Spain.[365] They would both make the voyage across the Atlantic to occupy their new posts together, in 1640.[366] Upon their arrival in New Spain, the viceroyalty was divided between those who supported what was conceived and perceived as a reformist movement, and those who were against it. This reformist movement can be seen as a reaction to general sense of decline in the Spanish Empire during the seventeenth century. That decline could be characterized by a series of circumstances, including a chronic financial malaise, the failure on the part of the Crown to keep its diverse constituents under control[367]; a decline in Castile's demographic vitality, wealth, and productivity; and the

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many powerful people in the viceroyalty and, eventually, a conspiracy formed against him led by certain judges of the Audiencia, and by the very Archbishop of New Spain, Juan Pérez de la Serna. Gelves continued to fight corrupt practices, but soon the relationship with various powerful governmental and Church officials escalated to outright signs of public hostility. Archbishop Pérez de la Serna tried to get Gelves excommunicated, while Gelves tried to look for support in the Audiencia but found none. During the next days, Mexico City entered into a state of political tension, with people and various religious congregations taking sides on the matter. The Archbishop managed to aggrandize the issue, finally declaring, on January 15, 1624, a state of *cessatio a divinis*, a prohibition issued by the Church that forces the clergy to abstain from celebrating divine offices or officiating burials. This enraged the city's population, who saw the Viceroy to blame for such a scandalous situation, and an angry mob set out to storm the viceregal Palace at Mexico City's main square, with Viceroy Gelves inside it; he barely managed to escape the angry mob dressed as a commoner. For a detailed chronicle of Marquis of Gelves' troubled tenure as viceroy see: Jonathan Israel, *Raza, clases sociales y vida política en el México colonial, 1610-1670*, 139–164.

[364] Álvarez de Toledo, *Juan de Palafox*, 87.

[365] Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Real Provisión, Indiferente, 454, L.A22, folios 221-222, December 1639.

[366] AGI, Contratación, 5422, N.39, March 15, 1640. This document testifies as to the date Palafox embarked on a ship headed to New Spain, accompanied by fifty servants.

[367] For example Portugal, which had declared its independence, and Catalonia, which had hosted an insurgency; both in 1640.

overwhelming failure, throughout the seventeenth century, of Count-Duke of Olivares' efforts to maintain the glory days of Philip II's Empire, when Spain had exercised hegemony over the European continent.[368] Juan de Palafox y Mendoza's trajectory as politician and clergyman was characterized by the fact that—having begun his career during the years the Empire's crisis was developing—the young statesman had come to elaborate a personal philosophy on how to reform and rule Puebla, and the whole of New Spain; and he was quite intent on attempting its realization.

This is but a brief contextualization of Juan de Palafox's background and motivations as he became Bishop of Puebla de los Ángeles. I will now attempt to discuss and interpret Palafox's ideas regarding a reform of secular powers in the Viceroyalty of New Spain, linking this aspect of his political philosophy with his architectural endeavors during his tenure as bishop. In this chapter, I will discuss three of his projects: the construction and eventual consecration of Puebla's cathedral; the remodeling and administrative reformation of San Pedro Hospital; and the establishment of a hospice and school for young, destitute girls. I will argue for the importance of establishing, advancing and accomplishing Christian social welfare institutions in the city as part of an overall scheme for concretizing an ideal Christian republic in the city of Puebla.

In order to understand Palafox's involvement in the construction and reformation of the city of Puebla, it is important to first understand that his political philosophy regarding the reform of temporal and secular powers in his diocese, and ultimately in the whole of New Spain, hinged on one basic idea: his conviction that, paraphrasing John Elliott, an all-encompassing reform plan would have to be respectful of the needs, wishes, and special circumstances of each particular place.[369] This idea was not

[368] J. H. Elliott, "The Decline of Spain," *Past & Present* 20, no. 1 (November 1, 1961): 52–75, doi:10.1093/past/20.1.52.

[369] John H. Elliott, "Reformismo en el mundo hispánico: Olivares y Palafox," in *La pluma y el báculo: Juan de Palafox y el mundo hispano del seiscientos*, ed. Montserrat Galí Boadella, First Edition (Puebla, Mexico: Instituto de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades - BUAP, 2004), 32.

particularly original for the time; Jean Bodin (1530-1596), the French jurist, for instance, in his *Six Livres de la République*, printed for the first time in 1576, asserted that:

> Political institutions must be adapted to environment, and human laws to natural laws. […] One observes very great differences in the species of animals proper to different regions, and even noticeable variations in animals of the same species. Similarly, there are as many types of men as there are distinct localities. […] A wise ruler of any people must therefore have a thorough understanding of their disposition and natural inclinations before he attempts any change in the constitution or the laws. One of the greatest, if not the principal, foundation of the commonwealth is the suitability of its government to the nature of the people, and of its laws and ordinances to the requirements of time, place, and persons.[370]

The resonance of Palafox's political ideas with those of Bodin's allows us to locate him among a generation of Spanish thinkers that recognized the need to identify political power and authority as emanating from the populace at large who, in turn, would delegate it to a sovereign or monarch.[371] One crucial difference between Palafox and Bodin, or between the bishop and other early modern political philosophers such as Machiavelli, was that Bodin or Machiavelli considered that Christian doctrine and morality were in tension with the exercise of successful political policies. Palafox, on the contrary, firmly believed in the appropriateness of

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[370] Jean Bodin, *Six Books of the Commonwealth (Le Six Livres de La République)*, trans. M.J. Tooley (Oxford, England: Basil Blackwell, 1955), Book V; Chapter I, http://www.constitution.org/bodin/bodin_.htm.

[371] Another Spanish political philosopher who greatly influenced Palafox was the Augustinian friar Juan de Márquez (1564-1621), who wrote a political treatise popular at the time, entitled *El gobernador Cristiano*; this treatise was published for the first time in 1615, in Pamplona, Spain. Márquez, too, advised the Spanish monarchs to not impose a set of common laws to the politically and socially complex Hispanic Empire.

the Church's role in establishing a political, ethical, and moral leadership and mandate and, through its educational efforts, disseminating these beliefs to the population at large, the ruling and secular class, and even the monarch himself. For Palafox, the idea that each sector of society occupied a very specific role was central to the conceptualization of political and religious normative roles and the shaping of society through them. These ideas are contained in his work *Manual de estados y profesiones*, included in Volume V of his complete works, published in Madrid in 1762. In this work, Palafox runs through a whole catalog of societal groups, both civilian and ecclesiastical, ascribing to them what he considered to be their responsibilities and duties to society at large. The work was, incidentally, written in the form of a dialogue, in which a master and his student engage in a series of rhetorical discussions: a popular form of writing in the early modern era.[372]

Palafox placed a great deal of responsibility on the highest members of society, both ecclesiastical and civil servants and oligarchs. According to Palafox, they carried with them a huge responsibility to improve society: "En los subditos, hijo mio, cada pecado es un pecado no mas, cada merito es un merito; pero en los Superiores, yá Eclesiasticos, yá seglares, cada pecado suele pesar por muchos pecados."[373] When it came to the clergy, Palafox recognized that as representatives of God on Earth, all priests carried a great responsibility; a bishop carried, consequently, even more responsibility, as the souls of all of his brethren were under his direct care.

> "Tengamos la vigilancia que tuvieron, y obrarémos lo que obraron; porque la primera virtud del Obispo ha de ser la vigilancia. No cesemos un punto de procurar las causas de Dios, y el bien de las almas de nuestro cargo; que si esto hacemos, con nosotros está

[372] María Dolores Bravo Arriaga, "Juan de Palafox y la perfecta integración de la República Cristiana," in *La pluma y el báculo: Juan de Palafox y el mundo hispano del seiscientos*, First Edition (Puebla, Mexico: Instituto de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades - BUAP, 2004), 191.
[373] Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, "Manual de estados y profesiones," in *Obras del ilustrissimo, excelentissimo, y venerable siervo de Dios Don Juan de Palafox y Mendoza*, vol. Tomo V (Madrid: Imprenta de Don Gabriel Ramírez, 1762), 299.

Dios, ayudando, favoreciendo, adviertiendo, y gobernando."[374]

Palafox not only deemed the role of the bishop as caretaker of souls, but also as a leader, a "channel" of both temporal and spiritual goods "seamos canales, y no lagunas de los bienes temporales, y de los espirituales."[375] It is quite interesting to examine the parallels he draws between secular and ecclesiastical powers. When referring to the highest members of civil society, namely, as he classified them, "superior seculars, kings, and sovereign princes", he places a high level of moral responsibility on them, deeming that,

> La doctrina pues, hijo, que se ajusta á los Obispos, viene muy bien á los Principes, y Reyes; porque aunque no son Obispos en la Dignidad espiritual, son Superiores, y Pastores, y obligados al egemplo, y luz en la temporal. Unas mismas virtudes gobiernan las gerarquías; porque se parecen mucho en sí lo eclesiastico, y seglar, y una, y otra gerarquía. ¿Qué es un Rey en una Monarquía sino un Pastór universal, que gobierna á los Pastores politicos de aquella gran Monarquia?[376]

Interestingly enough, and as can be surmised from his writings, Palafox makes a veiled distinction between ecclesiastical and secular powers, to the point that both social groups are similarly entrusted with divine duties, as demonstrated by his analogical comparison. Further, his intent in comparing both sectors of society is also evidenced in his admonishment that the four cardinal virtues—justice, wisdom, fortitude, and temperance—are a prince's most cherished and desired ones.[377] Loyalty to the Crown, and to the king and his representatives, is a virtue that Palafox continually demands from all constituents of society as a general principle. And when addressing the ministers of state, he points out that honesty and loyalty are key: "Una de los

[374] Ibid., 308.
[375] Ibid.
[376] Ibid., 313.
[377] Ibid., 317.

principales virtudes de los Ministros, es purificar la intencion, y darla á los justo y á lo recto; no solo en la judicatura, sino en el mismo gobierno. Deben ser del Rey, y de lo público, huyendo siempre de ser Ministros de su propia conveniencia."[378]

When addressing the nobility, he both believes they are "born to rule," and that they should therefore be well-educated; and that they should at all costs preserve their honor, in order that they represent the glory of their republic and the consolation of their kingdom, and that they bring happiness and be esteemed by kings. Likewise, the nobility should keep their vassals in peace and in justice, and be charitable to the poor.[379] Of the common people, or *subditos*, as he addresses them, Palafox reserves a series of rather paternalistic considerations. He assigns to the bulk of the population the responsibility of obeying the law, because, as he states, "en la sujeción, y cumplimiento de las Leyes, se hallan todas las virtudes de los oficios, y estados."[380] All the peoples of a nation or kingdom, should, in addition to the aforementioned virtues, obey these four basic rules: fidelity to the King; obedience to the orders of their superiors, as well as to their laws and decrees; to pay their taxes or contributions; and to have and to hold peace among everybody.[381] At this point, it is relevant to cite one of Palafox's favorite analogies concerning the *res publica*. Juan de Palafox was fond of comparing the human body to the corpus of society. As Palafox wrote himself,

> De la cabeza, dicen los Fisicos, bajan todos los males al cuerpo. Son los Eclesiasticos Cabeza espiritual de los seglares. Son los Superiores seglares Cabeza temporal de los subditos; y assi corregidos los mayores, siguen luego los menores. […] ¿Mira qué sucediera al cuerpo, si quando le ordena la cabeza á la mano que trayga á la boca el alimento que ha de sustentar el todo, no quisiesse obedecer á su cabeza? Qué sería, si quando ordena á los ojos que miren al peligro y

[378] Ibid., 326.
[379] Ibid., 338.
[380] Ibid., 342.
[381] Ibid., 343.

despeñadero, los cerrasse? Qué sería, si quando ordena á los pies echen por otro camino, no lo hiciesen?[382]

Given the importance Palafox gives to the church's governance, the "head", it is not surprising that his most important architectural enterprise was Puebla's cathedral, given that the cathedral played the role of a city's most loaded symbolic edification in both the Spanish, and later the Spanish-American worlds. The cathedral is an emblematic building that expresses and represents the city as a whole, and in its architectural articulation also represents the city's desired order and hierarchy. It stands at the heart of the city, in clear architectural dialogue with the institutions of secular power, mainly represented by the city hall and judicial courts which flank the main square, the most important public space in the city. The cathedral, in its interior, itself provided space for all of the city's representatives: the presbytery was a space reserved for the highest secular authorities, members of the city council and other civil authorities. The choir housed the bishop's see, together with the rest of the cathedral council. The lateral chapels were regional expressions of cultural piety and they could even be said to concretize the city's economic dynamics, having been sponsored by local confraternities and corporations.[383] The interior architectural layout allowed processional rituals to be carried out along the length of the nave, passing by the apse and back down the nave before exiting to the atrium, which acted as connector between the interior and exterior sacred space, and outwards to the rest of the city's urban space.

In a pastoral letter addressed to the city, the cathedral's council, and the bulk of the populace, and written upon the cathedral's consecration on 1649, Bishop Palafox adeptly traces for his brethren the original meaning of a temple, invoking the biblical

[382] Ibid., 341, 344.

[383] María Leticia Garduño, in an unpublished doctoral thesis, has investigated the complex relationship that existed between the silversmith's guild, and Puebla's cathedral council, its business relationships, contracts, and patronages. See: María Leticia Garduño Pérez, "Un siglo de platería en la Catedral de Puebla a través de sus Inventarios de Alhajas" (Doctoral Thesis, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras - Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2011), 54–58.

passage of Jacob's Ladder—popular and oft-cited in cases of consecration of temples—drawn from the book of Genesis. A seminal part of the passage relates the enabling and creation of a sacred architectural space, as Jacob creates an altar by consecrating a stone:

> So Jacob rose early in the morning, and he took the stone that he had put under his head and set it up for a pillar and poured oil on the top of it. "[S]o that I come again to my father's house in peace, then the Lord shall be my God, and this stone, which I have set up for a pillar, shall be God's house."[384]

Palafox used this passage as allegory and illustrative principle of the consecration, explaining that: "esta fue la primera ceremonia, que se usó en la consagración de los Altares, e Iglesias; y significación mística de la creación, y consagración, que hizo el Verbo Eterno Iesu Christo Señor."[385] Furthermore, Palafox adeptly employs Jacob's vision as a way to illuminate and enrich the symbolism of temple as building: as link between heaven and Earth. Palafox makes this quite clear in his interpretation of the passage:

> Vio en sueños una escala, que se aformava en el suelo, y llegava hasta el Cielo, y en lo alto al mismo Dios de los Cielos. Esta escala significa la humanidad de Christo nuestro Señor, y el misterio de su Encarnación altissima, por donde pudieran subir los hombres desde la tierra hasta el Cielo […] Finalmente, añade, *no es otro este lugar sino la casa de Dios*, es Templo, es Iglesia, donde quiere assistir; como si fuera finito, el que todo lo habita, y ocupa como infinito, y de inmensa Magestad. Esta es la puerta del Cielo; porque quien entra con reverencia por las puertas de los Templos en la tierra, ya

[384] Genesis 28:18-22, NRSV.
[385] Tamariz de Carmona, *Relación y descripción del templo real de la ciudad de la Puebla de los Ángeles en la Nueva España, y su Catedral*, 71V.

haze dentro de la tierra puerta para el mismo Cielo.[386]

In this same pastoral letter he goes on to adroitly use the biblical passage on Jacob's Ladder to introduce one of his most important political ideas: regionalism. Regionalism was a key concept for Palafox, one that he thought could contribute and guarantee the Spanish Empire's unification and prosperity. As Nancy H. Fee explained: "Palafox consideraba la aplicación de un sistema único de leyes para regiones diversas como impráctico, ineficiente, y contrario a la creación de Dios de una red de regiones variadas e interdependientes."[387] Palafox dedicated many lines to explain his ideas about regionalism, in his own words,

> Pues solo Dios puede criar á los Reynos con unas inclinaciones, pero una vez criados con diversas, necesario es que sean diversas las leyes, y forma de su gobierno. De donde resulta, que queriendo á Aragon gobernarlo con las leyes de Castilla, ó á Castilla con las de Aragón, ó á Cataluña con las de Valencia, ó á Valencia con los usajes, y constituciones de Castilla, ó á todos con uno, es lo mismo que trocar los bocados, y los frenos á los caballos, ó reducirlos á uno solo, con que estos se empinan, aquellos corcobean, los otros disparan, y todo se aventura.[388]

Bishop Palafox communicated to his *poblano* brethren the message of regionalism through the notion of belonging to the land, a seminal part of Jacob's passage: "And the Lord stood beside him and said, 'I am the Lord, the God of Abraham your father and the God of Isaac; the land on which you lie I will give to you and to your offspring.'"

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[386] Ibid., 59R–59V.

[387] Nancy H. Fee, "Rey versus reino(s): Palafox y los escudos de la catedral de Puebla," ed. Montserrat Galí Boadella, trans. Laura Flores, First Edition (Puebla, Mexico: Instituto de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades - BUAP, 2004), 64.

[388] Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, "Dictámenes espirituales, morales y políticos," in *Obras del ilustrissimo, excelentissimo, y venerable siervo de Dios Don Juan de Palafox y Mendoza*, vol. X (Madrid: Imprenta de Don Gabriel Ramírez, 1762), 45–46.

[389] In my view, Palafox's ultimate architectural endeavor, the consecration of the Cathedral building, marked *poblano* society's definitive claim on the land. The bishop's sermon pointed his brethren towards the idea of regional identification and pride, in other words, to the concept of the *patria chica*. Indeed, the construction and consecration of a cathedral building, particularly in the New World, signals the triumph of Christian doctrine. In this case it points not towards the victory of Christianity over paganism, as it might have done a hundred years earlier; rather, in the mid-seventeenth century, the consecration of the most sophisticated cathedral in New Spain signaled the definitive establishment or culmination of a veritable Christian Republic. This Christian republic, as concept, is clarified in the sermon contained in Palafox's Pastoral Letter, in which the bishop exhorts his people to be in the world as Christians, "el estar en la tierra significa la participación que tiene el Salvador de las almas, en quanto hombre, con el hombre",[390] and furthermore, declares to them that upon the consecration of the temple, the land around it will be divinely granted to them, and that their descendants would inherit the land as well.

> *Te dare la tierra sobre que duermes*, y dormía sobre la piedra, que significa á Christo, esto es te daré a Iesu Christo, y al Mesías verdadero a ti, y a tu descendencia, y al género humano dare vna eterna piedra sobre que se edifique la Iglesia, su remedio, y redempción, y te hare eterna tu descendencia. No solo (añade) sera esta tierra tuya, sino de tus sucessores. […] Y no faltaré (añadió el Señor) a quanto te he prometido. No faltaré un ápice de quanto yo te prometo, que las promesas de Dios son eternas, y constantes, solo son fallibles nuestras promessas.[391]

Palafox rightly identifies both promises that a temple can deliver to its builders: one, the linkage to heaven, the building becoming the passageway to the divine; and two,

[389] Genesis 28:13, NRSV.
[390] Tamariz de Carmona, *Relación y descripción del templo real de la ciudad de la Puebla de los Ángeles en la Nueva España, y su Catedral*, 59V.
[391] Ibid., 60V–62R.

the establishing of a world, in this case the perfect Christian republic, in which *poblano* society, as diverse as any other in the early modern Hispanic world, can exist in harmony and prosperity, as long as it acknowledges the rule of God, their King, its bishops, and its ruling class, as envisioned in Palaflox's *Manual de estados y profesiones*. The idea that Palafox, through the construction and consecration of the city's cathedral building, was promoting the realization of a regional identity has been explored by scholar Nancy H. Fee, who identified the bishop's political intentionality in promoting regionalism through the iconography of the main altar, designed and constructed under Palafox's directions. The design of the main altarpiece of Puebla's cathedral, commonly known as *Altar de los Reyes*, has been credited at times to notable Sevillian sculptor Juan Martínez Montañés, at other times to Sebastián de Arteaga. One of Palafox's favorite artists, whom he brought from Spain to work with him in Puebla, Pedro García Ferrer, is author of all the paintings in the altarpiece, including the principal one dedicated to the Immaculate Conception. The altarpiece is a beautiful architectural element made in alabaster from the Tecali region, close to the city of Puebla; in its lateral niches it holds sculptures by artist Lucas Méndez (see figure 9).[392] Bishop Palafox, in his letter addressed to King Philip IV, written on 1646, described the altar in these terms:

> Corresponde sin duda a obra tan Real y majestuosa en la traza y en la materia, porque el de los Reyes, que es la capilla principal, tiene 29 varas de alto y en proporción de ancho. La traza es de Montañés, famoso escultor de Sevilla. Cuatro cuadros de pintura y el principal de la Virgen de la Conceptción que es la titular de la iglesia, […] seis estatuas tiene este retablo, expresando 6 santos de la Augustísima Casa de Austria, ascendentes de la Real Persona de Vuestra Majestad.[393]

[392] Eduardo Merlo Juárez, José Antonio Quintana Fernández, and Miguel Pavón Rivero, *La catedral basílica de la Puebla de los Ángeles*, First Edition (Puebla, Mexico: UPAEP, 2006), See Chapter dedicated to the Altar de los Reyes, 185.
[393] Zerón Zapata and Fernández de Santa Cruz, *La Puebla de los Ángeles en el Siglo XVII: Crónica de la Puebla*, 153.

Figure 24: The Altar de los Reyes, the main altarpiece of Puebla's Cathedral, designed by Juan García Montañés, and/or by Sebastián de Arteaga (this is still a point of contention among some art historians). The paintings are presumably all by Pedro García Ferrer, and the sculptural works by García Montañés and/or by Lucas Méndez. This engraving is by Flemish artist Jan de Noort, published towards the middle of the seventeenth century, and it presumably shows the altar's original design. It was later altered from its original Baroque forms by architect José Manzo, who redesigned it in Neoclassical terms towards the start of the nineteenth century.[394]

As Palafox explained in his letter, there are six sculptures that correspond to a series of Catholic saints, among them Saint Louis, King of France, and Saint Margaret,

[394] Martha Fernández, "El retablo de los reyes: Traza, diseño y autoría," in *La catedral de Puebla en el arte y la historia*, First Edition (Gobierno del estado de Puebla; Arzobispado de Puebla; BUAP, 1999), 27–41; Montserrat Galí Boadella, "Juan de Palafox y el arte. Pintores, arquitectos y otros artífices al servicio de Juan de Palafox," in *Palafox : Iglesia, cultura y Estado en el siglo XVII. Congreso Internacional IV Centenario del Nacimiento de Don Juan de Palafox y Mendoza*, First (Navarra, Spain: Universidad de Navarra, 2000), 367–79; Fee, "Rey versus reino(s): Palafox y los escudos de la catedral de Puebla," See these articles by contemporary historians who have analyzed the altar's authorship and history.

Queen of Scotland, who were all related to the House of Hapsburg and therefore distant relatives of Philip IV, making the altarpiece an open gesture communicating loyalty and fidelity to the Crown. Fee has connected the interest in regionalism to the altarpiece through its representation of loyalty to the Spanish Crown, on the one hand; and to the phenomenon of the *criollo* oligarchy's close links and cultural identification with Spain via their familial and commercial ties, on the other.[395] As Fee states, the Altar de los Reyes, perhaps the most symbolic architectural element in the Cathedral to exist at the time of Palafox's consecration, and supervised in its design by Palafox himself, essentially came to symbolize the sacred bond between the Crown, God, and the city of Puebla.[396] Furthermore, as I have tried to show, the sermon contained in Palafox's Pastoral Letter of 1649, particularly the clever employment of the concept of Bethel, clearly reveals Palafox's intentionality in the construction and consecration of Puebla's cathedral building. I would argue that the Cathedral building came to represent the whole of *poblano* society—from the *criollo* and Spanish oligarchy down to the vast indigenous and mestizo populations as well—as the most important and lasting urban and architectural symbol able to articulate and provide meaning to the city as the perfect Christian republic it identified with (see Figure 25).[397]

[395] Fee, "Rey versus reino(s): Palafox y los escudos de la catedral de Puebla," 57–103.
[396] Ibid., 89–93.
[397] Scholar Lidia E. Gómez has looked into the urban indigenous perspective regarding their identification with Puebla's Cathedral, using a popular document that chronicles the daily life of an indigneous barrio in the city of Puebla, the so-called Anales del barrio de San Juan del Río. In it, the indigenous inhabitants chronicled the construction of the Cathedral, even in a visual manner. See: Lidia E. Gómez, "La imagen de la catedral de Puebla desde la perspectiva del indígena urbano," in *El mundo de las catedrales novohispanas. Edited by Montserrat Galí Boadella*, First Edition (Puebla, Mexico: Instituto de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades - BUAP, 2002), 227–38.

Figure 25. A detail of page 9 of the chronicle commonly known as the *Anales del Barrio de San Juan del Río*, a journal centered on the lives and events of an indigenous neighborhood or barrio of the city of Puebla during the seventeenth century, originally written in the Nahuatl language. This detail shows an illustration of Puebla's Cathedral, while in the same page the chronicler[s] recorded the consecration of the church building. The marking down of the event, and the registering in visual form of the architectural aspect of the Cathedral, demonstrate that the building possessed importance and significance to the indigenous communities of the city.[398]

This cannot be stressed enough, because it is important to remember that Puebla was seen as a city that still had not forgotten its divine, angelic lineage (see Chapter 6), and continued to erect for itself a reputation as a wealthy, proud settlement, one that was more particularly Spanish than any other in New Spain. As Fee has claimed,

[398] Lidia E. Gómez, Celia Salazar Exaire, and María Elena Stefanón López, *Anales del Barrio de San Juan del Río: Crónica indígena de la Ciudad de Puebla, siglo XVII*, First Edition (Puebla, Mexico: Instituto de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades - BUAP, 2000).

Puebla's direct rivalry with the capital city, its strong *criollo* character, and its economic self-confidence, made of Puebla a city that boasted a "prideful protectionism, and an elitist assertion of civic autonomy".[399] The Cathedral building was, then, the crowning achievement establishing Puebla as an ideal Christian republic in which all citizens, from Spaniards to *criollos* to Indians, strived to co-exist on the best possible terms. Juan de Palafox had provided them with the most powerful of architectural symbols to accomplish that end, and for this the city would never cease to celebrate him.

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Another critical aspect of Bishop Palafox's social re-articulation of Puebla was Palafox's concern over social assistance institutions. It is evident that Palafox's involvement regarding his brethren's well-being was construed as a way to fulfill his duties as shepherd of souls, in other words, as a true bishop. The figure of the bishop was—since the Middle Ages and well into the early modern period—seen as the direct descendant of Christ's apostles, whose precept was to heal and to look after the sick and needy in a selflessly manner.[400]

When Juan de Palafox assumed his role as bishop of the city, he identified the importance of hospitals and charity institutions in defining and asserting episcopal power in the eyes of the populace and rivals to the bishopric, namely the Viceroyal authorities and the mendicant orders. In what follows, I will attempt to tie together various aspects of his writings on the role of a bishop, and the subjects of love and charity, as I describe his notable attitude concerning the reformation and foundation of charitable institutions. I consider this subject to be of utmost importance to my discussion; it is my argument that Palafox's actions in this matter were clearly meant to further his project of realizing an ideal Christian Republic in the city of Puebla.

[399] Fee, "Rey versus reino(s): Palafox y los escudos de la catedral de Puebla," 90–91.
[400] Iván Escamilla González, "La caridad episcopal: El Hospital de San Pedro de Puebla en el siglo XVII," in *El mundo de las catedrales novohispanas. Edited by Montserrat Galí Boadella*, First Edition (Puebla, Mexico: Instituto de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades - BUAP, 2002), 240.

Earlier, I briefly discussed Palafox's ideas on the role of a bishop in his ideal Christian Republic, as portrayed in his *Manual de estados y profesiones* (contained in Volume 5 of his *Obras*, and published for the first time in Puebla c.1643).[401] To this end, it is illuminating to acknowledge another passage expressing his ideas on the role of the bishop in society:

> Que empresa tan terrible es discurrir, y expresar las obligaciones de los Ministros de Dios! Solo puede comprehenderlas y saberlas el mismo Dios, de quien son Ministros. Ellos son los que en el mundo representan á Dios. ¿quál sera la obligación de esta representación? El Sacerdote, el Obispo, y el Pontífice, tienen algunas preeminencias mayores que las que tuvo San Juan Bautista? Si es mayor su preeminencia ¿quál sera su obligación?
>
> Vino el gran Bautista á dár al Pueblo de Dios ciencia de salud; pero el Obispo, ó Sacerdote á dár la misma salud, que es Dios, Autor, origen, y fuente de la salud, y la ciencia.[402]

For Palafox, the bishop is not only caretaker of his brethren; he clearly asserts that the spiritual and physical health of his subjects are his direct responsibility. As the minister of God on Earth, the bishop himself is the bringer of science and health to his people. Another interesting pastoral letter—written by Palafox after he was required to leave his post as bishop of Puebla and was ordered to return to his native Spain to assume the bishopric of the isolated town of Burgo de Osma in the province of Soria, central-north Spain—also contains revealing ideas about the role and responsibilities of the clergy towards their brethren.[403] This pastoral letter, written in

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[401] Ernesto de la Torre Villar, *Don Juan de Palafox y Mendoza: Pensador político* (Mexico City: UNAM, 1997), 265, http://biblio.juridicas.unam.mx/libros/libro.htm?l=802.

[402] Palafox y Mendoza, "Manual de estados y profesiones," 302.

[403] Palafox left Puebla on May of 1649, having been recalled by the Spanish Crown to return to Spain. His recall was due to a series of convoluted political confrontations with, among others, the Jesuit Order of New Spain, the archbishop of Mexico, and the then-viceroy, Don Diego

1658, and titled *La trompeta de Ezequiel*, is based on the biblical passage of Ezekiel 33, 1-9, which compares the prophet to a guard or sentinel for the city of Jerusalem, who must warn the citizens of any looming danger so they can save themselves. Evidently, Palafox observed his role as bishop in close parallel to Ezekiel's personification of a sentinel, and this can be confirmed by the following passage that explains the role of a minister:

> Cuida de todos los hombres de su pueblo, grandes, pequeños, ricos, pobres, presentes, ausentes; amigos, enemigos, deudos, estraños, de todos debes de cuidar, pues son hombres. […] Con este amor que el padre al hijo, o el ama a un niño, hemos de administrar las almas de nuestro cargo. […] No hay cosa mas cierta, señores, que engendrar en los súbditos amor; el amor de los pastores, y amargura su rigor.[404]

In the modern era, charitable institutions might be perceived as a mainly governmental or secular responsibility. However, it is important to remember that in

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López Pacheco, Duke of Escalona (1640-1642). These eroded his political reputation to the point that he was, much against his will, finally ordered to return to his native country. All of these confrontations occurred in parallel with Palafox's role as Bishop of Puebla, were decidedly a result of Palafox's political and reformist zeal, but in my opinion cannot be considered to have a critical significance for my dissertation's objectives. Although of definitive importance, I will only mention these incidents if in any way I consider that they affected his role as bishop of Puebla. A great deal has been written concerning Juan de Palafox and his confrontations with highly important political and religious actors in New Spain while he acted as *Visitador General* and Bishop of Puebla, which even led him to spend a short stint as Viceroy of New Spain for five months (from June to November 1642), due to the removal of Viceroy Duke of Escalona from the post, and his expulsion to Spain. A few informative contemporary books and essays describing his political actions, particularly his feud with the Jesuits in New Spain, include those by Spanish historian Cayetana Álvarez de Toledo; Mexican scholar Ernesto de la Torre Villar; and his twentieth century biographer, Genaro García. Another vital source for understanding Palaflox's political actions in New Spain is Palafox's own autobiography, titled *Vida interior*. See: Álvarez de Toledo, *Juan de Palafox*; Cayetana Álvarez de Toledo, *Politics and Reform in Spain and Viceregal Mexico: The Life and Thought of Juan de Palafox 1600-1659* (Oxford University Press, USA, 2004); García, *Don Juan de Palafox y Mendoza*; Palafox y Mendoza, *Vida Interior*; de la Torre Villar, *Don Juan de Palafox y Mendoza: Pensador político*.

[404] Juan Palafox y Mendoza, *La Trompeta de Ezequiel: A curas y sacerdotes (facsimilar edition of the 1658 original)* (Puebla, Mexico: BUAP, 2012), 17–22.

the early modern Hispanic world, social assistance work was a duty entrusted to the Church, which worked in tandem, in certain instances, with secular authorities to fulfill the social need of establishing and maintaining hospitals, hospices, and similar institutions. This clarifies, to a certain extent, Palafox's devotion to caring for his brethren, to the point that he constantly equates his role as bishop, and the role of clergy in general, as one of responsibility and care for the people. This was not just Palafox's personal view; in early modern Catholic nations hospitals were by convention a religious concern. For instance, the Council of Trent (1545-1563), clearly established that "the places commonly called hospitals, or other pious places [were] instituted especially for the use of pilgrims, of the infirm, the aged, or the poor",[405] and these were institutions clearly inscribed in Catholic principles: "those who cherish hospitality receive Christ in (the person of) their guests."[406] The Council also established that hospitals or other charitable institutions, whether created by private or ecclesiastical interests, had to be placed under the care and rule of the bishop: "the bishop shall take care that what is ordained be observed, or, if that be not possible, he shall, as above, regulate the matter in a useful manner."[407] This meant that the bishop would oversee the budgets of any hospital in his bishopric, and was even able to transfer—for other pious ends—the resources allocated to institutions that, according to episcopal judgment, had stopped fulfilling their original objectives as charitable institutions.[408]

San Pedro Hospital

In New Spain, consistent with the Tridentine precepts of episcopal rule over charitable institutions, the archbishopric of Mexico had established, at its outset, a scheme dedicating a fixed amount of its tithes to the construction and maintenance of an episcopal hospital. The Puebla bishopric followed Mexico City's model: c.1545 the Royal Hospital of San Pedro was founded in Puebla by the cathedral council, and by

[405] "The Council of Trent: Acts and Sessions," Session 25, Chapter VIII, accessed October 10, 2015, http://thecounciloftrent.com.
[406] Ibid.
[407] Ibid.
[408] Ibid.

decree of Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza.[409] For the following three centuries, San Pedro Hospital would become, as Iván Escamilla González asserts, one of the episcopal power's main political and social projects.[410] Since the sixteenth century, the Tlaxcala-Puebla diocese had struggled to force their rival religious and secular institutions to relinquish control over health institutions. The subject of the their efforts were, on the one hand, the three mendicant orders in charge of hospitals for indigenous peoples—the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians; and on the other hand, city council, responsible for San Juan de Letrán Hospital. Bishop Palafox not only managed to take control over San Juan de Letrán Hospital, but he also succeeded in completely remodeling and reinvigorating San Pedro Hospital in both architectural and administrative terms. Palafox's reforms included strengthening the Hospital's council and instituting the Congregación of San Pedro, a confraternity of high-ranking secular clerics, members of the Puebla Cathedral Council for example. At the same time, Palafox also provided the Congregación with a new charter. His plan was to elevate the Congregacion's intellectual, ethical, and moral level, at all times praising the divine and earthly missions of the secular clerics. Palafox, addressing the members of the congregation, announced to them,

> Tenemos (Señores) agradables nuevas, y avisos ciertos del fervor, espiritu, y devocion, con que se va augmentando cada dia, de la asistencia con que se frequenta la oracion, de la charidad con que se socorren los pobres, del amor con que se curan los enfermos, de la discreción con que se consuelan los encarcelados, de la prudencia con que se pacifican los inquietos, y finalmente, quan santamente se repartee por la Ciudad, y el Obispado, aquel buen olor de virtudes, que quiso S. Pablo despidiessen de si los Sacerdotes.[411]

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[409] López de Villaseñor, *Cartilla Vieja de la Nobilísima Ciudad de Puebla. Facsimilar edition of the 1781 original*, 108–109.
[410] Escamilla González, "La caridad episcopal: El Hospital de San Pedro de Puebla en el siglo XVII," 242.
[411] Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, *Carta Pastoral a la venerable congregación de San Pedro de la*

In his address to the Congregation, Bishop Palafox notably brought up the concept of charity from an Aquinian perspective; based on theological principle, charity is considered to be one of Christianity's highest virtues. *Caritas* is directly linked to the act of assisting the needy, the poor, and the sick. This he clarified to the members of the Hospital's congregation in the following terms:

> Charidad llamo al amor divino, que es el que nos dà, y administra esta charidad inferior, y amor santo a las criaturas para llevarlas a Dios, y assi entiendo que todos los exercicios que hacen los venerables Congregantes de S. Pedro, de visitar los enfermos, remediar los pobres, consolar los encarcelados, pacificar los inquietos, son centellas del amor divino.[412]

Bishop Palafox, besides strengthening the Hospital's administrative structure, contributed to a large extent to the Hospital's material improvement and infrastructure. The Hospital buildings themselves had evolved over some time. Around 1570 a report by the standing bishop and city council had described the hospital building as built "en poco suelo é flacos edificios"; in other words, it was a collection of poorly constructed barracks.[413] Towards the beginning of the seventeenth century, according to the chronicler Mariano Fernández de Echeverría y Veytia, the Hospital's great courtyard was built. By the time of Palafox's tenure, then, this had become the Hospital's center; around it were arrayed two stories of arcaded corridors, sustained by Doric columns of well-cut stone. The corridors on the central courtyard gave way to large halls; in these the sick were organized based on the type of disease from which they suffered, "de suerte que los heridos están separados de los atabardillados o infectos de calenturas malignas, que pueden

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Ciudad de los Angeles (México: Bernardo Calderón, 1640), 2R–2V.

[412] Ibid., 7R–7V.

[413] Luis García Pimentel, *Relación de los obispados de Tlaxcala, Michoacán, Oaxaca y otros lugares en el siglo XVI. Manuscrito de la colección del señor Don Joaquín García Icazbalceta* (Mexico City: Casa del Editor, Donceles No. 9, 1904), 1–2.

contagiarlos, y del mismo modo están enteramente separadas las enfermerías de las mujeres, con sirvientas de su sexo que las medicinen y asisten."[414] Besides the Hospital building itself, the architectural complex included a church building, whose main altarpiece is dedicated to Our Lady of Dolores. [415] Though detailed documentation of Palafox's architectural contribution to this Hospital is limited, he did write a few words himself stating that he had improved almost all of Puebla's city hospitals, "en los cuales se han hecho enfermerías, quartos enteros, salas de labor, retablos y otras muchas, y grandes mejoras."[416] Merlo et.al., concur with Palafox's own claim in that he created a labor and maternity wing; and in addition they credit him with having remodeled the Hospital's façades in the traditional seventeenth century *poblano* style of red brick, herringbone patterned finish, with white stuccoed jambs, cornices, and architraves (see Chapter 6 and Figures 20 to 22).[417] It is easy to infer from his works, as well as his stated intention to improve and strengthen the bishopric's institutions of social assistance, that Palafox wanted to see his personal theological and social beliefs realized in San Pedro Hospital, seeking a consistency in thought and action.

[414] Fernández de Echeverría y Veytia, *Historia de la fundación de la Ciudad de la Puebla de los Ángeles en la Nueva España, su descripción y presente estado*, 1962, II:532.
[415] Ibid., II:534.
[416] Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, "Cargos, y satisfacciones del gobierno del venerable siervo de Dios, los dictámenes que he seguido en lo Eclesiástico, y Secular de mi cargo en esta Nueva-España, y en que me he fundado," in *Obras del ilustrissimo, excelentissimo, y venerable siervo de Dios Don Juan de Palafox y Mendoza*, vol. XI (Madrid: Imprenta de Don Gabriel Ramírez, 1762), 264.
[417] Eduardo Merlo Juárez, José Antonio Quintana Fernández, and Juan Pablo Salazar Andreu, *Palafox: Constructor de La Angelópolis* (Puebla, Mexico: UPAEP, 2011), 80. There are counter-narratives. Author Martha Fernández credits instead Bishop Manuel Fernández de Santa Cruz (1637-1699)—famous for his friendship with literary author Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (1651-1695), and for his architectural endeavors during his tenure as Bishop of Puebla (1677-1699)—with the exterior appearance of San Pedro Hospital. However there are no primary sources that prove that Fernández de Santa Cruz ordered the remodeling of the façades. What has been proven is that he ordered much remodeling of the Hospital's interior. See: *Martha Fernández, Retrato hablado: Diego de la Sierra, un arquitecto barroco en la Nueva España* (UNAM, 1986), 88–90.

Figure 26. This photograph shows San Pedro's main courtyard, with its stone-carved, Doric columns forming arcades on two levels. During the seventeenth century, San Pedro Hospital became the largest, most important health institution assisting the needy in Puebla. Palafox's improvements and remodeling, together with bishop Manuel Fernández de Santa Cruz's work later on that century, turned it into one of the most noteworthy hospitals in the viceroyalty.

Figure 27. This image shows the main façade of San Pedro Hospital. Credit for the building's final appearance, retained to this day, should be shared between Palafox and Bishop Manuel Fernández de Santa Cruz (1676-1699). It must be noted that many of Palafox's projects were left unfinished because of his sudden recall to Spain in 1649.

Figure 28. On San Pedro Hospital's main façade, an emblem displays various elements that allude to its patrons and its allegiances. A central vase with Madonna lilies makes a reference to the bishopric's emblem, which in turn references a devotedness to the Virgin Mary (the city cathedral is likewise dedicated to the same figure); the keys make a reference to Saint Peter, the Hospital's patron; and the miter on top of the vase alludes to the diocese, its main patron and administrator. The three balustrades on top of the emblem could be making an allusion to the Holy Trinity.

Figure 29. The façade and main entrance to the Hospital's church building, adjacent to the Hospital complex. The front façade ornamentation shows a Classical approach. The façade is made with grey carved local Santo Tomás stone. The ornamentation is based on a series of architectural reliefs, such as a pair of rectangular-sectioned, fluted Doric pilasters flanking the main entrance, and a frieze with round medallions and metopes. The second level displays a frame formed by rectangular-sectioned Ionic pilasters, fluted as well, with a pair of column-pilasters inside the frame, that display a crowned or florid top. The third level has an oval oculus, fluted in its intrados, and crowned by a gracious belfry with three bells. On top of the belfry, a miter crossed with Saint Peter's keys, symbolizes the diocese's rights over the hospital. This façade was most probably built late in the seventeenth century, perhaps under bishop Fernández de Santa Cruz's tenure (1667-1699).

The Colegio de la Purísima Concepción de Niñas Vírgenes de San Juan de Letrán

In parallel with Juan de Palafox's work on San Pedro Hospital, the bishop also incorporated the San Juan de Letrán Hospital under diocesan rule; as we have seen, it had previously been under the city council's administration. Prior to Palafox's arrival in Puebla, San Juan de Letrán Hospital formed part of an arrangement between ecclesiastical and civil authorities. This arrangement specified that the San Pedro Hospital—under ecclesiastical rule—would lodge all male patients, while the San Juan de Letrán Hospital—under city council rule—looked after all the female ones.[418] When Palafox, citing Tridentine guidelines and Viceroyal authorization, enforced diocesan authority over the Hospital, he immediately decided to confine all patients, regardless of their gender, in San Pedro Hospital, and to turn San Juan de Letrán Hospital into an institution destined to house and educate destitute young girls.[419]

This project for a new institution is evidence of Palafox's desire to consolidate an ideal Christian Republic in the city of Puebla, and its eventual realization through architectural and urban endeavors. The establishment of the Colegio de Niñas Vírgenes speaks of Palafox's reflections and ideas on the female condition. He wrote considerably on this subject, and firstly it is important to point out that he makes a clear distinction between the religious woman on one hand, and the secular one on the other. In his *Manual de estados y profesiones*, Palafox established his opinion on the role that the "brides of Christ", in the context of the Christian Republic, had to follow:

> Son las Esposas de Christo Señor nuestro, Ángeles de la pureza christiana, hijas de la Virgen Santisima […] A estas no hay que hacer mas que guardarlas el sueño, y no despertarlas de la contemplación en que viven en una vida espiritual, é interior,

[418] Merlo Juárez, Quintana Fernández, and Salazar Andreu, *Palafox: Constructor de La Angelópolis*, 79.
[419] Ibid., 78–79.

negadas á esta inquieta, y exterior.[420]

For Palafox, the religious woman was one destined, confined, and meant to follow a life of religious observation and contemplation. Their calling in itself was their main distinguishing feature, and nobody was to alter or distract them from their divine duty.

In contrast, when Palafox addressed the subject of women's role as secular members of society, we find his most prominent writings on this subject in a work titled *Discursos espirituales*. This collection of texts was written between 1638 and 1639, just a few months prior to his voyage across the ocean for New Spain, and shortly after he was appointed Bishop of Puebla.[421] The *Discursos espirituales* are a series of personal moral-religious dissertations, written by Palafox for the layman and woman who are in the world, involved in society, and wish to improve their life through attentive reflection on the precepts of the Catholic faith and through actions aimed at achieving piety in everyday life. In the first discourse Palafox states that his intention was far from persuading anybody to take vows and be ordained in a religious organization, but rather to help to improve the reader's life. "No entendais que os persuado á que seais Religioso, con ser camino de suma seguridad, ni que sin vocacion degeis el estado que teneis: mi intento solo llega á desear, que en el mismo que os halleis, mejoreis la vida."[422]

There are five discourses in total, the first one being in effect a long introduction to the general ideas that Palafox wants to express in these texts. Discourse number two is titled "Peligros del agrado y apacibilidad del varón espiritual entre mugeres"; the third is "De la reverencia que se debe al matrimonio"; the fourth is entitled "Breves

[420] Palafox y Mendoza, "Manual de estados y profesiones," 311.
[421] Josep Ignasi Saranyana, "Consideraciones de Palafox sobre la condición femenina," in *La pluma y el báculo: Juan de Palafox y el mundo hispano del seiscientos*, First Edition (Puebla, Mexico: Instituto de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades - BUAP, 2004), 135–136.
[422] Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, "Discursos Espirituales," in *Obras Del Ilustrissimo, Excelentissimo, Y Venerable Siervo de Dios Don Juan de Palafox Y Mendoza*, vol. IV (Madrid: Imprenta de Don Gabriel Ramírez, 1762), 446.

documentos de la perfecta casada", and the last and fifth is "De las miserias de la vida y calamidades de la religion católica." All five—but particularly discourses two to four—are replete with thoughts and reflections concerning the feminine condition, a woman's role in society, as well as advice for improving a woman's personal life, which Palafox essentially centers on marriage. Now, it is important to understand that the Colegio de Niñas Vírgenes, or school for virgins—which was a term employed to mean young, unmarried—girls, was an institution that was meant to welcome destitute young girls and care for them, and through donations received from pious women, provide the dowry for some of these girls to be able to marry.[423] In any case, it is important to note that this institution was the only one of its kind in Puebla, as can be evidenced by reviewing the lists and inventories prepared by the city's chroniclers such as Mariano Fernández de Echeverría y Veytia, or Miguel de Alcalá y Mendiola. Their chronicles list all of the female convents in the city, such as the convents of Santa Catalina de Siena, Santa Inés, or Santa Mónica; all of these were meant to house women, young and old, for a life of religious observation, in permanent reclusion.[424]

Palafox's desire to dedicate the San Juan de Letrán Hospital to the care and education of lay girls, and to hope that they would eventually marry, is illustrative of his thinking on the feminine condition, which evidences a hierarchical viewpoint on feminine social reality in early modern New Spain. Perhaps more importantly, however, Palafox's decision to dedicate an important architectural complex to the spiritual education of destitute girls is a central feature of his conceptual Christian Republic; his ideal of the feminine condition. The architectural complex of San Juan de Letrán Hospital, which was to house the new institution, dated back to the early settlement

[423] Alcalá y Mendiola, *Descripción en bosquejo de la imperial cesárea muy noble y muy leal Ciudad de Puebla de los Ángeles (paleographic edition of the c.1696 original)*, 140.
[424] Alcalá y Mendiola, *Descripción en bosquejo de la imperial cesárea muy noble y muy leal Ciudad de Puebla de los Ángeles (paleographic edition of the c.1696 original)*; Fernández de Echeverría y Veytia, *Historia de la fundación de la Ciudad de la Puebla de los Ángeles en la Nueva España, su descripción y presente estado*, 1962, I:Both authors, in their chronicles and descriptions of Puebla, include a comprehensive list of the city's most important buildings and institutions throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

of the city. In Puebla's Municipal Archive, there is official documentation dating from the year 1533 detailing a land grant to one of the city's first settlers, García de Aguilar, instructing him to commence the construction of a hospital for aiding the poor and sick (it should be noted that wealthy people, when sick, would be cared after in their homes, and would not be taken to hospital).[425] Fernández de Echeverría y Veytia claims that this document refers to a temporary location for the hospital, later transferred to where the building stands today, at 2 Sur Street, between 7 and 9 Oriente Streets (see images 15 & 16). The complex took up four official city land plots, or half a city block (see Chapter 6 for specific details on land plots and their measurements). It consisted of a series of buildings (it is difficult to know how many, since the complex has undergone extensive remodeling over the years) which organized themselves around central courtyards; in the northern tip of the complex, the Hospital had its own church dedicated to Saint John the Evangelist. According to a document in the Municipal Archive, and corroborated by Fernández de Echeverría y Veytia, the Hospital was symbolically "donated" to the Vatican's own Saint John in the Lateran's Archbasilica, in order to receive indulgences and to have a direct and prestigious association to Papal authority.[426]

Returning to bishop Palafox's writings on the feminine condition, it is significant to examine the second of his discourses from the *Discursos espirituales* collection. The title of this text, which could be translated as "Perils of the Kind and Calm Spiritual Man Among Women", warns men against the idea of being kind towards women,

> porque con ellas la severidad es conveniente, sexo blando, amoroso, deleznable, flaco, que por la mayor parte se arroja al amor sin fuerza reservada, y apenas tiene dentro de sí vigor para contenerse en lo bastante, sin llegar con sus desordenados afectos

[425] AMP, Volume 03 of *Libros de Cabildo*, Document 06, folio 4V, March 3, 1533.
[426] AMP, Volume 04 of *Libros de Cabildo*, Document 192, folios 206F-207F, February 9, 1538. Fernández de Echeverría y Veytia, *Historia de la fundación de la Ciudad de la Puebla de los Ángeles en la Nueva España, su descripción y presente estado*, 1962, II:515.

á lo prohibido.[427]

One is tempted to believe that Palafox's own illegitimate condition might have affected his writings and thinking on the subject. However, it should be understood also that, while not straightforwardly misogynistic, Bishop Palafox's views on the feminine condition are, according to scholar Josep Ignasi Saranyana, in tune with what he deems the "Spanish Baroque imagery of the feminine", in other words, the collective imagery forged by men regarding the feminine during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[428] In his third discourse of the series, Palafox shows a certain level of distrust for women, as his writings are addressed to men directly, but revolve around the feminine condition. In general, in this series of warnings addressed to men, Palafox manages to undermine and degrade a woman's capacity to exercise sound common sense, and to be capable of taking decisions. At some point, for instance, Palafox warns of the seven reasons men should not marry: namely, due to a woman's physical beauty; or in order to acquire material wealth; or in order to satisfy their "sensual delights"; or in order to hold excessive banquets and festivities for the occasion of marriage; or to eat excessively; or to have children and raise them in order to entertain profane vanities, and not to serve God; or to satisfy their lust and desire, as beasts would do.[429]

The fourth discourse addresses the feminine ideal through the image of the Virgin Mary: "Vos, Reyna de todas las criaturas, Hija del Padre, Madre del Hijo, Esposa del Espiritu Santo, y Esposa tambien del castisimo Joseph, fuisteis primera luz de las Virgenes, Gloria, y honor de las Casadas."[430] This in turns leads to a series of thirty-three recommendations for "la perfecta casada", which are perfectly in tune with the rest of Palafox's views on femininity; that is, they consistently show an insistence on upholding male precedence as head and authority of a household, and a woman's ideal condition as a wife, who should be obedient and pious. For instance, the first

[427] Palafox y Mendoza, "Discursos Espirituales," 472–473.
[428] Saranyana, "Consideraciones de Palafox sobre la condición femenina," 138.
[429] Palafox y Mendoza, "Discursos Espirituales," 483–505.
[430] Ibid., 505.

recommendation reads: "La Casada perfecta, solo á Dios ha de amar mas que á su marido, y á su marido mas que a quanto en esta vida puede amarse."[431] The final recommendation, however, summarizes Palafox's views on the central role of marriage as a social and religious institution: "Finalmente, la frequencia de los Sacramentos, y el llegar á ellos con pureza de alma, y cuerpo, y la devoción de nuestras Señora ha de ser la única, y mas esencial de la propiedad de la perfecta Casada."[432]

It is clear, in my opinion, that consistent with his views on women and their role in upholding and perpetuating the central tenets of marriage and family for the advancement of a Christian Republic, Palafox did not hesitate to dedicate this important architectural complex—one devoted to the moral, religious, and social improvement of destitute young girls. In the next chapter, I will continue to show how Palafox's scheme to concretize an idealized society is perfectly consistent with his corpus of writing, to the extent that every architectural endeavor he was involved in had a commensurate discourse mirrored in his writings, and that all his major projects were meant for the shaping of Puebla as an ideal Christian city.

[431] Ibid., 507.
[432] Ibid., 513–514.

Figure 30. This image shows the main and side façades of the church dedicated to San Juan de Letrán (or Saint John Lateran), part of the architectural complex dedicated to the Hospital de San Juan de Letrán, administered since the late sixteenth century by the city council. During Palafox's tenure (1640-1649), he concentrated all health services in the bishopric's larger hospital of San Pedro, and dedicated the San Juan de Letrán architectural complex to a school and hospice for destitute young girls.

Figure 31. The main façade of the former San Juan de Letrán city hospital, turned by Bishop Juan de Palafox into a school and hospice for destitute young girls. At the left of the church façade, down the street, we can see the hospice church building.

9. BISHOP JUAN DE PALAFOX'S ARTICULATION OF THE IDEAL CHRISTIAN REPUBLIC OF PUEBLA DE LOS ÁNGELES - *Part II*

The previous chapter discussed two projects central to Palafox's overarching reform plan for the city of Puebla; the realization of his ideal Christian republic. The erection of Puebla's Cathedral was, by far, Palafox's most grandiose and magnificent project: the city's most powerful religious, but also civic, symbol. Today, it might seem counterintuitive to ascribe civic values to an eminently religious symbol such as a cathedral. However, as I argued in the previous chapter, the Cathedral as a building and as symbolic element served to strengthen civic and urban identity—not only for the city's aristocracy, but also for the indigenous communities at the city's periphery. On the other hand, the diocese's involvement in maintaining and creating institutions for social assistance, like the San Pedro Hospital and the San Juan de Letrán College for Destitute Girls, were also deemed central to Palafox's social-religious reform plan. In this chapter, to complete my argument, I will discuss Juan de Palafox's plans regarding reforms of the Church institutions in the viceroyalty.

Palafox's actions regarding the reform of his diocese were centered on stripping the mendicant orders of the power structures they had built up since the sixteenth century from their position as premiere missionaries to New Spain.[433] These orders, namely the Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, and Jesuits (the last great order to arrive to New Spain, on 1572), had asserted a strong hold over the evangelization efforts in New Spain; this had led to their indirect accumulation of considerable power and wealth. As a result of the impressive evangelization campaigns that began with the war of Conquest in the early sixteenth century, the mendicant orders managed to establish parishes in *repúblicas de indios* all throughout the Viceroyalty—while the secular clergy controlled *repúblicas de españoles* or cities created for Spanish colonizers. A hundred years later, this developed into quite a convoluted situation.

[433] Álvarez de Toledo, *Juan de Palafox*, 99–105; Brading, *Orbe indiano: de la monarquía católica a la república criolla, 1492-1867*, 262; Jonathan Israel, *Raza, clases sociales y vida política en el México colonial, 1610-1670*, 209–212.

The missionary orders had racked up a considerable amount of material wealth through the ownership of vast expanses of land and haciendas that generated tax-free revenues.[434] Another underlying reason for the tension between the mendicant and the diocesan clergies was that a great many diocesan priests, many of them *criollos*, were unemployed, while the mendicant orders continually seemed to be swelling their ranks with friars arrived from the Spanish Peninsula.[435]

The mendicant orders, understandably, were not willing to give up their hold on these resources; but they were dealt a blow by the 1585 declaration of the Third Provincial Mexican Council that secular priests, by order of their bishops, could perform pastoral visits to indigenous parishes. A second blow came in 1603, with an official decree by the then-archbishop of Mexico, Pedro Moya de Contreras (tenure: 1573-1591), stating that the Crown had favored the secularization of all mendicant parishes.[436] However, when Palafox arrived in the viceroyalty, the struggle that had officially started four decades earlier had barely advanced thanks to the mendicants' resistance and political influence. Palafox, with his characteristic determination, was intent on carrying out what nobody had resolved to do in all those years; conclusively

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[434] Álvarez de Toledo, *Juan de Palafox*, 125–126; Jonathan Israel, *Raza, clases sociales y vida política en el México colonial, 1610-1670*, 210–211.

[435] Álvarez de Toledo, *Juan de Palafox*, 102–104; Brading, *Orbe Indiano: De La Monarquía Católica a La República Criolla, 1492-1867*, 262–263; Jonathan Israel, *Raza, clases sociales y vida política en el México colonial, 1610-1670*, 211–212; see also this letter addressed to Phiip IV, in which Palafox gives his opinion on whether a new convent should be established in Veracruz by the order of the Hospitaliers of St John. Palafox argues against it based on the high number of mendicant friars already established in the area, and the superficial impact a new convent would have on the population's well being. See: Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, "Letter to king Philip IV: Sobre las fundaciones nuevas de los conventos contras las provisiones de vuestra majestad. February 12, 1645," in *La Puebla de los Ángeles en el siglo XVII* (Mexico City: Editorial Patria, 1945), 146–49; Antonio Rubial García, "La mitra y la cogulla. La secularización palafoxiana y su impacto en el siglo XVII," *Revista Relaciones - El Colegio de Michoacán* XIX, no. 73 (Winter 1998): 238–71; Antonio Rubial García, "Las órdenes mendicantes evangelizadoras en Nueva España y sus cambios estructurales durante los siglos virreinales," in *La Iglesia en Nueva España. Problemas y perspectivas de investigación. María de Pilar Martínez López-Cano (coordinadora)*, Historia Novohispana 83 (Mexico City: UNAM - Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 2010), 220–226.

[436] Stafford Poole, "Opposition to the Third Mexican Council," *The Americas* 25, no. 2 (October 1, 1968): 111–159, doi:10.2307/980280.

show the mendicant orders that they were officially under diocesan rule. It is worth noting that, apparently, no other bishop in New Spain dared to take similar measures against the mendicant orders.[437]

The goal of reinforcing diocesan rule was, for Palafox—as with many other important aspects of his theological-political thought—derived from his literal and strict observance of Tridentine reforms. Indeed, after Palafox had been recalled to Spain in 1649 as a result of his insurmountable feud with the powerful Society of Jesus—which ultimately cost him his post as bishop of Puebla—he wrote a series of apologetic texts in which he listed all the denunciations his enemies had made of him while he was bishop and *visitador general* in New Spain. In them, Palafox provided arguments against each and every charge ever made against him. One can sense a deep sense of culpability when reading these texts, which Palafox nevertheless countered with canonical composure. He dedicated many sections to his feud against the mendicant orders; however, there is one passage that aptly summarized his position on the matter:

> A las Religiones [meaning the mendicant orders] las amo […] como a egercitos, y escuadrones espirituales, y verdaderos de Dios, y esta veneracion se halla tan arraygada en mi alma, que espero en la Divina Bondad que no faltará jamás de ella. Pero si el Concilio de Trento, Reglas, y Disposiciones del Derecho, mandan, que esten sujetos los Religiosos Doctrineros á los Ordinarios, y Obispos, en quanto Curas; y las Cedulas, y Provisiones Reales, encargan y ordenan, que esto se egecute, y cumpla precisa, é inviolablemente, y á mí con expresion, y á los demás Prelados; *Que si no obedecieran, se pongan Parrocos legitimos*, pues está declarado en contradictorio juicio en el Consejo; *Que no lo son los que no tienen examen, aprobación, licencia, y colacion canonica de sus Ordinarios*. Y yo á los Doctrineros de los Religiosos Franciscos de mi Obispado les dí la eleccion de obedecer, como lo mandaba la

[437] Brading, *Orbe indiano: de la monarquía católica a la república criolla, 1492-1867*, 263.

> Provision, ó poner las Doctrinas en Clerigos de verdad doctos, virtusosos, patrimoniales, y que con esso sustentasen familias pobrisimas, *y ellos eligieron el no obedecer*.[438]

Palafox is referring to the actions that he undertook against the Franciscan order in his diocese, which was the start of a veritable war with not only the Franciscans, but later all the major mendicant orders established in the Puebla-Tlaxcala diocese, including the Jesuits. The feud started in earnest in November of 1640 when Palafox, citing his authority as bishop and wielding in his defense Tridentine reformist decrees—decrees that touched on pastoral responsibilities, education of the clergy, and diocesan rule over mendicant congregations—ordered the Franciscan Order to stop ministering in 37 indigenous parishes throughout the Puebla-Tlaxcala diocese. This shut them out of the parishes of Tepeaca, Tlaxcala, Cholula, and Huejotzingo, all of them major indigenous fiefdoms. Furthermore, Palafox ordered the group of Franciscan priests in charge of those parishes to undergo a series of examinations on theology and linguistics (many accusations thrown at the mendicant priests were related to a lack of formal theological and pastoral education and experience). The bishop also ordered that upon failure to do so, they would be stripped of their posts as parishioners.[439]

Palafox's actions against the mendicants unleashed a series of interesting effects; for instance, there were reports of incidents involving Franciscan friars who, in conspiracy with their indigenous parishioners, hid images and sculptures that were highly esteemed and revered by the indigenous peoples in the Franciscan convents—many of these images and sculptures presumably displayed indigenous racial

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[438] Juan Palafox y Mendoza, *Obras del Ilustríssimo, Excelentísimo, y Venerable Siervo de Dios Don Juan de Palafox y Mendoza* (Madrid: Imprenta de Gabriel Ramírez, 1762), Vol. XI, 552–553.

[439] In order to read a more detailed account of Palafox's actions against the Mendicant orders in his diocese, based on the concept of upholding Tridentine precepts, see: Jonathan Israel, *Raza, clases sociales y vida política en el México colonial, 1610-1670*, 202–219; Brading, *Orbe indiano: de la monarquía católica a la república criolla, 1492-1867*, Chapter XI. Un prelado tridentino; Álvarez de Toledo, *Juan de Palafox*, Chapter III: La reforma de la Iglesia.

features.[440] This was intended to maintain the natives' loyalty, as well as to undermine the presence of the diocesan priests sent by Palafox to fulfill pastoral duties. On the other hand, other repercussions from Palafox's actions were architectural and urban: unable or unwilling to expel or confiscate mendicant churches and convents, Palafox had to assume the responsibilities of ordering the construction of diocesan parishes throughout his bishopric.[441] This had the effect of providing many former *repúblicas de indios* with two prominent architectural complexes: one diocesan church complex; and a mendicant convent complex, both erected at the central squares of these towns, as is the case with San Pedro Cholula, San Andrés Cholula, Tecali, Cuauhtinchan, and many other indigenous fiefdoms neighboring the city of Puebla (see figure 32).

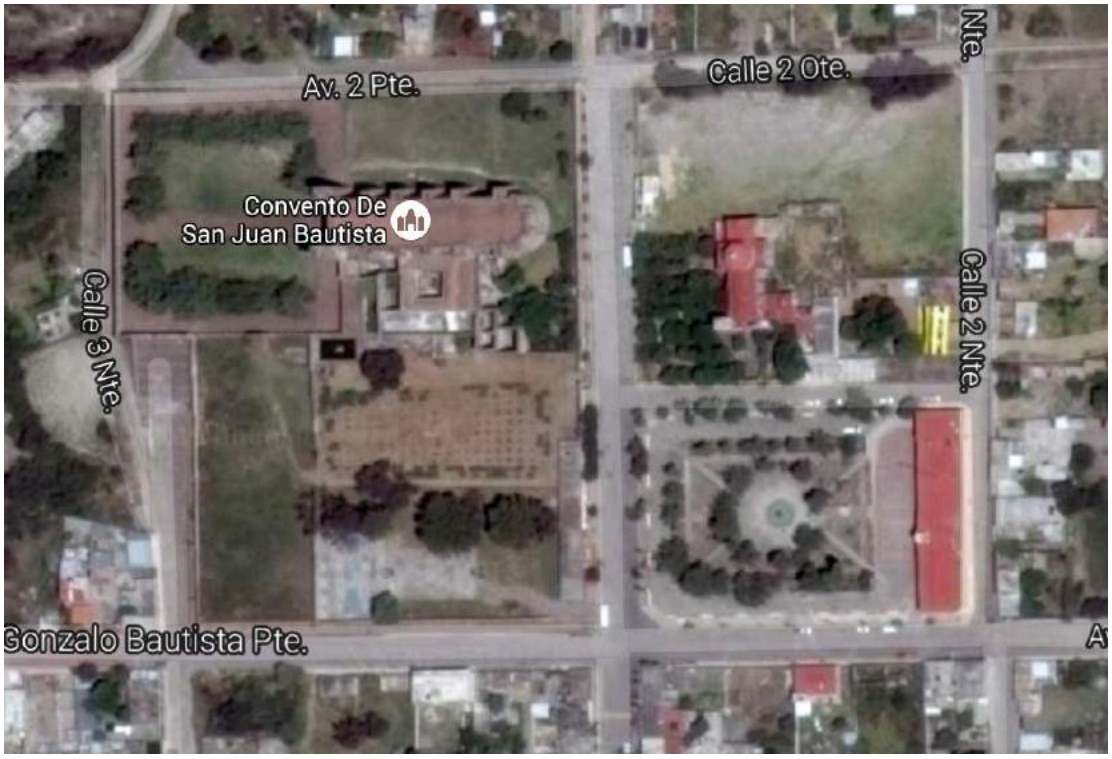

Figure 32. This aerial view of Cuauhtinchan, a town located some 30km to the southeast of the city of Puebla, is witness to the urban and architectural legacy of the feud between the diocesan and the regular clergies around the year 1640. In the image, to the left we see the architectural complex of the San Juan Bautista convent, erected by the Franciscans in the mid to late sixteenth century. On the right stands the diocesan church complex, built towards the

[440] Jonathan Israel, *Raza, clases sociales y vida política en el México colonial, 1610-1670*, 211.
[441] Brading, *Orbe indiano: de la monarquía católica a la república criolla, 1492-1867*, 263.

mid-seventeenth century, to house the diocesan clergy. To the south of the diocesan parish, there stands the town's main square, consistent with the urban precepts followed by the Franciscans in all of their urban foundations in the central valleys of Mexico.

Additionally, there were many episodes of animosity between diocesan priests and mendicant friars. One memorable episode involved a group of some twelve Franciscans who—armed with sticks and knives—walked through the streets of Cholula in July, 1641, committing acts of vandalism along their way until they arrived at the parish church, entered the church violently, stole a sculpture depicting the Virgin Mary that was highly esteemed by the inhabitants of Cholula, took with it the Virgin's silver jewels, and fled—but not without first cutting the church bell's ropes, so as to avoid a call of distress by the parish's caretakers.[442]

Juan de Palafox's decision to tackle the mendicants' spheres of power sparked other actions that contributed to his articulation of an idealized Christian Republic in his diocese. The bishop's zeal to interpret and follow Tridentine precepts, coupled with his feud with the regular clergy (and his insistence that they were ill-prepared for pastoral duties), led to his decision to create a seminary complex. Its role was to prepare an army of professional diocesan priests, and to set the groundwork for strengthened ties with the indigenous populations living both in the *repúblicas de indios*, and in the city of Puebla proper. The discussion which follows will lead me to address two aspects of Palafox's architectural endeavors: first, the establishment of the Tridentine Seminary complex in the city of Puebla; and second, the establishment of indigenous parishes—both in the city and in the diocese's territories surrounding the city. As I discuss these two projects in the present chapter I will connect them to Palafox's writings on diocesan education and pastoral duties; and I will present his thinking in parallel with the precepts established by the Council of Trent on the same issues. These resonances need to be evoked if we are to understand Palafox's zeal and determination in furthering his personal plan for the city of Puebla. I will continue by commenting on the construction of the Colleges of San Juan Evangelista, San

[442] Jonathan Israel, *Raza, clases sociales y vida política en el México colonial, 1610-1670*, 211.

Pablo, and San Pedro. Further than this, when discussing the establishment of new native parishes, I will look into Palafox's views concerning the native peoples of New Spain, which were concentrated on a short treatise titled "Virtudes del Indio", written sometime between 1643 and 1646, and inspired, according to the bishop himself, by his travels throughout the Puebla-Tlaxcala diocese.[443] By all accounts, Palafox's "Virtudes del Indio" is nowadays considered one of the most important documents written on the indigenous condition during the Mexican Viceroyal period.[444] To finalize the chapter, I will then chronicle the building of the San Miguel del Milagro shrine, a fascinating case of religious hybridity in which bishop Palafox took a personal interest, promoting the construction of a shrine to commemorate the alleged apparitions of the archangel Saint Michael.

The Project for the Tridentine Seminary Complex of the city of Puebla: The Colleges of San Juan Evangelista, San Pedro, and San Pablo

Practically since its inception, Puebla de los Ángeles had possessed important educational institutions. In 1578, barely four decades after the city's foundation, the Jesuits established their second college in New Spanish territory (the first one having been established in Mexico City): the *Colegio del Espíritu Santo*.[445] Not long after, at the break of the seventeenth century, bishop of the Puebla-Tlaxcala diocese don Diego Romano y Gobea (tenure: 1578-1606), and the influential cleric Juan de Larios, founded the *Colegio de San Juan Evangelista*. That institution was derived from Tridentine precepts on diocesan spiritual and pastoral education, later ratified by the Third Provincial Mexican Council of 1585.[446] According to the College's foundational

[443] As already discussed, this was at the time a rather large portion of territory, since it included the present day states of Puebla, a central portion of the state of Veracruz, and parts of the state of Oaxaca.
[444] de la Torre Villar, *Don Juan de Palafox y Mendoza: Pensador político*, 266–268.
[445] AMP, Libros de Cabildo, Volume 11, document 46, folios 47V, January 5, 1580. See also: Carlos Montero Pantoja, *La Arquitectura del Saber: Los Colegios de Puebla 1531-1917* (Puebla, Mexico: BUAP - Instituto de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades - EyC, 2013), 92–94.
[446] Vicente Emilio Maceda Vidal, "Reales Colegios Tridentinos del Obispado de Puebla. San

charter, the students who aspired to enter the College had to be of a low-income background; they had to fulfill all requirements for eventual ordination into the priesthood; and they had to serve in one of the Cathedral's ministries, such as the choir, the altar services, or others as necessary.[447]

The Colegio de San Juan maintained a modest profile in terms of its body of students and infrastructure until the arrival of Bishop Palafox to the Puebla diocese in 1640. At that point the bishop undertook administrative renovation of the college and, more importantly still, he saw the opportunity to incorporate this college into a larger, more ambitious and better-organized project for a regal seminary.[448] A royal certificate or *cédula real* issued by Philip IV, on July 14, 1643, commended the establishment of colleges and seminaries for the education of future priests citing Tridentine precepts, and it served as additional enticement to advance Juan de Palafox's project.[449] The bishop's zeal regarding diocesan rule over other ecclesiastical corporations, and the firm observance of Tridentine canons, were thus the central elements sealing his determination to create this grand seminary and college complex that would indelibly mark the intellectual history of the city and conclusively plant Palafox's architectural footprint at the heart of the city (see Figure 18). As I have shown, Juan de Palafox's "Manual de estados y profesiones" is a testament to his ideas regarding the importance diocesan clergy played in the implementation of an ideal Christian republic. Elsewhere, however, Palafox also dedicated a considerable amount of his writing to the subject of institutionalizing and preparing an army of clerics to carry the message of pious, righteous living to the rest of society, including the ruling class.

Juan, San Pedro, San Pablo y San Pantaleón, 1596-1862," in *La arquitectura del saber: Los colegios de Puebla 1531-1917*, First Edition (Puebla, Mexico: BUAP - Instituto de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades - EyC, 2013), 216–218.

[447] Ibid., 223.

[448] Ernesto de la Torre Villar and Ramiro Navarro de Anda, *El Colegio de San Juan: Centro de formación de la cultura poblana* (Puebla, Mexico: Universidad de las Américas - Puebla, 2007), 25.

[449] Montero Pantoja, *La Arquitectura del Saber: Los Colegios de Puebla 1531-1917*, 223.

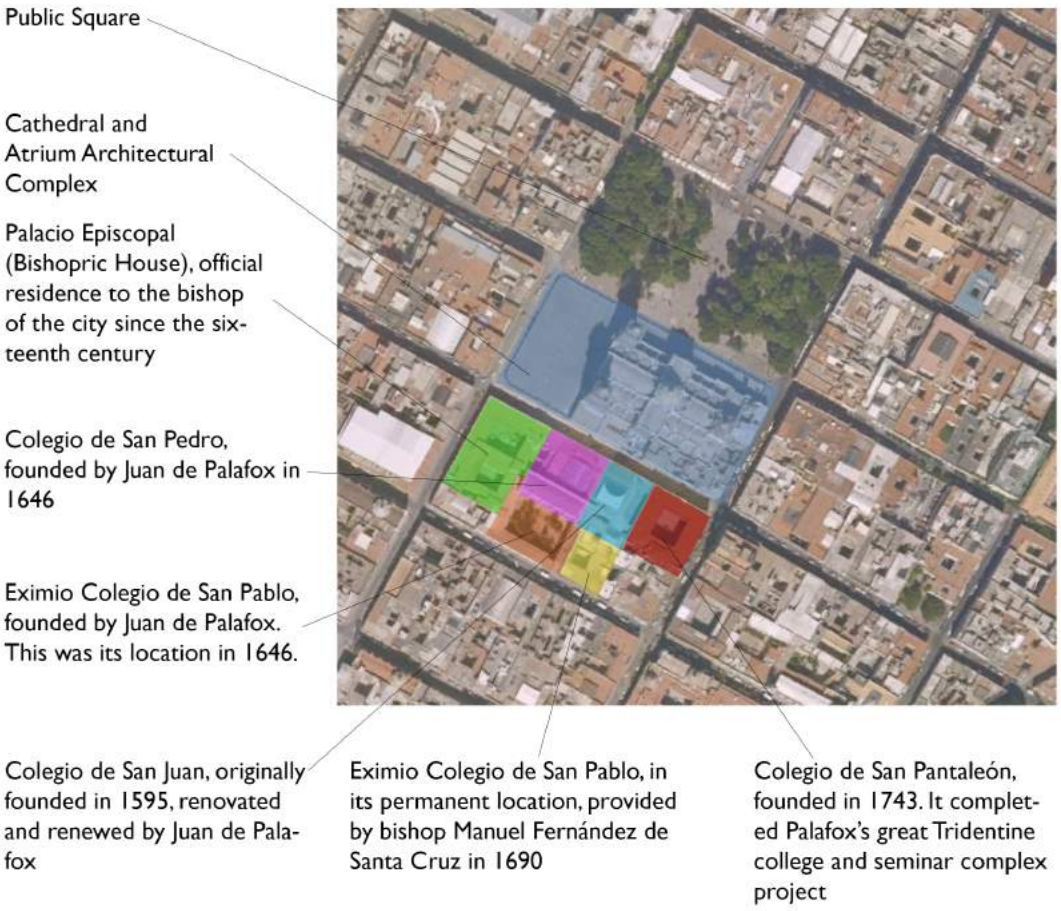

Figure 33 This aerial view marks the various buildings that comprised Palafox's grand Tridentine seminary project, situated right next to his alternative project of diocesan magnificence: Puebla's Cathedral building.

A good instance of the bishop's sentiments regarding pastoral objectives and missions can be found in a treatise written on 1646, entitled *Direcciones Pastorales: Instrucción de la forma con que se ha de gobernar el Prelado, en orden a Dios, à sì mismo, à su familia, y subditos*; this work is contained in Volume III, book one, of his *Obras*. The introduction to that work lays down the theoretical principles needed to properly rule a diocese. Palafox firstly states that the bishop should be a wise administrator and ruler of his diocese, which he equates with a household: "entre las virtudes que deseó San Pablo en los Prelados, una de las mas substanciales es el buen gobierno e

su casa: *sit domui sua bene praepositus,*" he quotes.[450] The bishop then goes on to elaborate on how rules, guidelines, and codes of various types, from Moses' Ten Commandments to the rules established by the various mendicant orders in the medieval period, all fell within a certain tradition, and were thus incorporated and established into Church canon over time. For diocesan rule, Palafox admits, the canons are not as categorical as for certain religious congregations. However, the various synods, councils, and the works of prestigious theologians such as Charles Borromeo, all contributed to establishing guidelines for a bishop to follow. They also allow for a certain room to institute different styles of governing a diocese, depending on necessity. As Palafox explained,

> El formar tanto numero de oficios, no es juzgando por mas eclesiastica la ostentación, y grandeza que de tantas personas, y ocupaciones resulta, que la modesta, y de menor numero con que han gobernado algunos Prelados sus casas, sino porque puede haber Obispados que necesiten de tantos coadjutores para el gobierno de la familia, y de sus ovejas; y donde no lo fueren, se podrá cuidar de que algunos hagan, y sirvan dos, ò tres ocupaciones compatibles entre sí: con que el numero excesivo que fuera orientación profana, será, limitado, eclesiastica disciplina: á que se añade, que las reglas especulativas no ofrecen costa a la hacienda, y cada uno medirá en lo práctico la familia, conforme la necesidad de la dignidad, á la persona, ó el dictamen de su obrar: que en esta materia vemos tanta variedad en la Iglesia entre Varones perfectísimos, que San Carlos Borroméo tenia dentro de su casa mas de cien Sacerdotes domesticos y entre ellos doce Camareros y con veinte mil escudos de renta y no mas y Santo Tomás de Villanueva por el mismo tiempo apenas tenia seis entre eclesiasticos y seglares y el uno con hacer su Palacio seminario de virtud hizo excelentes progresos en su Iglesia y el otro con lo que

[450] Palafox y Mendoza, *Obras del Ilustríssimo, Excelentísimo, y Venerable Siervo de Dios Don Juan de Palafox y Mendoza*, Tomo III. Parte I, 1.

> ahorraba de la familia hizo muy santos socorros y limosnas y assi cada uno seguirá el dictamen por donde Dios le lleváre.[451]

Palafox, in this passage, argues for his decision, as bishop, to educate an host of clerics, expressing the view that a bishop can have the need for many assistants (*coadjutores*); alongside this, he seems to express the need to have those assistants or associates to be well-educated, since it would serve the diocese better if these coadjutors were able to carry out not one, but several different functions and trades: "se podrá cuidar de que algunos hagan, y sirvan dos, ò tres ocupaciones compatibles entre sí." This would even serve a practical purpose, as it would save financial resources to the diocese. Later on his treatise, Palafox lays down the reasons diocesan clergy are the key to a bishop's good governance:

> Reformando el Clero en quanto diere lugar la fragilidad humana, y usar de él como de los instrumentos mas aptos para el buen gobierno Pastoral de sus ovejas, teniendo reformada su casa, y los Conventos de Religiosas, y conservandose bien con los Regulares, obrará mejor en el cuidado de los Seglares, con los quales se ha de usar de diferentes medios que con los Eclesiasticos, porque à los Sacerdotes, y Clerigos debe mirar como mas inmediatos, y en quien influye con mayor fuerza la jurisdicion, y assi ha de hacer, no solo que no sean malos, sino procurar que sean perfectos, y egemplares.[452]

With these words, Palafox clearly states the central role that a well-trained army of clerics would play in establishing and maintaining diocesan rule over the rest of the ecclesiastical congregations operating in his diocese. This was a central issue in light of the power structures the mendicant orders had built for themselves since their arrival in New Spain. We can clearly see, first, that Palafox mistrusted the regular clergy (a point he will repeatedly stress in his treatise); and, secondly, that the

[451] Ibid., Tomo III. Parte I, 8.
[452] Ibid., Tomo III. Parte I, 37.

diocesan clergy had to be educated in such a way as to make them the bishop's closest and most reliable allies. To this effect, he stressed the importance of their quality education and training: "procurar que sean perfectos, y egemplares". In order to understand how the Colegio de San Pedro stood out from other important educational institutions in the city of Peubla, I will offer a brief analysis of its intellectual and educational statutes, what the profiles of the students that attended were like, and what the curriculum of the school consisted of.

The Society of Jesus had, in 1578, already established their college in the city of Puebla, the Colegio del Espíritu Santo. It eventually grew to become one of the city's most important educational institutions, and remained that way until the Society of Jesus was expelled from New Spain in 1767. In the eyes of bishop Palafox, and given his feud with the mendicant orders, the Jesuit college was seen as an instrument of indoctrination that was bound to act—at some point or another—against diocesan power; the Jesuit order itself was, similarly, seen as more loyal to papal power than to Madrid, let alone to viceregal or diocesan authority.[453] Not only did this interpretation of the Jesuit college play an important role, but furthermore it was traditionally seen as catering to the children of the wealthy *criollos* and Spaniards, with the occasional indigenous or mestizo student who received a stipend or scholarship to attend the prestigious institution.[454]

It is interesting to observe the social turn that Palafox's seminary took: in stark contrast to Jesuit education, the bishop set up his educational institution to cater to the dispossessed, the poor, and perhaps more importantly, to young indigenous men. When Bishop Palafox officially founded the Colleges of San Pedro and San Pablo, he notified Pope Innocent X, and the hierarch signalled his approval in a bull dated May 22, 1648, titled *Supremi Nostri Apostolatus*. The papal bull explicitly describes the functions, objectives, and also the reasons Palafox declared to have had when he formally solicited permission to create the seminary. The bull clearly explicates the

[453] Torre Villar and Navarro de Anda, *El Colegio de San Juan: Centro de formación de la cultura poblana*, 36–37.
[454] Ibid., 37.

new seminary's location: "Seminarium Clericorum sub invocatione S. Petri Principis Apostolorum assignantes pro illius fabrica, domum sitam prope Ecclesiam Cathedralem inter Episcopale Palatium, & Collegium Sancti Joannis", as it is shown in Figure 18.[455] And it later goes on to explain that the Colegio de San Pedro will house thirty students, carefully laying down the terms under which they will receive their stipend. More interesting still is the clear explanation of how the students would be preferably of indigenous origin, stating the need for them to be multilingual, and clearly stipulating that speaking Nahuatl, the "linguam Mexicanam", would be a minimal qualification,

> Quod Collegiales debeant esse Patrimoniales hujus Nostrae Dioecesis; si vero in ea non reperiantur, assume debeant ex nova Hispania, dummodo sint legitimi, & paupers (non exclusis ditionibus) […] Semper praeferendo Dioecesanos (ut sunt Totonaci, Ottomites, Chocchi, Mistechi, & Thapaneci ratione Ideomatis istarum linguarum), caeteris etiamsi expertis in lingua Mexicana; isti vero, qui callent linguam Mexicanam praeferantur illam ignorantibus.[456]

The issue of educating an array of multilingual priests appears to have been central to Palafox, and evidences his interest in strengthening ties with the indigenous communities near the city and his diocese. This is particularly pertinent considering that, as I showed in Chapter 6, the city of Puebla was at this time undoubtedly a multi-ethnic settlement in which the indigenous peoples who had migrated to the city during its first century of existence had come to constitute the most populous ethnic group in the city, right behind the Spaniards and *criollos*. Palafox explained it thus:

> Para que no faltassen Ministros y sobrassen siempre merecímientos y sujetos en el Clero viendo quanto importa la noticia de las lenguas

[455] *Bullarum, privilegiorum ac diplomatum Romanorum Pontificum amplissima collectio...A. S. Leone Magno...Clementis XII opera..Caroli Cocquelines* (Mainardi, 1760), 154.
[456] Ibid.

> pues es la llave de la ciencia de estas administraciones, e hice que leyesse el Doctor Diego del Hierro Cura dela Catedral publicamente la Megicana y fuí yo á oírla por llevar con el egemplo a otros y salieron excelentes Discipulos. Dispuse y formé como lo ordena el Santo Concilio de Trento, y las Reales Cedulas, los Seminarios donde se van Criando habilissimos mozos patrimoniales de este Obispado en lenguas, y en virtud siendo yo el primero que contribuyó con seiscientos pesos cada año para su sustento sin otros niños que voy Criando assi en casas de algunos Beneficiados donde aprendan lengua y virtud como en el Colegio de San Juan.[457]

At this point, it is interesting to recall the precepts laid down by the Council of Trent regarding issues of ecclesiastical education. These precepts were discussed on the Twenty-Third Session, celebrated on July 1563. During this session, the priesthood is ratified as having been institutionalized by Jesus himself, through the figure of the apostles. During this session, the canons of ordination were laid down, and in Chapter XI, clerical education was discussed. Among many precepts, it was decreed "that all cathedral, metropolitan, and other churches greater than these, shall be bound, each according to its means" to establish educational institutions for educating the clergy.[458] It mandated that prospective students would be "received such as are at least twelve years old",[459] and later expressed that, "It wishes that the children of the poor be principally selected; though It does not however exclude those of the more wealthy."[460] The Council also provided guidance as to the way the colleges were to be funded "the bishops […] shall take certain part or portion, out of the entire fruits of the episcopal revenue"[461] These recommendations mirror bishop Palafox's exact actions relative to the foundation and renovation of the Colegios de San Juan and San

[457] Palafox y Mendoza, *Obras del Ilustríssimo, Excelentísimo, y Venerable Siervo de Dios Don Juan de Palafox y Mendoza*, Tomo III. Parte I, 131.
[458] "The Council of Trent - Session 23," accessed November 16, 2015, http://www.thecounciloftrent.com/ch23.htm.
[459] Ibid.
[460] Ibid.
[461] "The Council of Trent: Acts and Sessions."

Pedro; he secured the endowment for the Colleges from the rents of his diocese, providing his educational project with 10,000 pesos a year for its maintenance.[462] Palafox thus followed Tridentine precepts in a literal and strict manner in the establishment of his Seminary project.

It is also important to briefly mention the general curriculum of the Tridentine Seminary : when the youngest pupils, aged 11 or 12 years of age, first entered the San Pedro College they were taught the Spanish language, as most of them were native children or mestizos whose first language was not Spanish. They were also taught grammar, rhetoric, and liturgical chants—both plainsong (*cantus planus*), and polyphonic chants (*cantus figuratus* or *cantus mensuratus*). At around the age of 17 or 18, the successful candidates were admitted to the Colegio de San Juan Evangelista, and there they decided on either ordination to the episcopate, or to the presbyterate. There the seminarians were trained in ceremonies, liturgical chants, and moral theology. For those destined for the presbyterate, a specialization on moral theology and ecclesiastical letters were fundamental requisites.[463] A series of advanced students were then admitted into the College of San Pablo, known at the time as Eximio Colegio de San Pablo, the word *eximio* meaning excellent or advanced. At the Colegio de San Pablo, students would be able to licentiate on philosophy, theology, or canonical law.[464]

Finally, there was a complementary project associated with the Tridentine Seminary; the establishment—as part of the educational infrastructure of the colleges—of a

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[462] Montero Pantoja, *La Arquitectura del Saber: Los Colegios de Puebla 1531-1917*, 223; Torre Villar and Navarro de Anda, *El Colegio de San Juan: Centro de formación de la cultura poblana*, 28–29.

[463] *Bullarum, privilegiorum ac diplomatum Romanorum Pontificum amplissima collectio...A. S. Leone Magno...Clementis XII opera..Caroli Cocquelines*, 154–155; Montero Pantoja, *La Arquitectura del Saber: Los Colegios de Puebla 1531-1917*, 229–231; Palafox y Mendoza, *Obras del Ilustríssimo, Excelentísimo, y Venerable Siervo de Dios Don Juan de Palafox y Mendoza*, Letter by bishop Juan de Palafox to Pope Innocent X, dated October 15, 1645, contained in Volume XI, pages 4–5.

[464] *Bullarum, privilegiorum ac diplomatum Romanorum Pontificum amplissima collectio...A. S. Leone Magno...Clementis XII opera..Caroli Cocquelines*, 155; Montero Pantoja, *La Arquitectura del Saber: Los Colegios de Puebla 1531-1917*, 248.

library for the consultation and advancement of the students and, surprisingly for the time, for the public in general. In the Library charter, which he drafted himself, Bishop Palafox specified the principal reason that moved him to create what was to be eventually known as the Palafoxiana Library: "Una de las cosas que he juzgado por muy necesarias en estas Provincias y Obispado, es una librería pública y común, en donde los pobres y otros que no tienen copias de libros puedan cómodamente estudiar."[465] In reality, the Colegio de San Juan Evangelista, in existence for some five decades previous to Palafox's arrival to New Spain, possessed a modest library from its inception. However, with Palafox's encouragment, the project of creating a veritable library, public in nature, would come to develop over the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries into one of the most important libraries, and one of the most relevant cultural projects, in all of New Spain. Bishop Palafox donated some 5,000 volumes to the Library, and then dedicated an appropriate locale to the collection. The notary deed that specified the donation indicated the following: "hemos adquirido y juntado una librería de diversos autores, ciencias y facultades de la Sagrada Theología, Sacros Cánones, leyes, philosofía, medicina y buenas letras que consta de cinco mil cuerpos más o menos, que al presente tenemos en sus estantes con su rejería de alambre y otras curiosidades."[466] The deed was dated September 5, 1646.[467]

The Library collection continued to grow through the book donations of successive bishops such as Manuel Fernández de Santa Cruz (tenure: 1676-1699) and Francisco Fabián y Fuero (tenure: 1764-1773). It was the latter who provided the library with its elaborate ornate and elegant reading hall, graced by two levels of Baroque bookcases made of cedar wood, and an elaborate wooden Baroque altarpiece at the end of the hall, gracefully covered in gold leaf (see Figure 19). Fabián y Fuero also managed to incorporate into the library's collection the vast book and manuscript selections that had belonged to the three Jesuit colleges that existed in the city of

[465] Torre Villar and Navarro de Anda, *El Colegio de San Juan: Centro de formación de la cultura poblana*, "Ordenanzas de Palafox, de la librería y bibliotecario", 67.
[466] Ibid., "Escritura de donación de Don Juan de Palafox", 63.
[467] Ibid., 58.

Puebla at the time, after the order's expulsion from New Spain in 1767.[468]

Figure 34. The Palafoxiana Library in its present locale, which was built during bishop Francisco Fabián y Fuero's tenure (1764-1773). Previously it had been housed in the San Juan College, in a more modest locale containing bishop Palafox's personal book donation. The library, by the mid-eighteenth century, was enriched by the book donations of various bishops of the diocese. Capped by the appropriation of the vast book and manuscript collections that had previously belonged to the Jesuit colleges of the city of Puebla, it became the most important public library in the city during the Viceroyal period, and well into Independence.

The architecture of the Seminary complex complemented and reinforced a stylistic tradition that was inherent in and representative of the city. It contributed, conclusively, to the city's assemblage of ecclesiastical buildings, since it was situated

[468] Ibid., 59.

next to the massive Cathedral building, and completed a striking arrangement never before seen in the city. Bishop Palafox was the person responsible for providing the Seminary complex—with the exception of the Colegio de San Pantaleón, which was built around the mid-eighteenth century—with the architectural character it still displays today.[469] A view from the intersection of present-day 5 Oriente Street and 16 de Septiembre Street, looking east, will reveal an extraordinarily cohesive urban streetscape highlighted by architectural uniformity and unity in the succession of buildings that comprise the entire block (see Figure 20). The block displays, in this order, the façades of the Episcopal House, the bishop's residential palace, the entrance to Colegio de San Juan Evangelista, then the Colegio de San Pedro, and finally, at the intersection of the 5 Oriente and 2 Sur Streets, stands the Colegio de San Pantaleón, the last element to the Seminary complex that Palafox was never to see completed.

Palafox's architectural intervention began with the remodeling and expansion of the Episcopal Palace upon his arrival in New Spain in 1640. The newly appointed bishop modified the building's spatial configuration, providing it with larger living quarters and an elegant courtyard, with a water fountain at the center of it, which he made accessible to the public. (It is useful to point out that public water fountains scattered throughout the city provided the bulk of the population with access to potable water, while having a water fountain in a building generated a special tax that only wealthy citizens could pay for.)[470] Palafox also had direct access from the Episcopal Palace to the Colegio de San Juan, a connection that was established for practical purposes; and he had the building's façade remodeled in its still-extant style: red clay bricks arranged in a herringbone pattern, interspersed with glazed ceramic tiles, a popular and well-known *poblano* product better known as Talavera.[471]

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[469] Montero Pantoja, *La Arquitectura del Saber: Los Colegios de Puebla 1531-1917*, 228.
[470] Merlo Juárez, Quintana Fernández, and Salazar Andreu, *Palafox: Constructor de La Angelópolis*, 84.
[471] In honor of a famous production center of a similar product in Spain, the town of Talavera de la Reina, in the province of Castile.

Unlike the Episcopal Palace, the Colegio de San Pedro constituted an entirely new construction project, built on Palafox's instructions, with the works directed by the artist and architect Pedro García Ferrer, who came from Spain as part of bishop Palafox's retinue.[472] García Ferrer acted in many of Palafox's architectural and artistic projects as a most trusted collaborator—working closely with Palafox, and following his instructions diligently in all artistic and architectural decisions. García Ferrer was also in charge of overseeing the works at the Cathedral project during bishop Palafox's tenure, although Palafox and he were also advised by the architect in charge of Mexico City's Cathedral project, Juan Gómez de Trasmonte.[473]

Figure 35. This is a view from the corner of present-day 5 Oriente and 16 de Septiembre streets, looking east. It shows the architectural and urban uniformity of the whole Tridentine Seminary-Episcopal House complex. Palafox was responsible for remodeling the Episcopal House, and for constructing the adjacent building, the Colegio de San Pedro. The Colegio de San Juan, adjacent to San Pedro's, and the Colegio de San Pantaleón, built by bishop Fernández de Santa Cruz, both follow the same architectural style as Palafox's interventions.

[472] Elisa Vargaslugo, "Juan de Palafox Y Mendoza Y El Arte Barroco En Puebla," *Palafox : Iglesia, Cultura Y Estado En El Siglo XVII : Congreso Internacional IV Centenario Del Nacimiento de Don Juan de Palafox Y Mendoza*, n.d., 357.

[473] Galí Boadella, "Juan de Palafox y el arte. Pintores, arquitectos y otros artífices al servicio de Juan de Palafox," 371; Merlo Juárez, Quintana Fernández, and Pavón Rivero, *La catedral basílica de la Puebla de los Ángeles*, 46; Vargaslugo, "Juan de Palafox Y Mendoza Y El Arte Barroco En Puebla," 357.

The Colegio de San Pedro possesses a simple layout; it was built in two levels—like the rest of the Seminary complex—and in a very cohesive manner, each architectural complex, or college, following a logical spatial arrangement around courtyards. In the case of the Colegio San Pedro, the whole building possesses a refined simplicity in the layout of its halls, and in the frugal elegance of its finishes. The courtyard is lined, on the lower floor, with a series of carved stone columns in a robust Doric style, which support a series of round arches of a smoothly rendered finish. The courtyard's upper floor has a series of masonry pillars, all finished with the same smooth render (see Figures 22 and 23). Of particular note is the Colegio de San Pedro's façade, because of its more intricate ornamentation. The entrance to the college, the jambs and the lintel, are distinguished with the stone-carved frame of a floral arrangement, and above the lintel is an inscription that can be still read, celebrating the college's foundation. The next level of the façade has a balcony that is also elegantly framed with carved floral patterns, and two shields flank the balcony: that of Palafox's bishopric, and his family crest. Above the balcony a niche displays a sculpture representing Saint Peter, comfortably placed in the middle of a broken pediment (see Figure 21). The architectural configuration of the Colegio de San Pedro is of particular interest, since it was built on the bishop's direct orders and completed within his tenure, unlike the Cathedral. In other cases, Palafox's architectural taste is difficult to interpret, due to the fact that many of his sponsored buildings have been extensively modified. However the Colegio de San Pedro clearly reveals Palafox's and Pedro García Ferrer's sensibilities in architecture and architectural ornamentation; it is, for all accounts and purposes, measured, elegant, and pragmatic in its spatial configuration.

Figure 36. The entrance to the Colegio de San Pedro, built under bishop Palafox's orders during his tenure, displays his sensibilities regarding architectural design. The façade of the large Seminary Complex boasts a distinctive red brick arranged in a herringbone pattern, and interspersed with Talavera or glazed ceramic tiles. The carved stone entrance is sensibly ornamented. The entrance door is highlighted by a carved, floral frame in stone; above it is a balcony, flanked by two shields: Bishop Palafox's diocesan crest, and Palafox's family crest. Above the balcony, a statue of Saint Peter sits in the middle of a broken pediment.

Figure 37. . The Colegio de San Pedro's main courtyard. The lower level arcade is supported by sober Doric columns, carved in local Santo Tomás stone; all the walls display a smooth finish. Bishop Palafox's taste is frugal, the layout of the spaces revealing a practical intention.

Bishop Palafox and his Relationship to the Indigenous Parishes in the Puebla-Tlaxcala Diocese

Perhaps the least studied and understood aspect of bishop Palafox's social and cultural influence in the history of the city of Puebla and its surrounding territories (demarcated in the seventeenth century by the diocese's administrative limits), is the relationship between the bishop and his indigenous devotees. As noted earlier, when Palafox challenged the regular clergy in 1640, the repercussions were varied; but the principal effect was to breach the gap between the diocese and the indigenous parishes, both in the city proper and its surrounding territories. The mendicant missionaries were suddenly removed from their parishes because of the diocesan anxiety to exercise its authority. In this context, bishop Palafox had to replace the mendicant friars with his diocesan priests; and in many cases he had to have new parish churches built in order to replace the mendicant's architectural complexes and temples. In the city of Puebla proper, he undertook the construction of new parishes in the peripheral indigenous *barrios* as well.[474]

[474] Galí Boadella, "Juan de Palafox y el arte. Pintores, arquitectos y otros artífices al servicio de

An important reason the construction of church parishes in indigenous barrios and towns during Palafox's bishopric has not been studied in much detail is the fact that the Diocesan Archive of Puebla has never been opened to researchers.[475] The Diocesan Archive is presumed by some historians, such as Montserrat Galí, to hold the key to understanding Palafox's actions regarding the construction and patronage of the many parishes and altarpieces he claimed to have built.[476] Indeed, bishop Palafox—during his nine-year tenure—claimed at some point to have been responsible for the creation of more than forty-four church buildings, various shrines, and over one hundred altarpieces. Palafox himself reported this in an apologetic text titled "Cargos y satisfacciones del gobierno del venerable siervo de Dios", contained in his Obras, Volume XI. The text was written after Palafox's removal from the bishopric, and recounts the various charges and negative claims raised against him, countering them with what he called 'satisfacciones': accomplishments realized during his tenure. Among his many 'satisfactions', he reported the architectural-social works achieved during his tenure in Puebla in the following manner,

> Gran fruto es haberse edificado tantos Templos, que pasan de quarenta y quatro sin otras muchas Ermitas, y mas de cien retablos muy lucidos. Gran fruto es haber fundado el Colegio de Virgenes, de donde han salido mas de quarenta doncellas pobres, dotadas para el santo estado de el Matrimonio […] Finalmente gran fruto es haber dejado mejorados los edificios de casi todos los Conventos de Monjas, y Hospitales de la Ciudad, en los quales se han hecho enfermerias,

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Juan de Palafox," 370.

[475] In 2012, the diocese announced that it would work towards cataloguing their archive, working in conjunction with a local university, and that in turn would eventually lead it to be opened for public consultation. However, there is no indication of when this will actually happen. See: http://blog.udlap.mx/blog/2012/10/udlapyarquidiocesis/. Accessed on November 2015.

[476] Galí Boadella, "Juan de Palafox y el arte. Pintores, arquitectos y otros artífices al servicio de Juan de Palafox," Galí denounces what many historians and scholars interested in Puebla have for a long time lamented: "Desgraciadamente el Archivo Diocesano del Arzobispado de Puebla no está abierto a la consulta, lo que nos ha impedido avanzar en la identificación de las supuestas cincuenta fundaciones palafoxianas.", 370.

> quartos enteros, salas de labor, retablos, y otras muchas, y grandes mejoras que son bien notorios en la Puebla.[477]

It is quite difficult to ascertain whether Palafox was indeed responsible for the construction of close to fifty church buildings, particularly due to the lack of primary sources that would help clarify his claims. However, the presence of alternative sources of documentation, such as notarial certificates, or contemporary chronicle accounts, has aided in determining his involvement in the construction of certain buildings, particularly indigenous church parishes. These include the parish church of San Pedro Cholula, a most important indigenous city at the time; the urban parish of the barrio of Xonaca, an indigenous neighborhood in the city of Puebla; and the sanctuary of San Miguel del Milagro, close to the town of Nativitas, in the present state of Tlaxcala, another indigenous fiefdom, some 32 km to the northwest of Puebla.[478] The fact that all these architectural projects—sponsored or promoted by bishop Palafox—were located in areas populated by native indigenous groups is by no means coincidental. In the first place, and as mentioned above, the bishop's feud against the mendicant orders forced him to provide these communities with diocesan priests, and to erect diocesan parishes—as he was unable or unwilling to repossess the mendicant convents and churches.[479] Secondly, Palafox's interest in achieving, to paraphrase Cayetana Álvarez de Toledo, "a successful ethnic integration of the indigenous groups in his diocese", was a central part of his social-religious project.[480]

I have earlier referred to Palafox's short treatise on the indigenous condition known as "De la naturaleza y virtudes del indio". The text is contained in Volume X of his *Obras*, under the title "De la Naturaleza del Indio: Al Rey Nuestro Señor".[481] The

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[477] Palafox y Mendoza, *Obras del Ilustríssimo, Excelentísimo, y Venerable Siervo de Dios Don Juan de Palafox y Mendoza*, Tomo XI, 263–264.
[478] Galí Boadella, "Juan de Palafox y el arte. Pintores, arquitectos y otros artífices al servicio de Juan de Palafox," 370.
[479] Brading, *Orbe indiano: de la monarquía católica a la república criolla, 1492-1867*, 263.
[480] Álvarez de Toledo, *Juan de Palafox*, 129.
[481] Palafox y Mendoza, *Obras del Ilustríssimo, Excelentísimo, y Venerable Siervo de Dios Don Juan de Palafox y Mendoza*, Tomo X, 444.

treatise must have been written shortly after 1649, once he found himself back in Spain.[482] One reason for which Palafox's treatise stands out in the literature produced by Europeans regarding the indigenous condition in New Spain is its optimism regarding the evangelization of native peoples. During the first years of their evangelization campaigns, the mendicant missionaries were generally optimistic regarding the natives' potential to become exemplary Christians. Towards the mid-seventeenth century, however, this attitude had shifted to that of a certain pessimism regarding the natives' abilities to renounce to their superstitious beliefs.[483] Juan de Palafox's treatise runs counter to that tendency, which is understandable given that accepting defeat in terms of evangelizing the native peoples would run counter to his social-religious project. Therefore, Palafox stresses instead the native peoples' acceptance of the Christian faith, and links the persistence of 'idolatrous' beliefs to the lack of ministers, and to the lack of an effective teaching of the Catholic faith,

> A lo referido se llega el promover esta fe y conservarla los indios con muy hondas raíces de creencia y excelentes frutos de devoción y caridad. Porque si no es que en alguna parte, por falta de doctrina y de ministros, haya algunas supersticiones, es cierto que en todas las demás de este nuevo orbe son increíbles, señor, las demostraciones que los indios hacen de fervorosos cristianos.[484]

Also central to understanding the role of the indigenous peoples in the bishop's ambitious social-religious project, i.e., the articulation of the ideal Christian republic in Puebla, is realizing how Palafox also believes in the the natives' aptitudes for the

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[482] Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, *Virtudes del indio*, First Edition (Puebla, Mexico: BUAP, 2012), this can be inferred from Palafox's own admission in the treatise's text, when he writes passages such as: "[Y] unos pocos meses antes de que yo partiese de aquellas provincias", 24.

[483] Rubial García, *El paraíso de los elegidos: Una lectura de la historia cultural de Nueva España (1521-1804)*: the idea that the Mendicant missionaries, towards the end of the sixteenth century, held a general attitude of defeat regarding their efforts to evangelize the natives of New Spain, is generally accepted among contemporary historians. For a general description of this phenomenon, see the chapter entitled "La edad dorada de la evangelización y las fortalezas de la fe", 160–174.

[484] Palafox y Mendoza, *Virtudes del indio*, 22.

intellectual arts,

> Cualquiera que leyere este discurso, señor, y no conociere la naturaleza de estos pobrecitos indios, le parecerá que esta paciencia, tolerancia, obediencia, pobreza y otras heroicas virtudes, procede de una demisión y bajeza de ánimo grande, o de torpeza de entendimiento, siendo cierto todo lo contrario. Porque no les falta entendimiento, antes tienen muy despierto, y no solo para lo práctico, sino para lo especulativo, moral y teológico.[485]

While the mendicant friars had, by the seventeenth century, conceded that indigenous men and women should in general be barred from joining the ranks of the regular clergy, Palafox went to great lengths to make sure that native youths had access to education and to the diocesan priesthood.[486] His consolidation and aggrandizement project for the Tridentine Seminary, which aimed at receiving and sponsoring mostly native students, proves this conclusively. Palafox was also quick to recognize the natives' outstanding abilities in any mechanical or artistic trade that was presented to them,

> Y en cuanto á lo prácticos en las artes mecánicas son habilísimos, como en los oficios de pintores, doradores, carpinteros, albañiles y otros de cantería y arquitectura, y no solo Buenos oficiales sino maestros. Tienen grandísima facilidad para aprender los oficios, porque en vendo pintar, á muy poco tiempo pintan; en viendo labrar, labran con incredible brevedad aprenden cuatro ó seis oficios y los ejercitan, según los tiempos y calidades.[487]

The recognition of the natives' suitability and superlative appropriateness for all kinds

[485] Ibid., 54.
[486] Merrim, *The Spectacular City, Mexico, and Colonial Hispanic Literary Culture*, 15–16.
[487] Palafox y Mendoza, *Virtudes del indio*, 59.

of crafts and labor was not gratuitous. It mst be noted, however, that despite the laudatory tone he employs to describe the indigenous condition in his treatise, Palafox was far from displaying the interest that the outstanding sixteenth-century Franciscan missionary-scholars, such as friar Toribio de Benavente, friar Gerónimo de Mendieta, friar Diego de Valadés, friar Bernardino de Sahagún, or others, showed towards native cultures. These missionaries' interest was expressed in the form of profound investigations of their cultural practices in general, which have been passed down to us in the forms of their learned treatises. Palafox, on the other hand, never appeared to be interested in the cultural practices of the native peoples—prior to the Conquest—at all. As a matter of fact, what sets his vision of the indigenous condition apart from the sixteenth century's great missionaries, is the notion that the indigenous peoples of his diocese and all throughout New Spain were a valuable source of labor for Viceroyal industry, just as they were fit to be loyal servants to both the Spanish Crown and the Church. Indeed, Palafox interprets and elaborates on the indigenous condition only in terms of their status as Christian converts, while their pre-Hispanic past, in contrast, became an undesirable condition, transcended only thanks to their—successful—conversion to Christianity. As Palafox himself wrote,

> Así como estos fidelísimos vasallos de Vuestra Majestad son dignos de su Real amparo por la facilidad y constancia con que recibieron y conservaron la fe… Porque como quiera que en sus principios no entraron en la Corona Real por herencia ú otro de los comunes derechos, sino por elección de ellos mismos, que voluntariamente se sujetaron al señor emperador Carlos V… por santísimos motivos, y una justa conquista y jurídica acción, para introducir estas almas en la Iglesia y apartarlos de muchas idolatrías y sacrificios humanos y otras barbaridades que les enseñaba el demonio, á quien servían.[488]

This passage is part of an elaborate argument developed by Palafox during the first

[488] Ibid., 25.

five chapters of the treatise, in which he purports to justify why the native peoples were worthy of being protected, valued, and accorded the rights that any other vassal of the Spanish kingdom should enjoy. Namely, Palafox cites the indigenous peoples' piousness, and observance of the Christian faith; their loyalty to the Crown; and what we might call pragmatic reasons. This curious blindness to cultural difference while championing equality is, for better or for worse, a sign of the modernity of his social and political project. As we have just seen, Palafox considered the native peoples to be very resourceful and able in intellectual activities, as well as in the mechanical arts. But the bishop also insisted on praising and stressing their hard-working and obedient nature. This is important for two reasons; first, because some of the misrepresentations that had formed surrounding the figure of the native, and which were quite widely disseminated in the mid-seventeenth century, included that they were pusillanimous, weak, and even cowardly peoples.[489] Palafox consistently counters these commonplaces, defending the natives' valor, predisposition for hard work, and industriousness, but—and here we have the second reason this point is important—he does so in order to edify the figure of the native vassal as a commodity of sorts, that of the obedient, loyal, able, and hard working subject of evident value for the kingdom's economic and social well-being. As Palafox himself explained it,

> Así como los indios son los vasallos que menos han costado á la Corona, no son los que menos la han enriquecido y aumentado. Porque no puede dudarse que muchos de los demás reinos de Vuestra Majestad […] no igualan ni llegan á la menor parte de los tesoros que en tan breve tiempo ha fructificado la Nueva España.[490]
>
> Y así las Indias, sus provincias y reinos, sobre merecer a merced que Vuestra Majestad les hace por no haber costado mucho a la Corona, la merecen por haberla enriquecido con tan copiosos tesoros.[491]

[489] Cañeque, *The King's Living Image*, 80.
[490] Palafox y Mendoza, *Virtudes del indio*, 32.
[491] Ibid., 33.

> Á ellos [the indigenous peoples] los llevan al desagüe, calzadas, minas y otras obras públicas, y los reparten, y como unos corderos dejan sus casas y sus mujeres é hijos y van a servir á donde les mandan, y tal vez mueren allí ó en el camino, y no se les oye una queja ni un suspiro.[492]

Earlier, in Chapter 8, I expressed the idea that bishop Palafox's concept of the ideal Christian society was emminently—and unsurprisingly for that era—hierarchical in nature. This assertion can be made from a reading of his socio-political treatise entitled *Manual de estados y profesiones* (c. 1649) where he classifies all socio-political classes and their role in an ideal Christian society. Palafox believed that if all common citizens or *súbditos*, as he referred to them, followed certain duties, but above all, if they obeyed the law (Palafox here was referring to civil law, given the social nature of his treatise, but we must take for granted that Palafox assumed all members of society had to be faithfully observant of the Catholic faith as well), they would be rewarded with an efficient society. As Palafox wrote, "en la sujeción, y cumplimiento de las Leyes, se hallan todas las virtudes de los oficios, y estados." It becomes evident that he believed obedience to the law was the basis for a common societal good.[493] In the general scheme of his socio-religious project, the role assigned to the bulk of the common citizens was to obey those the bishop deemed their "superiors", i.e., the ruling elite, as well as ecclesiastical and civil servants. Next came fidelity to the king, which was another requirement expected from those we would now term the working classes.[494]

Evidently, all of these qualities are resonant with Palafox's discourse regarding the indigenous peoples. In "Virtudes del indio", Palafox dedicated a whole chapter to discuss the obedient and quiet disposition of the indigenous peoples. The chapter opens thus: "[A]unque en todas las virtudes son admrables los indios, en ninguna más

[492] Ibid., 53.
[493] Palafox y Mendoza, "Manual de estados y profesiones," 342.
[494] Ibid., 343.

que en la obediencia, porque como ésta es hija de la humildad, y ellos son tan humildes y mansos de corazón, son obedientísimos á sus superiores."[495] I believe that in Palafox's articulation of his ideal Christian republic, he considered the indigenous communities of his diocese as the ideal subjects; obedient, faithful, loyal, and hardworking.

Bishop Palafox procured the administration of various indigenous parishes on the periphery of the city, where the bulk of the indigenous population began settling shortly after Puebla's foundation, in a series of barrios (see Chapter 6 for a summary of the city's urban and demographic state in the seventeenth century, and see Figure 26). The situation regarding the administration of pastoral activities was somewhat similar to that of the *repúblicas de indios*; in other words, in the city of Puebla, as in the indigenous towns, the peripheral parishes were administered by the mendicant clergy. Fernández de Echeverría y Veytia affirmed that "la administración parroquial en todos los dichos barrios [the indigenous ones] corrió desde la fundación de esta Ciudad con título de doctrinas a cargo de los religiosos de San Francisco, Santo Domingo, San Agustín, el Carmen y la Compañía de Jesús."[496] As part of his general scheme regarding the procurement of the administrative and doctrinal rights over indigenous parishes, Palafox also seized various urban churches from the regular clergy. The parish church of the Santiago de Cholultecapan *barrio*, to the west of the main square, fell within the administrative area assigned to the Dominican friars, and was seized from them by Palafox in 1640 (see Figure 26).[497] At the other side of the city, and across the San Francisco River, the Indian barrios of Analco and El Alto had been administered by the Franciscan priests since the early origins of the city, as their conventual complex was in the vicinity. Bishop Palafox procured the doctrinal and pastoral administration of the churches of Analco, San Juan del Río, and El Alto or

[495] Palafox y Mendoza, *Virtudes del indio*, 52.
[496] Mariano Fernández de Echeverría y Veytia, *Historia de la fundación de la Ciudad de la Puebla de los Ángeles en la Nueva España, su descripción y presente estado*, ed. Efraín Castro Morales, vol. II (Puebla, Mexico: Ediciones Altiplano, 1962), 238.
[497] Hugo Leicht, *Las calles de Puebla*, Tenth Edition (Secretaría de Cultura, Gobierno del Estado de Puebla, 2009), 435.

Santa Cruz for his diocese, incorporating these too in 1640 (see Figure 26).[498]

In light of Palafox's actions regarding the administrative control of indigenous parishes, I believe that he understood the way to integrate the indigenous communities to his diocese was through the ministering of pastoral activities. By deploying a small army of well-prepared clergymen to the peripheral barrios of the city, as well as to the *repúblicas de indios* within his diocese, Palafox aimed to propagate the doctrines necessary to allow native communities to integrate into the societal apparatus, as he expected them to do. It can be assumed that procuring the Indian barrios in the city's periphery, as well as the *repúblicas de indios* in the surrounding diocesan parishes, proved a task essential to the successful articulation of his ideal Christian republic. In the following pages, I will provide an analysis of the foundation of one such parish church in an indigenous fiefdom close to the city of Puebla; this church embodies Palafox's doctrine of ethnic integration into his social-religious project.

The San Miguel del Milagro Shrine

On April, 25, 1631, almost a decade prior to Palafox's arrival to New Spain, a young indigenous man named Diego Lázaro de San Francisco (1613-?) was purportedly the witness of an apparition of the archangel Saint Michael. The wondrous event occurred in the outskirts of a town named Santa María Nativitas, some 32 km to the northeast of the city of Puebla, and in the heart of the Puebla-Tlaxcala diocese. The event was first recorded by a cleric named Pedro Salmerón, who was sent by the diocese authorities to investigate the occurrence.[499] However, the most important

[498] Fernández de Echeverría y Veytia, *Historia de la fundación de la Ciudad de la Puebla de los Ángeles en la Nueva España, su descripción y presente estado*, 1962, II:251.
[499] José Rojas Garcidueñas, "San Miguel del Milagro," *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* I, no. 4 (1939): 55; María Rodríguez-Shadow and Robert Shadow D., "La religiosidad popular en el Santuario de San Miguel del Milagro," *Dimensión Antropológica* 14 (December 1998), http://www.dimensionantropologica.inah.gob.mx/?p=1295.

chronicle of the details surrounding these events was the one written by a Jesuit priest named Francisco de Florencia (1619-1695), and originally published in Seville in 1692.[500] Father Florencia recounted in his chronicle that the archangel Saint Michael appeared before Diego Lázaro, who was—curiously enough—accompanied by other people who did not hear or see the exchange between Lázaro and the celestial envoy.[501] The archangel ordered the young man to communicate to the inhabitants of Santa María Nativitas, and its surroundings, that in a ravine nearby there was a fountain of miraculous water which healed anybody who drank it.[502] Diego Lázaro paid no heed to the apparition and told no one of the strange occurrence; however, he later became ill with the disease known as *cocoliztli*, a viral hemorrhagic fever that afflicted mostly people of native origin throughout the Viceroyal period.[503] Diego Lázaro was on the verge of death when, according to Florencia's account, witnesses saw a bright light in the inside of Lázaro's hut, and thought that the humble abode had caught fire. Some time later, however, a completely recovered Lázaro told that he had received a second visit from the archangel, who had taken him to the ravine. Once there, the archangel touched the ground with a staff of gold, and told Lázaro that that would be the site of the spring of miraculous water he had told him about. The archangel instructed him again to let his community know of the spring, and that the *cocoliztli* had come as punishment for failing to obey the celestial envoy the first time around.[504]

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[500] Rojas Garcidueñas, "San Miguel del Milagro," 55.

[501] Francisco de Florencia, *Narración de la maravillosa aparición que hizo el Arcángel San Miguel a Diego Lázaro de San Francisco, Indio feligrés del Pueblo de S. Bernabé, de la Jurisdicción de Sta. María Natívitas. Fundación del Santuario que llaman S. Miguel del Milagro, de la Fuente Milagrosa* (Puebla, Mexico: Colegio Pio de Artes y Oficios, 1898), 15.

[502] Ibid., 15–16.

[503] Rodolfo Acuna-Soto et al., "Megadrought and Megadeath in 16th Century Mexico," *Emerging Infectious Diseases* 8, no. 4 (April 2002): 360.

[504] Florencia, *Narración de la maravillosa aparición que hizo el Arcángel San Miguel a Diego Lázaro de San Francisco, Indio feligrés del Pueblo de S. Bernabé, de la Jurisdicción de Sta. María Natívitas. Fundación del Santuario que llaman S. Miguel del Milagro, de la Fuente Milagrosa*, 17–19.

Figure 38. This image shows the small shrine that contains the water spring. Note the alabaster relief showing archangel Saint Michael marking the site of the spring with his staff, and Diego Lázaro witnessing the act. The exterior decoration is based on traditional Talavera, or glazed ceramic tiles, a delicate series of pilasters at the corners, a cornice, and a lantern made in local Santo Tomás stone.

Shortly after the apparition, as soon as the news of the events spread, the locals began visiting the spring, crediting its water with miraculous properties. They dug a small cove out of the ravine's slope, placed images of saints, and offered flowers and burning incense to the spring.[505] Soon the diocese, headed by bishop Bernardo de Quirós (tenure: 1627-1638), sent a representative to investigate the situation. The envoy was named Alonso de Herrera, a canonical doctor according to Florencia's chronicle; he received orders from bishop Quirós to destroy the improvised shrine, seal the spring, and order excommunication to anybody that defied his decision, as

[505] Rojas Garcidueñas, "San Miguel del Milagro," 56; Florencia, *Narración de la maravillosa aparición que hizo el Arcángel San Miguel a Diego Lázaro de San Francisco, Indio feligrés del Pueblo de S. Bernabé, de la Jurisdicción de Sta. María Natívitas. Fundación del Santuario que llaman S. Miguel del Milagro, de la Fuente Milagrosa*, 30–32.

long as he found any canonical reason to do so.[506] Apparently, Herrera not only did not dismantle the shrine, but he actually testified to the miraculous properties of the water, to the veracity and sanctity of Saint Michael's apparitions, and testified that the people's devotion was so sincere and powerful that it could only stem from God; additionally, Herrera was so moved by the site, by the faithful, and by the whole context of events that he was recorded as having said: *terribilis est locus iste. Locus, in cuo, stas, terra sancta est.*[507] From an architectural perspective, the diocese failed to adapt the site or improve it to accomodate the rapidly growing number of visitors it was receiving. Florencia reports that at first a small and modest shrine was built to replace the dugout cove or small cave. It had a thatched roof, and was designed to shelter the spring itself. When a mass was celebrated at the site, the faithful had to stand around the shrine, in very sloped terrain, and the pilgrims that arrived at the place had to improvise their lodgings, many sleeping in man-made caves in the vicinity.[508] Bishop Quirós died in 1638, and his successor Juan de Palafox y Mendoza first visited the site in 1643. Starting then, Palafox went to great lengths to modify the site and build a dignified architectural complex, designed to host a large retinue of pilgrims and honor the location of Saint Michael's apparition.

[506] Florencia, *Narración de la maravillosa aparición que hizo el Arcángel San Miguel a Diego Lázaro de San Francisco, Indio feligrés del Pueblo de S. Bernabé, de la Jurisdicción de Sta. María Natívitas. Fundación del Santuario que llaman S. Miguel del Milagro, de la Fuente Milagrosa*, 32.
[507] Ibid., 33.
[508] Ibid., 35–36.

Figure 39. This image shows the San Miguel del Milagro shrine complex. Although the site has undergone a great deal of material and architectural transformation, one can still see the sloped terrain, and appreciate the degree of engineering work that went into leveling the large plateau where the shrine sits to this day.

It is clear ar first glance that a great degree of religious hybridity occurred at this site. Anthropologists Maria Rodríguez-Shadow and Robert Shadow claim this is a site where "popular religiosity"—a term they employ to represent a mixture of pre-Columbian religious expressions and popular Spanish Catholicism—is clearly manifested.[509] It is important to note that the site of the apparitions was, previous to the arrival of the Spaniards, already a sacred site for the local inhabitants. Father Florencia noted that, prior to the archangel's apparitions, the ravine was "a place of demonic adoration".[510] Contemporary archeological evidence suggests that the indigenous peoples of the area rendered adoration to the pre-Columbian deity Camaxtle, a warrior-hunter god, who was readily replaced by the warrior-archangel in the seventeenth century.[511]

[509] Ibid., 66–67.
[510] Ibid.
[511] Paula Carrizosa, "Presentaron libro de Eduardo Merlo sobre el culto a San Miguel del

An important characteristic of popular religiosity expressed by the indigenous peoples during the Viceroyal period was, apparently, its pragmatic dimension.[512] That is to say that the faithful carried out certain ritual practices in order to gain what we may consider practical benefits, such as health, work, and material or spiritual welfare; they were aimed at satisfying quotidian needs, as opposed to expressing philosophical beliefs regarding the afterlife.[513] Among the rituals required to gain a deity's favor, scholars Rodríguez-Shadow and Shadow mention the importance of pilgrimages, the organization of exuberant festivities, and the structuring of a system of charges or positions: a rotating system in which members of the community were assigned roles to carry out certain responsibilities, such as organizing an aspect of the festivities, maintaining the church architecturally and decoratively fit, managing collective monetary resources, etc.[514] This system is quite widespread and active to this day in indigenous communities throughout Mexico, and is commonly referred to as *mayordomías*. This is a most important point, given that San Miguel del Milagro, as a religious sanctuary, provided every potential for the continuity of ritual needs for the native inhabitants; with the added benefit of the ecclesiastical authorities' open and enthusiastic endorsement.

Returning to the architecture of the sanctuary, the site's dramatic transformation has to be credited to bishop Palafox. Father Florencia chronicled the visits he made to the site, and the fancy he seemed to have taken to it as well as to the context of events. Rojas Garcidueñas explained that the terrain was transformed "extraordinarily" on Palafox's instructions: a large platform was constructed on the side of the hill where the spring was found, and a large quantity of earth was levelled to achieve this. A visit to the site still reveals the scope of the works; a series of masonry containment walls were built in order to retain the inclined natural

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Milagro," *La Jornade de Oriente*, March 12, 2010, http://www.lajornadadeoriente.com.mx/2010/03/12/puebla/cul616.php.

[512] Rodríguez-Shadow and Shadow, "La religiosidad popular en el Santuario de San Miguel del Milagro."

[513] Ibid.

[514] Ibid.

topography, while below a large plateau forms the site of the sanctuary complex. In general terms, Palafox was determined to build a proper church building, and decided to keep the spring outside the temple, as opposed to the early shrine that existed before, with the spring in its interior. Instead, Palafox built a shrine to shelter the spring, a gracious and small structure that still displays an alabaster relief showing Saint Michael appearing before Lázaro, planting his staff firmly on the ground, and marking the eruption of a stream of water. The shrine is decorated on its exterior walls with ceramic, glazed tiles, otherwise known as Talavera. On one side it has the aforementioned relief, Palafox's diocesan shield; and on another is his family's coat of arms, just as they are displayed on the Colegio de San Pedro's building façade (see Figure 24).

Bishop Palafox's zeal for the San Miguel del Milagro site was remarkable. Although at the time the journey from the city of Puebla to the shrine was rugged, he visited the site many times, consecrating the church building himself shortly before he left for Spain in 1649. My wager is that this shrine was indicative of his attitude toward the indigenous members of his diocese. That is, architectural works like these provided indigenous communities with dignified temples of adoration in order to promote their inherent piety. Furthermore, in accommodating spiritual needs such sites propitiated the societal roles expected from the native population; namely, a propensity and willingness to engage in labor, obedience, loyalty, and piousness, just as Palafox's extensive writings advocate. When I discussed the building of Puebla's cathedral, I elaborated an argument that suggested that the erection of the Cathedral had as its goal the sealing of a sacred bond between all strata of *poblano* society, from the Spanish and *criollo* aristocracy to the indigenous communities of the city. In the same light, the establishment of the sanctuary at San Miguel del Milagro—and for that matter, all parish churches reclaimed, built or reinvigorated by Palafox and his diocese administration—aimed to seal a pact between the indigenous communities and the diocese that would, in parallel with their faith, propitiate the values expected of them as a community.

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The articulation of the ideal Christian republic was Bishop Juan de Palafox's ambitious project of reform of the city of Puebla and its outlying sphere of influence—the diocese's geographical boundaries. By revealing Palafox's socio-religious philosophy as articulated in his writings, connecting it to his architectural endeavors, and offering interpretations of his major projects, I have attempted to show that every architectural effort in which the bishop was involved resonated deeply with a specific aspect of his thinking. The final pages in this chapter will be dedicated to elucidating the bishop's overall intentions at an urban scale.

Juan de Palafox's urban influence might be construed as a subtle one, meaning that his urban intervention was not embodied by a great volume of construction, nor did he alter Puebla's urban layout physically to any great extent. Rather, his intervention operated at a symbolic level. It is my belief that for Bishop Palafox, the city of Puebla de los Ángeles operated as an analogy of an idealized Christian order, one that effectively set a rule and compass for a society with earthly needs, but still looked to the heavens for inspiration.

Figure 40. This diagram-plan positions bishop Palafox's major architectural interventions in Puebla's urban fabric.

Hierarchical order is inherent in Christian thought, and was established in the writings of all major Christian theologians from Pseudo-Dionysus the Aeropagite, Saint Augustine of Hippo, Saint Thomas Aquinas, to the bull *Unam sanctam* (1302) by Pope Boniface VIII, which decreed the pope's absolute power over the Church. It is important to note that in Christian theology, all emanates from God, "every procession of illuminating light proceeding from the Father, whilst visiting us as a gift of goodness restores us again as an unifying power to a higher spiritual condition."[515] Pseudo-Dionysus established that hierarchy is not only sacred, but exists in order to attain divine imitation. In this sense, the Church itself strives for perfection, seeking it in an established order, which in turn is inspired by the celestial one.[516]

It is evident that central elements of Palafox's philosophy resonate with a range of sacred philosophical traditions at the heart of Christian thinking, including the analogy of the earthly and the heavenly cities. However, the most explicit source of theological-doctrinal thinking in Juan de Palafox's universe can be found in post-Tridentine Catholicism—as I have discussed extensively in this chapter and the previous one. Ultimately, as an ecclesiastical hierarch and as bishop, Palafox realized that the diocesan clergy were effective agents for the moral and political compass of the city of Puebla and its outlying territories. However, and more importantly for my purposes, architecture was evidently the apparatus through which Palafox was able to promote his moral and political agenda. The diagram I labeled as Figure 26 can serve to illustrate this final point. At the heart of the city of Puebla stands the cathedral, Palafox's major ecclesiastical, political, and architectural project; it marks the symbolic center sealing the pact between God, the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and the diverse ethnic groups that made up the city's population. Next to the cathedral still stands the Tridentine Seminary Complex, representing the perpetuation of diocesan power through the education of their clerical ranks. The San Pedro Hospital embodies Palafox's exercise of charitable ministry, or *caritas*, a central tenet of Christian

[515] Pseudo-Dionysius the Aeropagite, *The Celestial and Ecclesiastical Hierarchy of Dionysius the Areopagite*, trans. Parker, John (Skeffington, 1894), 15.
[516] Ibid., 50–51.

philosophy and a major political project for the diocese at the time. The Colegio de Niñas Vírgenes or College of Destitute Young Girls conveys Palafox's interest in societal structure through the familial institution. Finally, and perhaps even more importantly, the indigenous parishes Palafox seized from the clutches of the mendicant orders stand for his efforts to indoctrinate the largest ethnic group in the city; I have shown that this group was central to the economic and social well-being of the city, and indeed the whole of New Spain.

Bishop Juan de Palafox's creation of the ideal Christian republic was a compelling attempt at providing the city with an articulated meaning that was effective in two dimensions: the socio-political and the religious. During his tenure of barely nine years, Palafox managed to transform the city's understanding of itself, departing radically from the symbolism which had been ascribed to it a hundred years previously. The city's symbolic dimension during the sixteenth century, as I showed in the first part of this dissertation (chapters 1 through 5), was so powerful that it provided a model for the city's urban and spiritual substance for a century. I have argued that this symbolic dimension was renewed and revitalized thanks to Palafox's actions, a praxis both modern (inclusive) and profoundly Catholic (hierarchical and controlling), even if his tenure was insufficiently long to provide a conclusive resolution to his intentions for Puebla. It is my opinion that his project was, in reality, fulfilled years after his death, when the city found itself under the tutorship of bishop Manuel Fernández de Santa Cruz (tenure: 1677-1699). This notable bishop's tenure is considered a veritable golden age; it was witness to Puebla's transformation into a palatial city adorned with an array of ecclesiastical and civic institutions embodying a corpus of architectural splendor. Fernández de Santa Cruz managed to complete the Cathedral's missing elements, namely its towers and façades; he sponsored the construction of the chapel popularly known as Ochavo (due to its octagonal plan), a receptacle of the Cathedral's most treasured paintings and sculptures; under his auspices, famed artist Cristóbal de Villalapando (1649-1714) painted the dome of the nave, an impossible theater of heavenly Baroque fancy portraying the ascension of the

Virgin Mary to the heavens.[517] When Octavio Paz wrote his iconic work on author-nun Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, who happened to be an intimate friend of Bishop Fernández de Santa Cruz, Paz described the bishop as having two passions in life: theology and nuns.[518] Perhaps for this reason, he was the patron of several feminine convents, among them Santa Rosa and Santa Mónica convents.[519] Curiously enough, the bishop was also a grand sponsor of the San Miguel del Milagro shrine; he provided the complex with a hostel for its pilgrims, and he enriched the church's interior decoration. In another parallel with Palafox's work, Fenández de Santa Cruz promoted an active agenda of creating or strengthening institutions of public welfare. He built an orphanage for illegitimate children, the Casa de Niños Expósitos de San Cristóbal, and he invested heavily in improving the infrastructure of San Pedro Hospital.[520] With the work of Bishop Fernández de Santa Cruz at the threshold of the eighteenth century, Puebla de los Ángeles—the city that had grounded its essence on a symbolic articulation between the heavenly and the earthly—finally came to see its purpose realized, and the result was magnificent.

[517] Montserrat Galí Boadella, "El patrocinio episcopal en la ciudad de Puebla; el caso del obispo Manuel Fernández de Santa Cruz (1677-1699)" (Actas III Congreso Internacional del Barroco americano: Territorio, arte espacio y sociedad, Seville: Universidad Pablo de Olavide, 2001), 73, https://www.upo.es/depa/webdhuma/areas/arte/actas/3cibi/documentos/006f.pdf.
[518] Paz, *Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz o las trampas de la fe*, 522.
[519] Galí Boadella, "El patrocinio episcopal en la ciudad de Puebla; el caso del obispo Manuel Fernández de Santa Cruz (1677-1699)," 74.
[520] Escamilla González, "La caridad episcopal: El Hospital de San Pedro de Puebla en el siglo XVII."

10. CONCLUSION

The creation of a city entails the creation of a world. This aphorism captures, in its modesty, the magnitude and complexity that city planning involves. In writing this dissertation, therefore, my desire was to investigate the foundation of a city that was intended to create a new world, which is to say a different reality or new order for the recently established regime of New Spain. Puebla de los Ángeles was most notably created to attract people of an otherwise coarse background—such as veteran soldiers of the war of Conquest, and Spanish colonizers arrived to Mexico—to settle in a newfounded community, carry out agricultural and farming practices, all the while the civic authorities tried to dissuade them from exploiting the local indigenous population; a situation that was provoking a certain degree of social unrest in the colony. This made the city an urban experiment, but it was also an idealized urban experiment, one that relied on a carefully crafted mythology that was expressed in various symbols associated to the city, some of which transcended the symbolic and became part of the urban fabric. The investigation of what constituted the essence of this ideal condition, how symbols and patterns expressed this image of uniqueness and were embedded into the urban and material form, as well as the analysis of the city's material urban evolution throughout two centuries, from the creation of the city in 1531, and until 1649—the year bishop Palafox y Mendoza left Mexico to return to his native Spain—are the elements that make up the backbone of my research project.

It should be noted that creating a city in the sixteenth century, ex nihilo, would have been an immensely difficult operation to carry out in the Iberian Peninsula, or anywhere else in Europe for that matter. When Puebla de los Ángeles was created, a series of ideas weighed heavily in the process of drafting its urban personality. These ideas had been conjured in the European mindset, but had been to a large degree only intellectual intentions and ideas that readily found their opportunity for concretization in the American Continent. The origin of these ideas is fascinatingly diverse: some were taken from architectural treatises, such as those by Marco

Vitruvius Pollio, or Leon Battista Alberti's, with ultimate foundation in Ancient Greek philosophy[521]; the city was also, to a large degree, conceived thanks to a long established pragmatic Spanish land surveying and urban tradition; and finally, other ideas that helped shape the symbolic condition of the city were directly taken from Christian theology. In turn, some of the concepts that articulated the city's urban form took the shape of symbols, as many things did in the pre-Modern Western tradition, so identifying these urban traits as symbols was a key strategy that informed my investigation. In this way, investigating the motivation for employing the gridded layout as urban form for the city, a form that is functional in the modern sense of the word, is revealed in my dissertation as an important symbol that contributed crucially to the meaning of the urban fabric for its inhabitants, and is not merely a pragmatic material characteristic. I was also interested in unpacking other symbols that lay at the heart of the city's mythology: its persistent association to the most urban archetype in the Judeo-Christian tradition, the Heavenly Jerusalem; and the city's persistent relationship to the heavenly armies of angels. None of these, barring the gridded layout, are topics that would be usually included in a modern discussion of urban form.

To a certain extent, the motivation for writing this dissertation stemmed from Joseph Rykwert's now classic work, "The Idea of a Town" (1959), a book that investigated the topic of the urban 'images' of ancient Mediterranean cities created by the Etruscans, Greeks, and Romans, in which the underlying concept was a discussion of how cities embodied an image that was clear and loud enough so that it was effortlessly transmitted to, and recognized by their citizens. As Rykwert wrote, "to consider the town or a city a symbolic pattern nowadays, as the ancients did, seems utterly alien and pointless." [522] Rykwert's intention, beyond the exploration of ancient city creation rituals and traditions, was also a criticism of

[521] For ultimately, the three concepts of the city in Plato (Republic, Laws and Timaeus), is at the origin of Renaissance "ideal" cities, and the classical concepts of the *polis* are the basis for the Christian "ecclesia".

[522] Rykwert, *The Idea of a Town: The Anthropology of Urban Form in Rome, Italy and the Ancient World*, for a discussion on the motivation for writing this work, see the Preface.

Modern urban development, motivated as it was—and continues to be—by capitalist speculation, and how authorities in charge of urban management and planning are often lacking significant arguments or strategies in favor of civic and meaningful space-making. To a certain extent, my desire to carry out this dissertation stemmed from acknowledging the success of Puebla's symbolic form, judging by the fact that traces of it survive up to this day. The desire to understand how symbolic forms could adapt themselves in order to fit a city's needs and desires, was very much part of my intellectual curiosity. Recognizing that Puebla's symbolic urban form successfully resonates up to our day is a reason that points towards the persistence of its mythology, and about the importance of unpacking its elements and investigating them further.

This dissertation was necessarily selective and does not exhaust the early modern history of Puebla, which is still, to a large extent, overly under researched. Most significantly, as mention in my last chapter, I consider that the golden era for Puebla in the early modern era, is perhaps the bishopric of Manuel Fernández de Santa Cruz (1637-1699), a notable theologian and bishop, who managed to deploy architectural and artistic patronage campaigns as ambitious or surpassing those of bishop Palafox. Manuel Fernandez de Santa Cruz consolidated Puebla's self-understanding as a city associated to an angelic and heavenly lineage, as I set out in part one of my work. A comprehensive investigation into his tenure would be an important addition to the topics set out in this dissertation.

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