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A CATALOGUE AND ANALYSIS OF THE CHURCHES OF CHOLULA, MEXICO

UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO ALBUQUERQUE

By

Margaret Henderson Floyd

A Thesis

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts in Art History

The University of New Mexico

1956

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This thesis, directed and approved by the candidate's committee, has been accepted by the Graduate Committee of the University of New Mexico in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

E. H. Castetter
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	THE PROBLEM AND DEFINITIONS OF TERMS USED	1
	I. The Problem	1
	II. Definitions of Terms Used	2
	III. Organization of the Paper	11
II.	HISTORICAL BACKGROUND	13
	I. Brief History of Cholula	13
	II. Evolution of Taste in Cholula and Mexico	27
III.	LITERATURE, PROCEDURE AND METHOD	39
	I. Literature	39
	II. Method	43
IV.	FACADES	46
	I. Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Facades	47
	A. Sixteenth Century Churches	48
	B. Seventeenth Century Herreran Portals	49
	C. Herreran and Baroque Hybrids	51
	1. Derivitives of San Andrés	56
	D. Smaller Seventeenth Century Facades	59
	1. Single Portals with Pilasters	60
	2. Mannerist Unpilastered Doorways	64
	II. Eighteenth Century Facades	67
	A. Three Bay Portals	67
	1. Undercut Tower Bases	67

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER

I. THE PROBLEM AND DEFINITIONS OF TERMS USED

I. The Problem

II. Definitions of Terms Used

III. Organization of the Paper

II. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

I. Brief History of Oviedo

II. Evolution of Taste in Oviedo and Mexico

III. LITERATURE, PROCEDURE AND METHOD

I. Literature

II. Method

IV. FACADES

I. Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Facades

A. Sixteenth Century Churches

B. Seventeenth Century Herreran Portals

C. Herreran and Baroque Hybrids

1. Derivatives of San Andres

D. Smaller Seventeenth Century Facades

1. Single Portals with Pilasters

2. Masonry Unpilastered Doorways

II. Eighteenth Century Facades

A. Three Bay Portals

1. Undercut Tower Bases

CHAPTER		PAGE
	2. Doubled Pilasters	69
	B. Single Bay Portals	70
	1. Flat or Polygonal Cornices	71
	2. Niched Cornices	73
	a. Baroque Niches	74
	b. Late Eighteenth Century Niches	76
	3. Mixtelinear Cornices	78
	a. Central Lobed Facades	79
	b. Trilobed Mixtelinear Cornices	80
	c. Trilobed Mixtelinear Cornices with Espadanas	84
	4. Central Elliptical Cornices	88
	a. Unbroken, Restrained Type	88
	b. Polychrome Type	90
	5. Classical Reaction Facades	91
	a. Restrained Classical Reaction Facades	93
	b. Paired Columns Classical Reaction Facades	95
	c. Hybrid Classical Reaction Facades	97
V.	TOWERS	99
	A. Single Staged Towers	100
	1. Unornamented	101
	2. Estipite Single Staged Towers	101
	3. Baroque Single Staged Towers	102
	4. Classical Reaction Towers	104
	B. Conical Silhouette Towers	105

CHAPTER

CHAPTER		PAGE
	C. Double Staged Towers	112
	1. Square Two Staged Towers	112
	2. Narrow Upper Stage Towers	113
	3. Octagon on Square Towers	115
	D. One and One Half Staged Towers	118
	1. Octagonal Second Stage Towers	118
	a. Two Staged Towers	118
	b. Three Staged Towers	120
	2. Swelling Archivolt Classical Reaction Towers	123
	a. Clipped Corners	123
	b. Freestanding Corner Columns	124
	c. Hybrid Classical Reaction Towers	126
VI.	DOMES	133
	I. Four Windowed Domes	134
	A. Distorted Ribbed Domes	134
	1. Pointed Domes	134
	2. Flattened Domes	135
	3. Windowless Domes	137
	B. Half Round Domes	138
	II. Eight Windowed Domes	141
	A. Drumless Domes	141
	1. Eight Panelled Tiled Domes	141
	2. Hemispherical Ribbed Domes	142
	B. High Drummed Half Round Domes	143
	1. Continuous Drum Cornice	144

CHAPTER PAGE

C. Double Staged Towers 112
1. Square Two Staged Towers 112
2. Narrow Upper Stage Towers 113
3. Octagon on Square Towers 115
D. One and One Half Staged Towers 118
1. Octagonal Second Stage Towers 118
a. Two Staged Towers 118
b. Three Staged Towers 120
2. Swelling Arch-Ivolt Classical Reaction Towers 123
a. Clipped Corners 123
b. Freestanding Corner Columns 124
c. Hybrid Classical Reaction Towers 126
VI. DOMES 129
I. Four Windowed Domes 134
A. Distorted Ribbed Domes 134
1. Pointed Domes 134
2. Flattened Domes 135
3. Windowless Domes 137
B. Half Round Domes 138
II. Eight Windowed Domes 141
A. Drumless Domes 141
1. Eight Panelled Tiled Domes 142
2. Hemispherical Ribbed Domes 142
B. High Drummed Half Round Domes 143
1. Continuous Drum Domes 144

CHAPTER		PAGE
	2. Interrupted Drum Cornice	147
VII.	INTERIORS	148
	I. Lighting	148
	II. Altars	151
	A. Retables Pre-1800	151
	B. Classical Reaction Retables	155
	1. Regular Retable Compositions	162
	2. Baldachino Altars	172
	a. Santa Maria Tonantzintla Designs	173
	b. Rosary Chapel Designs	176
	c. Tolsa Influenced Designs	178
	d. Miscellaneous Baldachino Retables	179
	III. Dome, Vault and Nave Decoration	181
	A. Dome Decoration	184
	B. Vault Decoration	193
	C. Cornices and Entablatures	196
	D. Pendentive Decoration	199
VIII.	GROUND PLANS	201
	A, Sixteenth Century Buildings	202
	1. Fortress Churches	202
	B. Three Aisled Churches	204
	1. Regular Three Aisled Churches	205
	2. Hybrid Three Aisle Plans	207
	C. Latin Cross Plans	208

CHAPTER . PAGE

2. Interrupted Drum Cornices 147

VII. INTERIORS 149

I. Lighting 149

II. Altars 151

A. Retables Pre-1800 161

B. Classical Reaction Retables 165

1. Regular Retable Compositions 169

2. Baldacchino Altars 172

a. Santa Maria Tonantzintla Designs 173

b. Rosary Chapel Designs 176

c. Tolsa Influenced Designs 178

d. Miscellaneous Baldacchino Retables 179

III. Dome, Vault and Nave Decoration 181

A. Dome Decoration 181

B. Vault Decoration 193

C. Cornices and Entablatures 195

D. Pendentive Decoration 197

VIII. GROUND PLANS 201

A. Sixteenth Century Buildings 202

1. Fortress Churches 202

B. Three Aisled Churches 204

1. Regular Three Aisled Churches 205

2. Hybrid Three Aisle Plans 207

C. Latin Cross Plans 209

CHAPTER		PAGE
	D. Transceptless Churches	211
	E. Side Chapels	213
	F. Dome Placement	215
	1. Two Contiguous Domes	217
	2. Two Domes Separated by One Bay	219
	3. Churches with Three of More Domes	220
	4. Single Domes and Domeless Chapels	221
IX.	TOWN PLANNING AND ATRIUM GATEWAYS	222
	A. Town Planning	222
	B. Atrium Gateways	225
	1. Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Gates	225
	2. Mixtelinear Gates	228
	3. Fluid Outline Gates	232
	4. Nineteenth Century Gates	233
X.	CONCLUSION	235
BIBLIOGRAPHY		238
APPENDIX-PLATES		242
	1. Cholula Churches	1
	2. Background Photographs, Maps, Plans	X

CHAPTER

D. Transeptless Churches

E. Side Chapels

F. Dome Placement

1. Two Contiguous Domes

2. Two Domes Separated by One Bay

3. Churches with Three or More Domes

4. Single Domes and Domeless Chapels

IX. TOWN PLANNING AND ATRIUM GATEWAYS

A. Town Planning

B. Atrium Gateways

1. Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Gates

2. Mixtelinear Gates

3. Fluid Outline Gates

4. Nineteenth Century Gates

X. CONCLUSION

BIBLIOGRAPHY

APPENDIX-PLATES

1. Cholula Churches

2. Background Photographs, Maps, Plans

PLATE INDEX

Sant'Orun	1
La Trinidad Cuatengo	2
Santa Barbara	3
San Juan Cuautlancingo	4
San Mateo Cuanala	5
San Gabriel Ometoxtla	6
San Sebastian Tepalcatepec	7
San Cosme	8
San Juan Tlautla	9
San Diego Tlautla	10
San Matias	11
Carmen	12
Nino Perdido	13
Jesus Nazareno	14
Cuamilco Jesus	15
Santiago Momoxpa	16
Santiago Parroquia	17
San Miguel on the Hill	18
Guadalupe	19
Nuestra Senora de Santo Entierro	20
San Juan Calvario	21
Jerusalen	22
San Pedro Parroquia	23

San Orum 1

La Trinidad Cuatchigo 2

Santa Barbara 3

San Juan Cuautlapelogo 4

San Mateo Cuanala 5

San Gabriel Cuatexcitla 6

San Sebastian Tepalcatepec 7

San Cosme 8

San Juan Tlautla 9

San Diego Tlautla 10

San Matias 11

Carmen 12

Nino Perdido 13

Jesus Nazareno 14

Guadalupe Jesus 15

Santiago Momoxpa 16

Santiago Parroquia 17

San Miguel on the Hill 18

Guadalupe 19

Nuestra Senora de San Juan Bautista 20

San Juan Calvario 21

Jerusalem 22

San Pedro Parroquia 23

Capilla Reale 24

Chapel of the Third Order 25

San Francisco 26

San Miguel Tecpan 27

San Juan Acquiahuac 28

Ecce Homo 29

San Pedrito 30

Nuestra Senora de los Remedios 31

Nuestra Senora de Tzocuilac 32

La Magdalena 33

La Santissima Trinidad 34

Santa Maria Xixitla 35

San Pablo Tecama 36

San Andres Apostol 37

San Andres Chapel 37'

Santiago 38

San Andrecito 39

San Juan 40

Santo Nino 41

Mexicalcingo 42

Santa Maria Cuaco 43

San Pedro Colomoxco 44

San Miguel Xochmilucan 45

San Rafael Comac 46

Capilla Real 24
Chapel of the Third Order 25
San Francisco 26
San Miguel Tecpan 27
San Juan Acpatlahuac 28
Ecce Homo 29
San Pedrito 30
Nuestra Senora de los Remedios 31
Nuestra Senora de Tzocuilac 32
La Magdalena 33
La Santisima Trinidad 34
Santa Maria Xixitla 35
San Pablo Tecama 36
San Andres Apostol 37
San Andres Chapel 37'
Santiago 38
San Andresito 39
San Juan 40
Santo Nino 41
Mexicalcingo 42
Santa Maria Cuaco 43
San Pedro Colonxoco 44
San Miguel Xoconxtucan 45
San Rafael Coaco 46

San Bernardino Tlascalcingo 47

San Bernardino Tlascalcingo Chapel 47'

Santa Maria Tequanitla 48

San Diego Gallyotitla 49

Santa Maria Xinachtla 50

Santiago Cuayangle 51

Santiago Xicocingo 52

San Francisco Acatepec 53

Santa Maria Tonantzintla 54

San Miguel Tonantzintla 55

San Dieguito 56

San Jose 57

San Pedro Acatepec 58

San Antonio Acatepec 59

BACKGROUND PHOTOGRAPHS

Map of Cholula X

Map of Cholula in 1580 X-1

Tolsa Cipres, Puebla Cathedral X-2

Main Facade, Yanhuitlan X-3

La Santissima Trinidad, Puebla X-4

Main Facade, Tecali X-5

Side Door, Quecholac X-6

San Marcos, Puebla X-7

San Cristobal, Puebla X-8

San Bernardino Tlaxcalcingo 47

San Bernardino Tlaxcalcingo Chapel 47'

Santa Maria Tequantla 48

San Diego Dalyotitla 49

Santa Maria Xtacantla 50

Santiago Cuayangle 51

Santiago Xicocingo 52

San Francisco Acatepec 53

Santa Maria Tonantzintla 54

San Miguel Tonantzintla 55

San Diegulto 56

San Jose 57

San Pedro Acatepec 58

San Antonio Acatepec 59

BACKGROUND PHOTOGRAPHS

Map of Cholula X

Map of Cholula in 1580 X-1

Tolsa Ciprez, Puebla Cathedral X-2

Main Facade, Yanhuitlan X-3

La Santisima Trinidad, Puebla X-4

Main Facade, Tecali X-5

Side Door, Quecholac X-6

San Marcos, Puebla X-7

San Cristobal, Puebla X-8

San Juan de Dios, Mexico	X-9
Santa Prisca, Tasco	X-10
Main Facade, Ocotlan	X-11
Guadalupe, Puebla	X-12
Balvanera Tower, Mexico	X-13
Santa Catalina Tower, Puebla	X-14
Baldachino, Rosary Chapel, Santo Domingo, Puebla	X-15
Cupola, Church of Analco, Puebla	X-16
Cathedral, Morelia	X-17
Nuestra Senora de la Luz, Puebla	X-18
Retable of the Kings, Puebla Cathedral	X-19
Maldonado Altar, Santo Domingo, Puebla	X-20
Gil Altar, San Francisco, Mexico (Engraving)	X-21
Altar of the Kings, Puebla Cathedral (Engraving)	X-22
Columns from Sixteenth Century Altars	X-23
Aisle Altar, Puebla Cathedral	X-24
Main Altar, Side Chapel Puebla Cathedral	X-25
Crossing Facade, Puebla Cathedral	X-25
Main Facade, Cathedral of Mexico	X-26
Vaults, Santo Domingo, Puebla (Detail)	X-27
Vaults and Cornices, Rosary Chapel, Santo Domingo, Puebla	X-28
Dome, Puebla Cathedral	X-29
Generic and Unusual Ground Plans, Cholula	X-30
Interior, Zacatlan	X-31

San Juan de Dios, Mexico X-9

Santa Prisca, Taxco X-10

Main Facade, Cocotlan X-11

Guadalupe, Puebla X-12

Salvanera Tower, Mexico X-13

Santa Catalina Tower, Puebla X-14

Baldachino, Rosary Chapel, Santo Domingo, Puebla X-15

Cupola, Church of Analco, Puebla X-16

Cathedral, Morelia X-17

Nuestra Senora de la Luz, Puebla X-18

Retable of the Kings, Puebla Cathedral X-19

Maldonado Altar, Santo Domingo, Puebla X-20

Gil Altar, San Francisco, Morelia (Engraving) X-21

Altar of the Kings, Puebla Cathedral (Engraving) X-22

Columns from Sixteenth Century Altars X-23

Altalo Altar, Puebla Cathedral X-24

Main Altar, Side Chapel Puebla Cathedral X-25

Crossing Facade, Puebla Cathedral X-25

Main Facade, Cathedral of Mexico X-26

Vaults, Santo Domingo, Puebla (Detail) X-27

Vaults and Cornices, Rosary Chapel, Santo Domingo, Puebla X-28

Dome, Puebla Cathedral X-29

Generic and Unusual Ground Plans, Cupolas X-30

Interior, Zacatlan X-31

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM AND DEFINITIONS OF TERMS USED

Legend holds that there are three hundred and sixty five churches in the town of Cholula, Mexico. Most scholars would not take this figure literally, but there is today a decided discrepancy between the inordinate number of churches which cluster in the area and the present population of the town, some five to six thousand.[1] Although the Cholula legend is one of the favorites in Mexico, there has, to date, been no thorough catalogue and analysis of its monuments.

It was the purpose of this study to photograph and catalogue the churches of central Cholula; to find what stylistic groups and local motifs are characteristic of the area; to determine, insofar as possible, the chronological distribution of these churches through the three centuries of the colonial period; to discover the geographical distribution of the monuments in the area immediately around the city and to relate this to such data as was obtainable on the population distribution and urban development of the area today and in the past.

In view of the inspired but haphazard methods of treating Art History still current in Latin America, there is a real need

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[1] Penafiel, Antonio, Las Ciudades Coloniales y Capitales de la Republica Mexicana, 5 Vols., Mexico D.F., 1908-14, Vol.5, p.7.

for close and specific studies of local and regional problems. Certainly no definitive history of Mexican Art can be written until preceeded by numbers of specific studies such as this. The need for this type of work is all the more acute in view of the high aesthetic level of the artistic production of a country such as Mexico.

Definitions of Terms Used.

Certain major stylistic terms, associated with the evolution of Mexican architecture in a broad sense, must be defined before a more exhaustive analysis of individual monuments can be pursued with accuracy. These terms are defined below in chronological order.

Gothic. Primarily associated with the great cathedrals of late medieval Europe, this style preceeded the dawn of the Renaissance. The fifteenth century, which saw the Early Renaissance in Italy, was still stylistically Gothic in the majority of the western world, including Spain. Since Mexico was conquered in 1521, it is not surprising that a considerable amount of Gothic survival is evident in the early building of the sixteenth century. The verticality and slenderness of proportion in the facades of many of the sixteenth century Mexican convents, and the pointed, ribbed vaults, used primarily in the apse areas of these edifices, are proof of the Gothic influence in sixteenth century Mexican

architecture.

Plateresque. This term designates the style of the Early Renaissance in Spain which was current in the first half of the sixteenth century at the time of the conquest. It was consequently the first of the current European movements to be imported into Mexico. As in most cases of the evidences of a new style, here, that of the Italian Renaissance, the modern elements of the composition are found in detail rather than in the basic gestalt, or entire aesthetic result of the work. The basic articulation and composition remains conceived in terms of the old, in this case the Gothic, vocabulary. The facade of the Hospital of Santa Cruz in Toledo by Enrique de Egas, of 1494, is an excellent example of the Spanish Plateresque. The details, columns, pediments and the like, are of the Early Renaissance. The assembly of the whole, or the gestalt of the work, is that of the Spanish Gothic style where ornament clusters around the openings, irregularly spaced in a flat and unornamented wall. The details of the style have a thinness and intricacy which is primarily responsible for its name; the work of a silversmith. The Plateresque, with its Gothic elements, came to Mexico soon after the conquest of 1521 and lasted, with decreasing vigour, through the remainder of the century and into the beginning of the next. The facade of the convent of Acolman of 1560 is perhaps the most perfect expression of this form in the Americas.

architecture.

Plateresque. This term designates the style of the Spanish Renaissance in Spain which was current in the first half of the sixteenth century at the time of the conquest. It was introduced into Mexico in the first of the current European movements to be transplanted to Mexico. As in most cases of the evidences of a new style, traits of the Italian Renaissance, the modern element, the proportions are found in detail rather than in the basic structure, or entire aesthetic result of the work. The basic architectural composition remains conceived in terms of the Gothic, in spite of the vocabulary. The facade of the hospital of Jesus Nazareno, Mexico, Enrique de Egas, of 1524, is an excellent example of the Plateresque. The details, columns, pilasters and the like, are early Renaissance. The assembly of these elements, or composition of the work, is that of the Gothic style with large openings, clusters around the openings, irregularly spaced, and an unornamented wall. The details of the style have a rich intricacy which is primarily responsible for the name, a reference to the work of a silversmith. The Plateresque, with the Renaissance, came to Mexico soon after the conquest of 1521 and is found in its earliest vigour, through the remainder of the century and into the beginning of the next. The facade of the convent of Acolman, Mexico, is perhaps the most perfect expression of the Plateresque in Mexico.

Herreran. This Spanish interpretation of the High Renaissance came to Spain in the last half of the sixteenth century. The Palace of the Escorial, prime monument of the style, was built largely by Juan de Herrera between 1559-1584, during the regimes of Charles V and Phillip II. Here the general style, as well as the isolated details, are classically correct. The style is rational, clearly defined and monumental, being characterized, in comparison with the Plateresque, by a restrained use of architectonic ornament. Building in the Herreran tradition appeared in Mexico in the last part of the sixteenth century and continued on into the seventeenth century, becoming progressively more Baroque. Associated primarily with the crown sponsored cathedral designs of the New World, the style lingered on in provincial areas like Cholula and appears throughout the seventeenth century in local parish churches.

Baroque. In contrast to the restrained basic approach of the Herreran, this style is irrational, robust and plastic in surface treatment. The actual wall surface is composed of areas of contrasting projection and recession. Niches, scrolls, duplicated columns, pilasters and pediments, the ornamental vocabulary of the Baroque, are still architectonic in the earlier examples, although considerably more profuse and complex than the Herreran. The Baroque, in its several phases of development, is the primary artistic expression of Colonial Mexico. Here, in increasing degrees of richness and complexity, the Baroque style dominated the artistic

Herreran. This Spanish Renaissance style came to Spain in the last half of the sixteenth century. The style of the Escorial, prime monument of this style, was built by Juan de Herrera between 1559-1584, during the reigns of Philip II and Philip II. Here the general style, as well as the details, are classically correct. The style is well defined and monumental, being characterized, in exterior design, by Plateresque, by a restrained use of ornamentation in keeping with the Herreran tradition appeared in Mexico in the late sixteenth century and continued on into the seventeenth century, coming progressively more baroque. Associated architecturally crown sponsored cathedral designs of the sixteenth century, tered on in provincial areas like Puebla the style persisted the seventeenth century in local parish churches.

Baroque. In contrast to the restrained Herreran, this style is irrational, resembling in its surface treatment. The actual wall surface is of contrasting projection and recession. Pilasters, engaged columns, pilasters and pediments, the characteristic of the baroque, are still architectonic in their although considerably more profuse and complex than the The Baroque, in its several phases of development, artistic expression of Colonial Mexico. There, of richness and complexity, the baroque style

scene between 1650 and 1800.

Sober Baroque. Transitional rather than individual, this earliest phase of the Baroque essentially forms the link between the earlier Herreran and the full development of the Baroque. The spirit of the Baroque is more and more evident in the monuments of the last half of the sixteenth century in Mexico. The full arrival of the style is marked by the Altar of the Kings, 1649, by Lucas Mendez in the Puebla Cathedral. It marked the introduction into Mexico of the salomonic column, that inevitable signpost of the Mexican Baroque. This type of twisted support, although used much earlier in Hellenistic architecture, was reintroduced into the western world by Bernini in his Baldachino for Saint Peter's in Rome of 1624, and finally reached Mexico, after the usual provincial time lag, in 1649. Despite its salomonic columns, a work like the Altar of the Kings is still more related to the flat and architectonic Herreran work of the sixteenth century than to the wilder, later development of the extreme Baroque.

Rich Baroque. During the seventeenth century the Baroque style became increasingly rich and elaborate, while being less and less derived from the Herreran gestalt. In Italy this complexity and energy affected not only the ornamentation but the entire wall surface and even the ground plan of the building. In San Carlo Alle Quatro Fontane, 1638-65, Borromini brought the Italian interpretation of the full Baroque to its apogee. The entire structure is now composed of one undulating movement, in which the parts, rather than

each being complete within itself, as in the High Renaissance or the Herreran, achieve their completeness only in relation to all the other parts of the design.

In contrast to the structural aspects of the above, the Spanish interpretation of the Baroque took the form of more and more heavily applied ornamentation on a basic structure which remained very like that of the High Renaissance. In Mexico the Rich, or High Baroque takes the form of fine scale vegetal decoration which gradually creeps over the entire surface of the salomonics and the architectural framework of the facade or altar. This trend grew more and more extreme through the last part of the seventeenth century until it reached its ultimate expression in a work like the Retable of the Angels, 1715, in the Cathedral of Mexico. Here the entire surface is covered with golden lichen and the aesthetic effect is heavy and stuffed.

Churrigueresque. By 1715 the trend of heavy surface ornament, which characterized the Rich Baroque, could develop no further in terms of the same vocabulary. It was with consequent enthusiasm and almost fanaticism that the artistic taste of Mexico turned to the Churrigueresque. The shift to the new style is marked by the replacement of the salomonic column by the estipite, which was introduced by Jeronimo Balbas in 1718 in his Altar of the Kings for the Cathedral of Mexico. This vertical support is composed of a quantity of fragmented rectilinear components and invariably swells markedly about

two thirds of the distance from base to capital. The entire effect of the whole is that of an inverted truncated pyramid whose unbalance is an obvious contrast to the rational stability of the columnar supports of the Herreran vocabulary. The process of rectilinear fragmentation applied to the columnar form is repeated in the design of cornices, entablatures and every other architectonic component of style. Composed of an infinite number of interdependent parts, the whole surface of the work is fragmented and moving. In the Cartuja of Granada, 1727, which is the outstanding example of the Churrigueresque in Spain, the ornamentation reaches such a peak that the underlying organization of the wall can scarcely be discerned.

Exploited in Mexico to a far greater degree than in Spain, the Churrigueresque held sway in most building of the greater part of the eighteenth century. The Sanctuary of Ocotlan at Tlascala of 1725 is an excellent example of the Mexican interpretation of the style.

Pueblan Baroque. A regional variation of the Rich Baroque, the style of the Puebla area parallels the development of the parent style. Rather than having a vegetal vocabulary of ornament, the Pueblan Baroque is built up from strapwork or undulating ribbon like bands of stucco. These increased in complexity and in plasticity through the course of the seventeenth century, just as the vegetal ornament of the Rich Baroque became more profuse. From the fairly flat and angular strapwork of the vaults of Santo Domingo, dedicated

presumably sometime after 1610, the straps become increasingly active until they reach their peak of expression in the freestanding curvilinear strapwork of the Rosary Chapel of the same church, 1690. Here the wall surface swarms with putti, frond forms and strapwork, all of which are massed together in a riot of ornamentation. Locally the success of this style was so great that when the Churrigueresque, with its estipite, came to the rest of Mexico, the Pueblan Baroque continued to develop through the eighteenth century in the terms of its own vocabulary. The Churrigueresque, although evident in some examples in the area, was never as popular in Puebla and its environs as in the rest of Mexico.

Classical Reaction. All over the world at the end of the eighteenth century there occurred a reaction to Baroque excesses, a return to Classical forms with their rationality of design, restraint and clarity of ornamentation. France was the first country in which this trend became evident and it can clearly be seen in works like the Pantheon, 1775, by Soufflot. In Spain, with the establishment of the Bourbon regime, came the Academy of San Fernando in 1752, and a consequent new interest and enthusiasm for Classic forms. The Prado of 1785 is the best example of the architectural production of Spain in this period of the Classical Reaction. In 1785 the Academy of San Carlos was founded in Mexico and with it the Classical Reaction was introduced as well. From this time until Independence in 1821, the Classical Reaction was the style dominant in the architecture of

Mexico. During the 1790's the Classical Reaction was in full bloom in Mexico City, but it was not until after 1799, with the start of Tolsa's Baldachino for the Puebla Cathedral that the style was felt in the Cholula area.

The Classical Reaction is particularly significant, not only for its own aesthetic merits but because it marks the first instance in which the New World, both north and south, participated in an artistic movement at the same period as Europe itself. With the Classical Reaction came a reinstitution of Classic forms such as the fluted column, correctly disposed entablatures and unbroken pediments. Characterized by a new slenderness and delicacy of form, ornament is used in the shape of urns, scrolls, garlands and swags, and a flatness and tallness of proportion contrasts markedly with the robustness of the Baroque.

Despite the new vocabulary of the Classical Reaction, it must be remembered that it is essentially a transitional style, like the Plateresque and the Sober Baroque. A great deal of Baroque movement and plasticity remains, as well as ornamental motifs such as scrolls and broken pediments. A Baroque desire to break the surface of the wall is also retained. All these elements are naturally modified, but are to be expected in a transitional style.

New Classicism. This term must be used to designate the full development of the Classical Reaction in Mexico. In most parts of the world, France in particular, Neo Classicism refers to the style of the

early decades of the nineteenth century. Due to the Mexican Wars of Independence, 1810-1821, and the religious and political upheavals of the Reform Period and the Intervention at the middle of the century, Mexico fell far behind the western world. Her artistic development was cut short just as the Classical Reaction became nationwide. No opportunity for uninterrupted stylistic development occurred for the remainder of the century. Thus in Mexico the New Classicism is not evident until the last years of the Díaz Regime, 1890-1912. At this time came the continuation of development which should have come at the start of the century. The style of the Chicago World's Fair of 1893 evidences the fact that this was just at the time when a new wave of Classicism was inundating the world.

The vocabulary of the New Classicism is essentially that of the earlier Classical Reaction, but the Baroque elements of movement, which appear in the earlier style are gone. The New Classicism is heavy, frigid and pompous, where the Classical Reaction was slender, delicate and active. Much more strictly related to archaological precedent, the New Classicism is a conservative public architecture, which expresses itself through an ecclecticism of form. The Classical Reaction, on the other hand, is a delicate, tentative creation of Baroque eyes, newly opened to the beauties of Classic and rational form after the emotional riot of the Churrigueresque.

Organization of the Paper.

The aim of this paper has been stated as an analysis of the churches of Cholula in all their more important aspects. Due to the almost complete lack of documentation, a simple chronological organization of the monuments is obviously impossible. The chapters have, therefore, been organized in terms of the larger components of any church. Facades, Towers, Interiors and Altars, Ground Plans, Domes, Town Planning and Atrium Gateways have each been treated individually. Remodelling and the many building periods evident in most of the churches make few of them the product of one style and one date in all their parts. The various components of each church will be stylistically and chronologically related insofar as possible, both in relation to one another and to the development of Mexican Architecture.

The photographic material included in the appendices is extensive, although the difficulties of acquiring it have made it still incomplete in several cases. All photographs of each individual church have been mounted together. Each church is numbered according to its location on the Map of Cholula (Fig.X). Although this system may be less facile than one of merely following the text of the paper, it was deemed necessary for several reasons. Firstly the organization of the paper treats the churches in sections and not as wholes. One of its weaknesses is consequently to be found in the delineation of each church as an entity.

Grouping of the photographs in the manner indicated does remedy this problem to a certain extent, since the different parts of each church can be more easily related. The second reason for this organization is the fact that repeated use of individual photographs in different sections of this study would necessitate a great deal of interreference by the reader even were the plates to follow the text.

The major background material for the stylistic traits of the Cholula churches is included in a separate section at the end of the appendices, and will be referred to by number in the text. Included in this section are all plates from churches not in Cholula, and all other reference plates.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

A. Brief History of Cholula.

Some seven miles east of the city of Puebla, and divided from this territory by the river Atoyac, lies the district of Cholula. It is bounded to the north by the state of Tlascala and the district of Huejotzingo, to the south by Atlixco and to the west by Mexico. Although by no means an urban area, the city of Cholula is located directly on the main road between Puebla and Mexico and this artery has been the main route from the valley of Mexico to the coast from time immemorial. Today a depopulated and provincial town with hardly a hint of its past importance, Cholula is nevertheless centrally located and closely in contact with the main currents of trade and travel, as well as the political development of the main urban areas of Mexico.

The district of Cholula is divided into one city, ten municipalities and numerous pueblos, haciendas and ranchos.[1] This study will deal with those areas located in central Cholula, immediately around the city itself. The pueblos, haciendas and other smaller centers fall under the jurisdiction of the larger municipalities

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[1] Southworth, J.R., El Estado de Puebla, Liverpool: Blake & MacKenzie, 1901, 75pp., p.51.

which are in turn under the city of Cholula. A certain amount of confusion is obviously inevitable in dealing with the historical population statistics of the city of Cholula, since there is rarely any means of determining whether a reference to Cholula is related to the city itself or to its entire jurisdiction. Several important points do emerge from available statistics, however, by virtue of the agreement of nearly all the sources.

We know that next to the capital of Tenochtitlán, the city of Cholula was the most important pre-conquest center in Mexico,[2] and the holy city of the Toltec religion. In 1325 there were apparantly some thirty thousand people in Cholula and in 1492 the city was engaged in a series of wars with Tlascala and Huejotzingo.[3] By the time of the conquest and the terrible Cholula massacre of 1519 some forty thousand people lived in the city, which posessed over four hundred shrines and many towers and which was an opulent and prosperous commercial center.[4]

During the sixteenth century Cholula suffered a certain amount of depopulation from the plagues and epidemics[5] which swept

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[2] Palacios, Enrique J., Puebla, su Territorios y sus Habitantes, Mexico: Secretaria de Fomento, 1917, 748pp., p.282.

[3] Puebla en Cifras, Mexico D.F.: Mexico Direccion General de Estadistica, 1944, 83pp., p.20.

[4] Penafiel, op. cit., Vol.V, p.5.

[5] Puebla en Cifras, p.27.

all Mexico after the arrival of the Spaniards. The most severe of these apparently occurred in 1545 and 1577 in the Cholula area. In the first of these disasters the toll of dead in Cholula was tremendous. After the initial population drop, which was almost universal in Mexico during the first century of the colonial period, the Puebla area, and this would include Cholula, seems to have maintained a state of continued prosperity up to the end of the colonial epoch.[6] This is notably in contrast to the state of most of the rest of Mexico, where the seventeenth century saw a marked economic and artistic decline.

The population losses of the sixteenth century seem to have been gradually recouped during the next two centuries, although the peak of the pre-conquest level was never entirely regained. Most of the sources cited above give the population of Cholula at the end of the colonial period as about twenty six thousand. By the start of the twentieth century there had been a considerable decline of approximately nine thousand, so that the city itself was about seven thousand people.[7] Although the specific figures cited by the various authorities are hard to correlate for the reason cited above, they agree without exception that the great population drop occurred in the nineteenth century. The architectural evidence available

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[6] Angulo, Diego Iniguez, Historia del Arte Hispanoamericano, 2 Vols., Barcelona: Salvat, 1950, Vol.II, pp.24-5.

[7] Penafiel, op. cit., p.7.

from the subject matter of this study supports this contention. Very little evidence points to building in the later nineteenth century, whereas the peak of productivity seems to have occurred between 1750 and 1825.

Because of its central location, the political status of Cholula seems to have fluctuated in tune with the political development of Mexico throughout its history. We know that Cholula was a city flourishing in its own right at the time of the conquest. Immediately following this, Tlascala and Cholula were treated as one administrative unit, since the titles of the corregidores always included the names of both cities. There was no actual precedence of Tlascala over Cholula except that the machinery of government for the entire area was centered in the former city.[8] With the establishment of the bishop in Tlascala in the early sixteenth century, the religious administration of Cholula fell under the same system.

The city of Puebla was founded in 1531 by the Spaniards to be the Spanish center of the area. Although the bishop started immediate agitation to have his see transferred from the Indian center of Tlascala to Puebla, his wish did not materialize until 1541.[9] Thus the ecclesiastical administration of Cholula remained

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[8] Gibson, Charles, History of Tlaxcala in the 16th Century, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1952, 300pp., Ch.1.

[9] Ibid., Ch.3.

in Tlascala until this same date when it transferred to Puebla. The secular governmental administration of the area fell under Puebla, however, with the founding of the city in 1531. Immediately after this date, and through the remainder of the first half of the sixteenth century, Puebla controlled most of the cities of the area both in the ecclesiastical and governmental spheres. Although the religious administration continued to be carried on in this fashion, the governmental power of Puebla over the neighboring cities was gradually modified so that by 1770 Puebla had control over only a very small area.[10]

The largest center in the Puebla area, Cholula was apparantly the first to attain its independence. Given its coat of arms by Charles V in 1540, it was separated at this time from Puebla,[11] This arrangement continued since we know that in 1579 the river Atoyac was the boundary between the Puebla and the Cholula jurisdictions, and that as early as 1545 the corregidorship of Tlascala and Cholula was decisively separated from Puebla.[12] Other major cities of the area apparently also attained their independence since in 1579 Atlixco was separated,[13] and in 1598 San

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[10] Puebla en Cifras, p.23.

[11] Southworth, op. cit,, p.52.

[12] Veytia, Mariano, Fundacion y Progresso de la Ciudad de Puebla de los Angeles, 2 Vols., Puebla:1780, Mexico D.F.:Imprenta Labor, 1932, Vol.I, pp.339-42.

[13] Ibid., p.334.

Juan Cuautlancingo, which is now in the district of Cholula, got its own coat of arms.[14]

An engraved marker on the Municipal Palace of Cholula, dated 1643, is evidence of the independence of the city from Puebla since it states that the governing corregidores are dependents of the Audiencia of Mexico.[15] Several incidents of importance also support the contention of the independence of Cholula from the mid-sixteenth century. In 1550 Antonio de Mendoza and Luis de Velasco met in Cholula and stayed there several days to handle or discuss the administration of the colonia or city district.[16] In the later sixteenth century the governor of Cholula, D. Gonzalo de Bentanzos, apprehended Lic. Vena, reknowned as a false and dishonest visitador in the area.[17] In 1626 the building of roads in Puebla was much facilitated by the sale of some land to the city of Puebla by the city of Cholula.[18]

Although at the start of the colonial period we have seen that Cholula was unquestionably independent of Puebla, there seems to have been a stronger and stronger influence of the city in the local government of the surrounding area in the seventeenth century.

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14 Penafiel, op. cit., p.9.

15 Palacios, op. cit,, p.285.

16 Puebla en Cifras, p.27.

17 Ibid., p. 27.

18 Rios Arce, F., Puebla de los Angeles y la Orden Dominicana, Puebla: Escritorio, 1910, 230pp., p.200.

Justices, Alcaldes Mayores and Corregidores from Puebla were in the local governments of the provinces.[19] This state of affairs was the rule through 1766, when the Bourbon regime of the eighteenth century became particularly active in Mexico. At this time the crown, through the Royal Council of Castile, created direct deputies from all the ayuntamientos of the cities and villages. These officials, titled Diputados de Comun, numbered four for towns of two thousand, two for villages of less and had absolute local vote.[20] The further independence of the cities was assured in 1783, then Viceroy Antonio Flores gave a treatise to the local cabildos which gave them even further priviledges.[21]

New found independence in Cholula seems to have been short since the crown established the intendancy system in Mexico in 1786. By this act the city of Cholula was made one of the Alcaldias Mayores of the Intendencia of Puebla and it continued in this capacity to the end of the colonial period.[22] During this time the great building boom, which produced most of the monuments of this study, occurred in Cholula.

Although technically a provincial area, there is no question

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[19] Puebla en Cifras, p.21.

[20] Ibid., p. 21.

[21] Penafiel, op. cit., p.6.

[22] Palacios, op. cit., p.286.

of the immediate and drastic effects of the Wars of Independence in Puebla and Cholula as well. These wars, followed by the upheavals of the Reform Period at the middle of the century, created a status of general turmoil in Cholula and Puebla, just as they did in Mexico City itself. Generally speaking the entire Puebla area tended toward the conservative, royalist side during the first part of the Wars of Independence and this general stand was constant through all the upheavals of the remainder of the century. It was never a revolutionary or liberal area in any period.

Early in September of 1810 when unrest began to be felt, Viceroy Venegas went through Puebla. The Bishop of Puebla, disturbed over the turn of events, then called a junta in the cathedral and all swore loyalty to the viceregal government. At this same time Tepeaca and Heujotzingo sent men in defense of the cause of the king.[23] On November 7 of this same year, we see that the Cholula area was actively participating in the royal cause. Three hundred and fifty pesos were contributed by several of the barrios dealt with in this study, for uniforms and supplies for the regiment of city volunteers of Ferdinand VII in Puebla.[24] It is interesting

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[23] Puebla en Cifras, p.29.

[24] Gomez Haro, Eduardo, La Ciudad de Puebla y la Guerra de Independencia, Puebla, 1910, 184pp., p.50. Barrios contributing: Coronango, San Gabriel Ometoxtla, San Mateo Cuanala, San Lucas Nextetelco.

that all these particular barrios are in the northern, more urban part of Cholula.

Actual fighting did not come to the Puebla district until late 1811, when Morelos attacked Chiautla, and the royalist forces suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the liberals.[25] By April of 1812 the Revolutionists controlled Cuautla, Atlixco, Tepeaca, Tehuacan and Zacatlan. Puebla was defended until 1813 by the Royalist forces.[26] On June 3 of 1820 the Constitution of 1812 was published in Puebla.[27] On February 24th of the next year, when Iturbide issued his Plan of Iguala, after switching from the Royalist to the Liberal cause, the document was immediately published in Puebla and slightly later was sent to Cholula where José Manuel Herrera published Mexicano Independiente.[28] Right after this the Revolutionists moved into the Puebla district, although still loyal the city of Puebla had not capitulated. During the next two years siege was placed on the city of Puebla by the Revolutionists, finally ending with the triumphal entry of Iturbide into Puebla on August 2 of 1823.[29]

Apparantly Cholula had been used by the Revolutionists

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25 Puebla en Cifras, p.29.

26 Ibid., p.31.

27 Gomez Haro, op. cit,, p.134.

28 Puebla en Cifras, p.31.

29 Ibid., pp.31-2.

during this entire period as their base in the area. On July 1st of 1821 we know that General Nicolas Bravo was quartered there with thirty six hundred men.[30] On July 21st of the same year Iturbide made a proclamation from Cholula,[31] probably relating to the arrival of the new viceroy Juan O'Donoju in that same month. With the early fall of Iturbide, Puebla found itself a sovereign state and it installed its own government accordingly. However, with the institution of the Constitution of 1824, Puebla became a state of the Republic of Mexico and Cholula was one of the partidos, or large areas, of the state of Puebla.[32]

In 1833 Puebla voted for Santa Anna, butthis alliance of interests did not last long since the city wanted to preserve its own laws and federal institutions. On May 22nd of the same year Santa Anna's forces, under General Luis Quintanar, laid siege to the city. Not until October of 1835 did Puebla finally become centralist.[33] In May of 1847 there was a new series of engagements in Puebla when the American troops with General Scott advanced on Puebla. The Americans apparently were hard pressed by guerilla

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30 Gomez Haro, op. cit., pp. 140-50.

31 Ibid., pp. 140-150.

32 Palacios, op. cit., p.253.

33 Puebla en Cifras, p.33.

forces in Cholula, the National Guard of General Vallada.[34]

The next two decades also saw constant battle and upheaval in the area. In 1856 Comonfort laid siege to Puebla and there were several very bloody engagements.[35] The fact that the Three Years' War, 1856-1859, was originally proclaimed in Puebla by the reactionaries in 1856 and that numerous revolts were led there by Miranda and Miramon,[36] proves that the conservative and clerical stand of the area in the Wars of Independence was still the general sentiment during the Reform Period. This contention is further reinforced by the fact that Maximilian and Carlota were received with acclaim in 1864 on their arrival in Mexico and that the Puebla area, along with Mexico and Querétaro, flew the imperial banner until 1867 when General Díaz laid siege to the city.[37] These three areas were considered the strongholds of the conservatives to the end. Although no strict evidence is presently available, it must be assumed that during this period the Cholula area was in sympathy with that of Puebla, since it was under the control of that city.

This somewhat sketchy outline of the principal events of the

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34 Ibid.,p.34.

35 Ibid., p.35.

36 Parkes, Henry, History of Mexico, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1950, 446pp., pp.236-7.

37 Puebla en Cifras, p.39.

nineteenth century in Puebla and Cholula proves conclusively that this area was in the thick of all the disturbances of the period. As a result of this it may also be assumed that no more opportunity for uninterrupted architectural and economic progress occurred in Cholula in the nineteenth century than did in Mexico itself. Of particular importance in the light of this study, this conclusion establishes fairly clearly a terminal point to the period of tremendous architectural production which came at the start of the century.

It has been impossible, with in the limits of this study, to establish very specific data on the subject of the economy of Cholula in other than a very general sense.

We know that at the time of the conquest Cholula was a tremendous center of economic activity. Ceramics was apparently one of the principle industries of the city from early times,[38] and the Cholulan merchants were said to trade all the way to Guatemala.[39] Ventancurt says that the Mexican glass industry was originally located in Cholula but was later transferred to Puebla, presumably in the seventeenth century.[40]

The agricultural wealth of Cholula was reknowned down to the

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38 Penafiel, op. cit., p.7.

39 Palacios, op. cit., pp.282-3.

40 Kubler, George, Mexican Architecture of the XVI Century, 2 Vols., New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948, 574pp., p.177.

nineteenth century. Cortes felt that it was the richest farming area in Mexico,[41] and as late as 1901 it was considered one of the richest districts in the state of Puebla.[42] Cholula's main products were maguey, corn, wheat, alfalfa, barley, beans, oats, chile, vegetables and all types of fruits.[43] In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries most of the produce of Cholula was marketed through Puebla.[44]

The rich agricultural resources of Cholula are one of the major sources of the wealth which produced the great building boom of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. With the new policies of the Bourbon regime in this period, more wealth was poured back into Mexico than ever before. We know that agriculture was the source of the great prosperity in other areas of Mexico at this same time. The great building boom in Querétaro, for example, was based on agricultural wealth.[45] This industry then, is most likely the basis of the boom period in Cholula as well, and is probably responsible for the construction of so many churches in so short a time.

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41 Puebla en Cifras, p.27.

42 Southworth, op. cit., p.51.

43 Ibid., p. 51.

44 Veytia, op. cit., p.228.

45 Angulo, op. cit., Vol.II, p.730.

The aspect of the city was apparently impressive in the sixteenth century, both before and after the conquest. Ideally situated for architectural raw materials,[46] the Puebla area had lime clay deposits and stone available in large quantities. A soft white stone was obtained beneath the surface of the ground which hardened upon exposure and harder material for moldings and columns was plentiful. A large quarry of darker stone was operated within the limits of Cholula itself.[47]

The houses and buildings were impressive. The map of 1580 (Pl.X-1) indicates that aside from the usual Franciscan convent at the center of town, church structures stood in all the barrio divisions of Cholula. Even the houses of the Indians were unusually fine.

"In Cholula, for example, the doorways were carefully fashioned of masonry or brick; the corners were bonded with stone, and the rooms were separated by function. On the walls hung mats and paintings. Rojas specifies that it was the best Indian housing in New Spain."[48]

The stylistic evidence of many of the churches still standing today indicates that many of their facades at least were built in the seventeenth century, although the great building boom came later in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

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46 Kubler, op. cit., p.165.

47 Ibid., p. 165.

48 Ibid., p.203. Note: Rojas was a visitador to Cholula, 1580.

In 1812, midway in the architectural boom, Bancroft stated that Cholula was a mecca of the west, but as early as 1917 it was apparently dead and decadent with religious festivals forming the only occurrences of note in the city.[49] This places the depopulation period again in the nineteenth century, after independence and roughly between 1820 and 1900.

B. Evolution of Taste in Cholula and Mexico.

Taste in Mexico has gone through several very well defined general phases since the conquest, Although the artistic vocabulary of each of these phases is clear and discernable, considerable difficulty arises in dating the work on stylistic grounds because of provincial time lag. We know fairly clearly the type of work being done in Mexico City most of the time. In a treatment of the other areas of Mexico, dating of works is no such simple matter. Traditionalism is always the artistic bent of provincial areas. In Europe it is fairly easy to trace the growth and movement of style, in Mexico, however, communications were so poor up to the end of the nineteenth century, and the indigenous influence in art forms was so problematic, that the chronology is often fearfully confused and no way of closely establishing the date of a work of art is open. This difficulty is particularly true in the realm of sculpture, which can be moved and detached

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[49] Palacios, op. cit., p.287.

from its original setting and where similar details often appear separated by a matter of some hundreds of years.[50]

The case of architecture is somewhat more clear since no problem of changed location arises and there is far more likelihood of documentation and records. The basic problem is nevertheless impossible to ignore when dealing with undated provincial work such as those churches which are the basis of this study.

The most extreme example of stylistic provincialism in Mexico obviously occurs in New Mexico. This region was the most isolated in all Mexico and as Kubler[51] points out, the original convent formulae of the sixteenth century were adapted by the friars to the New Mexico area and continued in a frozen, horizontal state of development, with almost no changes, modifications and invention, through the entire colonial period. An area like Cholula is far from the extreme stylistic crystalization of New Mexico, yet the continued use of late sixteenth century doorway compositions of Herreran-Mannerist style are an excellent example of the same point. These doors, which are by far the most numerous type in Cholula, are found in diluted but virtually unaltered form through the entire seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; one latest example in Cholula dates from 1812.

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[50] Weissman, Elizabeth Wilder, Mexico in Sculpture, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950, 224pp., Pl.1 and Introduction.

[51] Kubler, George, The Religious Architecture of New Mexico, Colorado Springs: The Taylor Museum, 1940, 232pp., p.130

Among the fifty odd churches which are the subject of this study there are, fortunately, several significant landmarks in the form of dated, documented churches. These form a skeleton on which the remainder of the monuments can be placed with some degree of accuracy. On the basis of evidence in these dated Cholula monuments, it can clearly be seen that a provincial time lag did exist in the movement of style from Mexico City to Cholula. Generally, the dated work shows a time lag of from ten to twenty years between the first introduction of a style in the capital and the time that it appears first in Cholula. How late in time examples of a certain style may occur in Cholula is considerably more difficult to determine without reference to other dated monuments of the same style in the area. The evolution of taste in Cholula is always to be considered in the light of this provincial delay in the movements of style.

The sixteenth century in Mexican architecture falls into two general periods. The first three quarters of the century are dominated by the building activity of the mendicant friars, the first of whom arrived in Mexico in 1524.[52] The second half of the century saw the arrival of the secular clergy, and with them the professional architects.[53] The activity of the mendicants

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[52] Kubler, George, Mexican Architecture of the XVI Century, Chapter 1.

[53] Ibid., p.121.

increased steadily until about 1580 and after this point began a downward movement to the end of the century. Counterbalancing the loss of prestige of this group was the steady rise of the secular clergy so that by 1700 the mendicants had been almost entirely superceded in central Mexico and were forced to move out to more provincial areas.

The architectural style of the first part of the sixteenth century evolved without the benefit of professional architects and literary influence and was based primarily on the memory of the friars who led the building campaigns, few of whom were professionals.[54] Thus the basic style of the early convent churches was Gothic[55], the taste current and traditional in Spain at the time of the conquest. Incorporated in these churches were also elements of the Plateresque[56] style, the most advanced in Spain at the time.

The secular clergy were seldom concerned with the building of churches themselves, for this they employed the professionals. The great cathedral designs of the late sixteenth century are the major product of this group and their building program continued on through the first half of the seventeenth century. Associated primarily with the professional architects and with the cathedral

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[54] Ibid., p.108.

[55] Cf. ante, p.2.

[56] Cf. ante, pp.2-3.

designs, came the introduction of the Herreran,[57] High Renaissance into Mexico. The last quarter of the sixteenth century saw the gradual acceptance of this style over the earlier Gothic.

One of the first areas in Mexico to be conquered, sixteenth century building in Cholula is of two distinct types. The franciscan convent of San Francisco, dated 1549-52 is an excellent example of the conventual fortress church of the sixteenth century and is of Gothic-Plateresque style. The second type of sixteenth century architecture in Cholula were the five, wood roofed, barrio churches which we know were built before 1580 as indicated on the map of that date (Pl. x-1.). There is considerable evidence that these structures were three aisled, a rare plan in Mexico after the early sixteenth century, since all of the edifices which now stand on these sites are of three aisle derivation. Outside of the information as to their plan, little evidence is to be found on the actual style of these buildings.

The lost epoch of Mexican Art History, the seventeenth century was primarily concerned with urban building. The greater number of the sixteenth century cathedrals were completed in the first half of the century by the seculars and a small number of local parish churches were completed. Monastic building was in the form of nuns convents in the cities and more fortress churches in the provincial areas, which continued the basic designs of this

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[57] Cf. Ante, pp.3-4.

type or church from the sixteenth century. Few buildings remain today in Mexico which have escaped the remodellings of the eighteenth century. Stylistically the seventeenth century was dominated by the Baroque style in its several phases,[58] although there is much less uniformity in style than appeared in the previous period. The first half of the seventeenth century was transitional between the Herreran and the Baroque and is termed Sober Baroque. The last half of the period is of greater activity and plasticity in terms of style and can be termed the Rich Baroque.

Significantly Puebla, with its famous stucco Baroque style,[59] is about the one area in Mexico where a cohesive and distinct seventeenth century architecture is now recognized to have developed. Seventeenth century activity in Puebla is probably the result of the continued prosperity in this area through the entire colonial period, in contrast to the recession which seems to have occurred in the seventeenth century in the rest of the country.

The prosperity of the seventeenth century seems to have been felt in Cholula as well as Puebla, and the main type of church architecture of the period here took the form of small parish churches. The great number of these is unusual since the wholesale building of local churches does not seem to have come

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58 Cf. ante, pp.4-7.

59 Cf. ante, pp.7-8.

to the rest of Mexico until the eighteenth century. Stylistically the Cholula area seems to have continued in the vein of the Sober Baroque through the entire century, with a fairly horizontal state of development here. The many instances of cut stone Herreran doorways in Cholula are primarily from this period, and this type of design, for reasons of either economy or backwardness, persisted in the area. Two general types of building took place in Cholula in this period. The first was the completion or rebuilding of sixteenth century work. The Sober Baroque facades of San Andrés, (Pl. 37) a fortress church, of 1630, and the existing facades of the rebuilt three aisle churches cited above, like Santiago Parroquia, (Pl.17) are illustrations of this group. The second area of activity was in the building of more local chapels, most of which seem to come from the last half of the century. In style these too are Sober Baroque and vary little from the previous group. Jesus Nazareno, (Pl. 14) whose facade dates from 1681 is typical.

Falling into three large sections, the eighteenth century saw prosperity, wealth and an unprecedented period of architectural activity. The great building of parish churches took place at this time in almost all of Mexico. Like the seventeenth century, the dominant style of the eighteenth was the Baroque. The first half of this period saw an extension of the Rich Baroque which had started in the last part of the century before. Although used in interior decoration from the second decade of the eighteenth

century, the Churrigueresque,[60] with its estipite, did not appear on the exteriors of the churches until the middle of this period. At the end of the century came the establishment of the Academy of San Carlos and the beginning of the Classical Reaction which was at a peak when the Wars of Independence broke out.

In Puebla the Baroque style, so popular in the preceeding century, continued developing through the greater part of the eighteenth century. Slight evidences can be seen in Puebla, of the Churrigueresque, but these are not as profuse as in the rest of Mexico, and appear after 1750. In general the Puebla area maintained an ever increasing Baroque style in its own seventeenth century terms and then moved into the Classical Reaction without really going through the Churrigueresque.

During the seventeenth century Cholula had been continuing in the Herreran tradition of the Sober Baroque. It was not until the first half of the eighteenth century that the Pueblan Baroque style was felt in Cholula. Facades like San Francisco Acatepec (Pl. 53) and Santa Maria Tonantzintla (Pl. 54), with their tile and lavish stucco interiors are examples of this group. More generally while the Rich Baroque facades dominated the first half of the century in the rest of the country, there seems to have been little new building in Cholula. Slight deviation can be seen in style from the norm established in the seventeenth

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60 Cf. ante, pp.8-9.

century with the cut stone door compositions. The primary activity of the area between 1700 and 1750 seem to have been in remodelling the upper sections of the seventeenth century churches with lavish mixtelinear moldings and niches of the Rich Baroque tradition. An occasional stucco facade with salomonic columns can be seen, but little new building, aside from the two great tiled facades mentioned above, occurred. This rather unique lack of early eighteenth century building is doubtless the result of the unusual amount of parish church construction in the century before. Therefore, nothing was needed but remodelling.

In the third quarter of the eighteenth century some traces of the Churrigueresque: estipites on towers and niches, appears in Cholula but these are as infrequent as the use of the form in Puebla. One outstanding and individual style which appears in Cholula in this period is a group of heavily stuccoed, polychrome facades of a plastic and folk-like quality. These incorporate a considerable amount of sculpture and applied decoration not found in the earlier Herreran type doorways.

Where the Baroque had been the highest expression of New Spain, the Neo-Classic came to be identified with nationalism and independence in Mexico.[61] Occurring as it did at the end of the eighteenth century and the first decades of the next, the Classical Reaction can be regarded as a partial expression of this

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61 Fernandez, Justino, Arte Moderno y Contemporaneo de Mexico, Mexico: Imprenta Universitaria, 1952, 522pp., p.8

nationalism, which finally resulted in independence in 1821. The desire of Mexico to negate its colonial past is clear in its enthusiastic acceptance of the Classical Reaction, which reached a level of frenzy around 1800 and brought a tendency to destroy or remodel the Baroque work of the earlier centuries. Work designed in the Classical Reaction style appeared all over Mexico between 1800 and 1820. The political disturbances of the years following 1821, combined with the new conciousness of nationality and an anti-church feeling,[62] virtually stopped the building of churches in Mexico until the end of the century. At this later date, the stability of the firmly established Díaz machine gave the church new favor. The style of 1900, like that of the start of the century was Classical. This New Classicism,[63] was more concerned with public, civil architecture than with the building of churches and, like the Classical Reaction is seen more in remodelling than in new structures.

We fortunately know that the Classical Reaction was introduced to the Puebla area in the year 1799, with the design of Tolsa's Baldachino for the Puebla Cathedral (Pl. X-2) and this year also would mark the earliest possible date for work in the Classical Reaction style in Cholula as well. It is therefore evident that work in this tradition in Cholula must have been designed between

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62 Ibid., p.14

63 Cf. ante, pp.11-12

1800 and 1820 when we know that the disturbances of the nineteenth century stopped all building in the area. This period was without doubt the most productive one during the colonial period in Cholula both in the building of new churches and the wholesale remodelling of the already existing edifices, particularly in the interiors. The few facades from a later date, for example the Guadalupe in Cholula of 1842, must have been designed and begun in the first two decades of the century and only completed in the 1840's (Pl. 19).

As in most of the rest of Mexico, there seems to have been a distinct break in architectural activity in Cholula after 1820, and in this case the New Classicism of the late nineteenth century is relatively infrequent. The late tower of San Rafael Comac (Pl. 46), that of Santa Barbara (Pl. 3) and a couple of atrium gateways of the area are the only evidences of activity at this time. This fact is not surprising in view of the large number of fairly recently completed churches from the first decades of the century. Also by 1900 the great depopulation period of Cholula was completed and had decreased both the need for new churches and the financial resources with which to build them.

In the realm of church architecture no marked resumption of building seems to have taken place in recent years of this century. This is true of all of Mexico. On the other hand in Puebla and Cholula in very recent years there seems to have been a renewed interest in the artistic taste of the colonial period, and Puebla claims the title of the "Colonial City of Mexico". Currently

new churches are still not being constructed. The restoration of the burned interior of San Francisco Acatepec (Pl. 53), however, the modern stucco work in San Sebastian Tepalcatepec (Pl. 7) and the care which has obviously been applied to the repainting and the preservation of the Classical Reaction interiors of Cholula prove that today there is a rich appreciation of this last style of the colonial epoch, which was Cholula's greatest product.

CHAPTER III.

LITERATURE, PROCEDURE AND METHOD

Literature. One of the determining factors in the present study was the almost complete lack of specific documentation for the monuments in question. Because of this limitation, and the impossibility of doing the archival research at this time, which must precede any final dating of the monuments of Cholula, a system of relative dating by stylistic comparison seemed the only possible method of procedure.

A few excellent and more general sources incorporate sections on the history of Mexican Architecture. These have naturally been of primary importance since they provide the basic structure upon which chronological extrapolation has been possible.

The work of Bernard Bevan is indispensible in the field of the Spanish background of Mexican Architecture.[1] Although he does not treat the monuments of Mexico at any length, his work clearly evidences the development of architecture in Spain. In the colonial period this was, of necessity, the starting point of each artistic movement in Mexico.

George Kubler has written the definitive work[2] on Mexican

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[1] Bevan, Bernard, The History of Spanish Architecture, New York:Scribner's, 1939, 199pp.

[2] Kubler, George, op. cit.,

Architecture of the sixteenth century. Of primary importance, this work contains much information on the two sixteenth century monuments of the area covered in this study, and some data on the earliest convent from the seventeenth century. Aside from this specific information, the background incorporated in this work is invaluable. This background has been basic in the treating of town planning and in the discussion of the three aisled churches. Kubler lays an excellent foundation for an understanding of the seventeenth century, which is the lost epoch in the literature of Mexican Art today.

Without doubt the two volume work of Diego Angulo Iniguez[3] in Hispanic American Art is the most important single source for any study of this type. Although the author's treatment of the seventeenth century is markedly lacking, as is the case in almost all works on Mexican Architecture, he presents an organized and pithy analysis of the subject which is invaluable. The treatment of the eighteenth century, in which most of the Cholula churches were constructed, is excellent. The high level of scholarship evidenced in his first two volumes makes it all the more unfortunate that his next work, dealing with the Classical Reaction, is not yet complete.

Manuel Toussaint's[4] work on the Colonial Art of Mexico has

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[3] Angulo, Diego, op. cit.

[4] Toussaint, Manuel, Arte Coloniale en Mexico, Mexico D.F.: Imprenta Universitaria, 1952, 521pp.

many valuable facets. It contains excellent details and the scope of the work is broad. It is unfortunate that a more painstaking cross reference and footnoting system was not used. Aside from isolated facts, not much of the material in this work is of help to a study such as this.

The treatment given by Justino Fernandez[5] to the modern and contemporary art of Mexico is the one extensive treatment of the nineteenth century available. The work seems accurate and is well written, containing a great amount of detail on the state of the arts in the period immediately postdating independence. For this reason it has been most helpful in breaking down the nineteenth century, a time of great significance in this study. Unfortunately the great majority of the work deals with painting, but its value as a background reference in considerable.

The manuscript of Francisco de la Maza[6] on the history of Cholula, now being published at the University of Mexico, is presently unavailable for detailed analysis. There is no question but that innumerable facts of primary importance are contained here, which will bear closely on the monuments of this study. Several very important dates for Cholula churches were obtained for this work through a cursory glance at Señor de la Maza's manuscript,

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[5] Fernandez, Justino, op. cit.

[6] De la Maza, Francisco, "The History of Cholula", Manuscript now in publication, Mexico D.F.: Imprenta Universitaria.

made available for brief examination through the interest and the efforts of Señor Raul Flores y Guerrero of the University of Mexico.

Undoubtedly specific and extensive material on the churches treated below exists in the local parish archives of Cholula and those of Puebla as well. The task presented by these is insurmountable and their sorting is the basis of an entire study in itself. Until this is completed the dating and the chronology of the churches of Cholula cannot be finally definitive, in other than a relative and stylistic sense. It is here, unexplored, that the majority of specific reference and source material on this subject remains. The few cases of dates occuring on the facades of the churches themselves or of local traditions concerning the monuments, have been of the greatest value in placing the other churches of the area. There are relatively few of these, but they form the one positive cornerstone for a hypothetical chronology of the undated churches.

Along with the photographic material, which is the main data of this work, an attempt was made to obtain archival information, during our three week period of field work in Cholula in February, 1956. The disorganization of the local archives, the difficulties in gaining admittance to these and the limitations of time made any comprehensive analysis of this phase of the Cholula problem a study far beyond the limits of available time. Therefore analysis, dating and chronology must stand for the most part upon the photographic evidence presented by the churches,

Method. Granting the lack of specific source material, which exists in the case of the Cholula churches, there still remain other methods of analysis. For the purposes of this study the most workable system seems to be that of a detailed comparison of the undated monuments with others of known date. A chronological inference is therefore possible. Chronology on the basis of use of materials or deviation of ground plan has little application in Cholula, in other than a very limited sense. It is true that cut stone doorways are evidence of a seventeenth century date, since the use of this material has given way to that of stucco by the next century. The tiled facades of a few of the churches indicate a date from the eighteenth century, but this varies widely. Due to the standardization and lack of originality in ground plan, except in the cases of the three aisled churches, this element is also unrewarding.

An analysis by style is the only method which remains to be used in Cholula, In this process a period of ten years or so must be allowed for the transition of style from the urban areas, such as Mexico City, to the rural area of Cholula. Thus the use of the estipite form, for example, on the exteriors of the churches can be narrowed down to 1760-1790, since they did not appear in Mexico on facades until after 1750. The use of the Classical Reaction motifs, although they appeared in Mexico as early as the 1780's, can be associated with the period 1800-1820 in Cholula since they came to Puebla in 1799 with Tolsa's Baldachino. Thus

Method. Creating the logic of specific source material, which exists in the case of the Cholula churches, there still remain other methods of analysis. For the purposes of this study the most workable system seems to be that of a detailed comparison of the undated monuments with others of known date. A chronological inference is therefore possible. Chronology on the basis of use of materials or deviation of ground plan has little application in Cholula, in other than a very limited sense. It is true that cut stone doorways are evidence of a seventeenth century date, since the use of this material has given way to that of stucco by the next century. The tiled facades of a few of the churches indicate a date from the eighteenth century, but this varies widely. Due to the standardization and lack of originality in ground plan, except in the cases of the three aisled churches, this element is also unrewarding.

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any building, stylistically, can be pin pointed within the span of a decade or so. No more accurate chronology is possible except in the cases of the few dated monuments.

In this system there are obviously many possibilities for chronological error. Firstly in an area like Cholula there is bound to be a certain stylistic conservatism and lack of desire to change. Thus repetition of an outdated style may continue long after it has become extinct in urban areas. Together with this is the necessary overlapping of styles as they evolve one from the other. In these intermediary periods dating is a risky business as best.

Along with this factor is the economic one. In small and poorer churches the simpler, and in this case the earlier, styles will be continued purely on the basis of economy and a limited budget. A marked instance of this is the prolonged use, in Cholula, of plain Herreran doors on the smaller churches. These apparently continued through the seventeenth and probably into the eighteenth centuries, while superceded altogether in the urban areas by the Baroque style by 1675.

One of the most puzzling problems, in Cholula in particular, is the possible continuation of the Baroque, Classical Reaction styles into the nineteenth century and the present day. There are dated cases which throw strong doubt upon any attempt at stylistic chronology. A facade like that of the Guadalupe, dated 1842, proves that all architectural activity did not stop short

in 1821 with independence. A plaque on the interior of San Dieguito states that the stucco gilding in the apse was completed in 1893. The nice Herreran facade of San Pedro Acatepec is dated 1812, which would put it in the middle of the Classical Reaction.

Furthermore there is considerable present day evidence that the stucco work of the area and the popularity of the Classical Reaction style of the start of the nineteenth century are by no means dead. The reconstruction of the dome of San Francisco Acatepec today is difficult to distinguish qualitatively from the original work of the middle of the eighteenth century. The pendentive paintings of San Matías and the stucco work of San Sebastian Tepalcatepec are both purported by the local schoolmaster to have been very recent, although their basic design is the same as the late colonial work. There is much evidence, therefore, to support a stylistic crystallization in the gestalt of the Classical Reaction in Cholula. The difficulties presented by facts such as these are self evident and it must be always remembered that other, undated work, may be from modern times.

In any event one fact is undeniable. Whatever the actual date of execution may be on many of the monuments of Cholula, the style is without question that of the Classical Reaction. The construction of churches interrupted by the wars of the nineteenth century may have been completed later, but the designs themselves are from the Classical Reaction tradition.

CHAPTER IV

FACADES.

The facade, traditionally, is the most important part of any Spanish building. Although also true of churches, the most extreme example of this occurs in private houses of Spain and Latin America. Here architectural ornamentation is lavished upon the exterior while the interior of the building is left virtually undecorated. In cases of extreme wealth there is some ornamentation on the interior as well. This, however, works progressively from facade, to patio, and only lastly to the interiors of the rooms. The same general process is evident in the churches, where a limitation in budget shows first on the interiors, while the elaboration of the facade is maintained.

The relative unity of facades, in terms of composition, and the easy identification of additions and changes in this area make any undocumented analysis more accurate here than in the realm of the complexity of interior decoration.

As in most Spanish architecture, there is little question of originality in the ground plan of these the Cholula church facades. In nearly every case the basic plan is that of a flat facade. Any analysis or stylistic grouping of facades must be made in the realm of decorative features, rather than in architectural framework. Due to protracted construction progress the towers in most churches are not of the same style as the facades.

The usual facade treatment in Cholula is in terms of a single opening, since the single aisle church is the generic type in the area. Only a few examples, which will be treated separately, have any three part lateral extension, like niches, in the doorway compositions.

The fifty odd churches of Cholula fall into two major groups, the early sixteenth and seventeenth century work and that of the eighteenth century. The second is by far the larger of the two, since most of the early work is now incorporated in later facade compositions. Since the organization of the following discussion is basically chronological the early fragments will be treated first. The eighteenth century facades fall again into two parts, the three bay portals and the single bay examples. The first, and smaller of the two is treated first, while the second falls into five large and distinctive types. These are treated chronologically insofar as possible, ending with the largest and latest style from the boom period of the Classical Reaction.

I. Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Facades

The cut stone doorways of Cholula are the product of the first two centuries of the colonial period. The few earliest examples are of the sixteenth century Gothic-Plateresque style, while the great majority of this first group are formed in the later transitional period between the Herreran and the full Baroque, characteristic of Cholula in the seventeenth century.

A. Sixteenth Century Churches. The products of the sixteenth century are essentially Herreran, with decreasing vestiges of the Plateresque style evident in their designs. The one unmistakable sixteenth century facade in the area is that of San Francisco (Pl. 26) which is fortunately dated 1549-1552.[1] This was one of the earliest Franciscan foundations in Mexico and was probably extant before 1538, according to the testimony of Mendieta.[2] It was cited in 1567 as a model for other large scale constructions and in 1568 the meeting of the Province of Santo Evangelio was held in Cholula, since it was the next largest foundation to that of the capital.[3] One of the finest examples of the early Herreran style, this facade incorporates many strong elements of the Plateresque. It is used by Kubler[4] as one of his textbook examples of one phase of this style, characterized by dry flat details, an elegance of proportion and a use of fairly low relief. San Francisco is the only example in the Cholula area where the actual opening of the portal is rectangular rather than round. Otherwise the fairly wide scheme, used in San Francisco, with a second stage central opening

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1 Kubler, op. cit., p.455. There is some confusion as to the name of this church. Apparantly it was originally called San Gabriel, which is the title used by Kubler. At present it is referred to locally as San Francisco, which title is used here.

2 Ibid., pp. 455-56.

3 Loc. cit.

4 Loc. cit.

usually a window, is one of the most influential conpositions in the later buildings of the area. The concept of ornament only within the confines of the vertical portal area is another basic design in Cholula.

The doorway of the Capilla Reale, or San José de los Naturales, (Pl. 24) which is located adjoining San Francisco, is closely derived from the design of the earlier church. The building was finished in 1581 and this is doubtless the date of the lower portions of the entrance, although the upper section is surely an eighteenth century addition. The vaults of the building collapsed when the first stagings were removed and were not rebuilt again until 1608.[5] The same general proportions of slender fluted pilasters are visible here as in San Francisco. The use of spandrel medallions of circular form is likewise a similar feature.

B. Seventeenth Century Herreran Portals. Purely Herreran, rather than partially Plateresque as the sixteenth century work, are three examples from the seventeenth century. Since the Herreran style lingered on all through the seventeenth century in Cholula, it is virtually impossible to date these monuments accurately. They are discussed here purely because they have fewer evidences of the Baroque than the other seventeenth century churches. Because of this it might be inferred that they are from the early, rather than the late decades of the century.

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[5] Ibid., p.456.

San Diego Tlautla (Pl. 10) is by far the largest example of this type in Cholula. Although its design is a hybrid at best, there is not much question of its stylistic probability as the product of the mid-seventeenth century. Severity and lack of ornamentation are the most distinctive feature of its design. Like most of those in Cholula, the facade composition is in two stages, the lower one being divided into three sections with paired pilasters to either side of the door and niches between them. Four bulbous remates crown the cornice above the door, to either side of the central window. There is no other decoration, even elaboration of the architectural members of the composition, except in the upper section whose mixtelinear cornice was added in the eighteenth century. The flatness of the stone portion of the facade, its large simple architectonic components and its balanced rationality, attach it securely to the Herreran style. Whether this simplicity is the result of provincial taste or a limited budget is impossible to ascertain without documentary evidence. Because examples of this style are documented in the area as late as 1812, we know that the style continued on through the eighteenth century. The cut stone material of this facade does, however, suggest strongly a date from the mid-seventeenth century.

The same restraint and simplicity of design is evident in San Juan (Pl. 40). Although the upper portions of the facade look suspiciously like an eighteenth century rehandling, by virtue of their complexity, the door itself is of simple Herreran style. The

moldings around the door and the pilasters which frame it, together with the large triangular remates above the cornice are all indicative of the same style. These remates are one of the most frequent and characteristic components of Herreran facades and first appeared in Spain on the facade of the Escorial.

The doorway of Jesus Nazareno (Pl. 14) is mentioned by de la Maza as the product of the early seventeenth century, although the design of the window ornamentation above the door is dated by him from 1681.[6] Despite a certain robustness in its cut stone rustication, the Herreran design of the facade tends to support the above dates. The door itself and particularly the remates on the cornice above are simple, plain and architectonic. The only applied decoration which occurs here is the cartouche above the window. This type of sculptural decoration is generally associated with the Baroque rather than the Herreran style and several instances of its use in Cholula will appear below. The stylized scroll forms which appear beside the window are probably that portion of the design placed by de la Maza in 1681, although they might have appeared in almost any part of the seventeenth century in less rural areas.

C. Herreran and Baroque Hybrids. The large cut stone facade of San Andres (Pl. 37), dated 1630, is the most important as well as probably the earliest monument in this group, although a hybrid,

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[6] De la Maza, op. cit., manuscript with no pagination.

and is fairly typical of the style of the first half of the seventeenth century. Here is an excellent example of the overlapping development of style in Mexico, which is never clear cut but a continual combination of archaisms and innovations. Here is evident an intrinsic monumentality and achitectonic form, particularly in the disposition of the lower door itself, which is very similar to the Herreran work of the last group. Along with this is a Baroque heaviness and robustness of form as well as rustication, niches, cartouches and diamond faceted panelling. Beneath all these features is a basic design which is vertical and disposed in almost identical fashion to a Plateresque work of the sixteenth century. It is therefore necessary to discuss the compositional and the ornamental aspects of the work separately.

Yanhuitlan (Pl. X-3), 1550-1575, is placed by Kubler in the late or Romanizing phase of the Plateresque.[7] Although located far from Cholula, its similarity to the composition of San Andrés is unmistakable. Both facades are divided into four stages. Beyond this, the individual subdivisions of both designs are almost identical although with a shift in emphasis and proportion. The first, or lower stage of the composition employs a round arched door framed with slender pilasters in both facades. Circular medallions are found in the spandrel areas, much as in San Francisco and the Capilla Reale, and the cornices above the doors are

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[7] Kubler, op. cit., p.407.

doubled with a relatively short space between. An elliptical panel of decoration is attached to the second cornice in both examples, although the quality of the sculpture is markedly different. In Yanhuitlan this panel rests on the cornice in much the same manner as a similar device in San Francisco (Pl. 26). In San Andrés, with typical provincial naivete, the panel, of the same shape and size, has been suspended from the second cornice so that it falls between the two horizontal members. A square and rusticated window has then been placed above this same cornice in San Andrés. The triangular remates which surmount the top of the side pilasters of both facades occur at this point, after the pilasters have run through both cornices. In this same space, between the second and third cornice, there are another set of spandrel medallions in Yanhuitlan. In San Andrés these have become enlarged cartouches which move to the outside of the remates, while another set of pilasters is introduced to either side of the window. These last few points are an excellent example of the frequent desire of the provincial builder to elaborate and add on to the original and professional prototype. In this case the second set of pilasters, the enlarged cartouches and the window have all been added as improvements on the original and are contained in the same vertical space. The cornices are all enlarged and classically decorated as well. There is a fourth cornice in both these facades, but again a shifting in position occurs. In Yanhuitlan this cornice occurs just above the third, with nothing between, and in the same relation

as the first two cornices. In San Andres the fourth cornice has moved up to the central ellipse which dominates the upper section of the composition. In both cases this elliptical profile has been flanked by concave side sections which run down to the cornice below. In Yanhuitlan a window is beneath the ellipse while in San Andrés the same area has been treated as a niche topped by the misplaced fourth cornice. This type of profile, used here for the first time in Cholula, is one of the most basic forms in the later facades of the area. A central niche on the upper section of the door composition, which forms the highest point of the cornice and even breaks through it in cases, is another basic form derived from this facade. Both these motifs are exploited and developed separately as well as in conjunction in the later Baroque facades.

The one feature of Yanhuitlan which has been omitted in San Andrés is the second set of pilasters which run the entire length of the portal at the extreme edge of the composition. It is also typical of the provinciality of San Andrés that the one primary feature of the original should be the one omitted, while seemingly endless extraneous forms have been added. With the resultant overhang of the cornices on all four stages, the aesthetic effect of San Andrés is rather unstable. This lack of balance is a feature which is not common in most Herreran work, although Kubler[8] mentions it in his discussion of the early facade of San Francisco. In

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[8] Ibid., p.404.

treating this church, with its large and ornate oculus above the door, he cites this taste for the predominance of weight over support as a characteristic of the Mannerist architecture of the mid-sixteenth century in Italy. Whether this mode of seeing was habitual in Cholula, with the precedent of San Francisco, or whether the omission of the outer supports of Yanhuitlan was unwitting, the affinity for this type of composition is a dominant one in Cholula and appears in nearly all the facades which are derived from San Andrés.

The provincial designer of San Andrés was not content to elaborate on the original design in only the features cited above, all of which are essentially Herreran. As well as changing the entire proportions of the composition from the delicacy of the Plateresque to the monumentality of the Baroque, he incorporates several very significant devices of the later style. The first of these is the use of niches on the lower portions of the pilasters flanking the portal. Kubler states that the motif of actually combining portal statuary with flanking pilasters was originally the method in which the Plateresque formulae were adapted to the limitations of a small budget.[9] In this case he is referring to the main facade of Atotonilco de Tula from the late sixteenth century. In the case of San Andrés, the use of this form is just another Baroque elaboration on the design and basic scheme of

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[9] Ibid., p.413.

Yanhuitlan.

Another Baroque feature which is utilized by the author of San Andres is the broken pediment. An example of this motif occurs in Mexico as early as the north door of Tepeji del Rio, 1556-1586, although in embryonic form.[10] The pediment of the second cornice of San Andrés, with the addition of scrolls to form the pediment, may be ultimately derived from this form. The use of the circular pediment, broken in the case of San Andrés, is used in the sixteenth century. An early instance of this form is in the main door of Tula 1550-1556,[11] although it is more common in the later seventeenth century. The round pediment is a form which, like the above features is much exploited in the eighteenth century.

The sculptural decoration of Yanhuitlan and San Andrés, although disposed in a similar fashion over the compositional area, are not analogous. There is a fine and delicate execution in the coffering, pilasters and spandrels of the sixteenth century work. The heaviness of the sculptural form of San Andrés, the panelled rustication and the thick cartouche forms of the second and third stage, are much more like the Puebla Cathedral transcept door of 1690 of Herreran-Baroque design, than like the earlier pure Herreran. (Pl. X-25).

C-1. Derivitives of San Andrés. Two facades in Cholula derive directly from San Andrés. Products of the seventeenth

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10 Ibid., p.408, Fig.437.

11 Ibid., Fig.435.

century, both are composed of three rather than four stages. The closest, stylistically, to San Andres is San Juan Acquiahuac (Pl. 28). The chipping of the stucco in the lower area of the facade indicate that it is not actually of cut stone like the earlier monument. Nevertheless, its design is closely related to that of San Andres despite its material. Brick was used in Mexico as early as the sixteenth century, although it was not popular as a material until the 1580's.[12] Unlike most of the facades in Cholula, the first two stages of San Juan Acquiahuac are of the same width. As in San Andrés, the archivolt, although not rusticated, is heavy. There are no spandrel medallions but at least there is a painted center of interest in this area. The very correct disposition of the cornice above the door, with its triglyphs and metopes, shows its Herreran antecedents. The niche to the sides of the door on the on the first stage of the portal composition have now been moved off the pilasters and onto the outer wall. The embryonic broken pediment here is undoubtedly also a Baroque detail derived from San Andrés, where the form first appears in the area. This is a theme rarely used in Cholula from this time on except in niches and dome designs. As in San Andrés, the first and second cornice are placed closely together. The square window on the second stage of both compositions is identical. The paired flanking pilasters and the two niches of the later church are used in place of the

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[12] Ibid., p.169.

large cartouche forms of San Andrés. The niche, on the second and third stage of San Juan Acquiahuac, with its concave flanks, is also reminiscent of San Andrés, though its proportions are altered to a jagged outline and plastic parts rather than being flat with a rounded ellipse. In any case the niche is derivitive from the earlier church in placement if not in actual form. The pilasters which run up beside the portal and end in remates to either side of the third stage niche are identical to those used in San Andrés.

A stylistic anomaly, but one definitely derived from San Andrés, is the cut stone facade of San Miguel Tecpan (Pl. 27). The basic components of the San Andrés facade are all here with the exception of the crowning elliptical niche. The rustication and the diamond shaped panels of the facade have been greatly intensified. As in San Andrés and San Juan Acquiahuac there is a marked focus on the keystone of the portal proper. In this case it is adorned with a small bracket form. Like San Juan Acquiahuac, slender pilasters to the outside of the main supports flank the door. The window above rests directly on the cornice and is also much like the other two facades. The unique feature in this church, which is without literal precedent, is a huge hanging circular pediment, from which are suspended two huge circular medallions to the sides of the window. The general disposition of this motif is probably derived from the curving broken pediment and the two cartouches which flank the third storey window of San Andrés. This same cartouche theme is found much later through the seventeenth century frequently.

The railing as well as the niche at the upper cornice of the facade are doubtless a later addition. The older sections of the facade probably date from 1690 as indicated by de la Maza and are by Roldan.[13] The acceptance of this date for this facade is plausable for several reasons. First the facade belongs to the early Baroque style and is of cut stone. Secondly the plan of the church seems to be a modification of the three aisled plan discussed above and the church appears by name on the 1580 Map of Cholula (Pl. X-1),[14] and thus we know that some sort of a building was on the site by 1580. There seems to be a marked correlation between the occurrence of the three aisled plan in the Cholula churches and a history which dates from the sixteenth century. Although the present building is of a later date, the tradition of the three aisled plan seem to have carried over from the late sixteenth century into the permanent buildings completed in the seventeenth and which still stand in part today.

D. Smaller Seventeenth Century Facades. A large number of cut stone doorways, probably from the seventeenth century, are now incorporated into larger eighteenth century buildings. All of these are of a transitional style between the Herreran and Baroque and are typical of the type of facade constructed through most of the seventeenth century in Cholula, with relatively little development.

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13 De la Maza, op. cit., manuscript with no pagination.

14 Cf. ante, p.31.

these are all of two stage composition, with a window on the second stage and some type of flat cornice over the round arched door. Though the ornamentation of all of these is of Herreran-Baroque style, some are lighter and some more heavy and rusticated. These churches fall into two definite groups. The first has pilasters to the sides of the portal, while the second have only an unsupported cornice over the door with no pilasters.

D-1. Single Portals With Pilasters. Included in this group are three more of the sixteenth century churches which, like San Miguel Tecpan, are located on the Map of 1580 (Pl. X-1). The best example of the style is Santiago Parroquia (Pl. 17), reported by local tradition to have been founded in 1578. The church is three aisle in plan like the others which are in this group. The upper portion of the facade is of a later date, perhaps from the eighteenth century from which the tower of the church seems to date. The door itself is heavily rusticated and of cut stone. The forms are monumental and heavy and the actual composition is almost identical to that of the San Andrés door. There is a square window on center of the second stage and as in San Andrés, this is flanked by two large cartouches. The sculptural quality of these is thick and of large scale like its precedent. The tiny niche on the third stage of the composition is hard to establish in date but hardly looks original.

Santa María Xixitla (Pl. 35) is documented as is Santiago by means of the 1580 map and is also three aisle in plan. The

photographs of the facade of this church are not adequate, but the area evident in the photographs and the interior of the church are so similar to Santiago that it must be placed, tentatively, in this group. No futher analysis of the exterior facade is possible.

The style of the tower as well as the scrolls and the pediment over the window of San Cosme (Pl. 8) indicate that the facade has been rehandled in the eighteenth century. The door itself has been covered with stucco so that no accurate observation on the material from which it is constructed is possible. Like the above churches, the facade in this case is wide, an indication of the three aisled plan of the interior. Like Santa Maria Xixitla, this church must be mentioned in connection with this group, although there is no overt evidence, such as the existence of cut stone, for its early date. The general disposition of the design of the doorway does indicate that it could be an eighteenth century elaboration on a simple Herreran door of the previous century.

Although the freestanding columns and the later detail of the portal of Santiago (Pl. 38) date without doubt from the late eighteenth century, the existence of a simple cut stone window on the second stage implies that this is another modification of a seventeenth century door. The slender Herreran remates with balls are another indication of the above premise.

The only evidence in the door of San Juan Cuautlancingo (Pl. 4) which suggests its early date is the doorway itself, since all the rest of the composition is stucco and from the eighteenth

century. The entrance itself is composed of the usual plain round arch, as in the case of the previous examples, and is beautifully restrained and rusticated and of the cut stone so typical of the seventeenth century. Circular medallions have, as in San Juan Acquiahuac, been painted in the spandrel areas. The window above has been stuccoed and painted and it is impossible to tell what is original beneath these additions. It seems probable that the window in this case is a later addition, since in no other cases in this group is there such a wide area between the door and the window.

The present tile coated facade of San Bernardino Tlascalcingo (Pl. 47) bears the inscription 1789. Beneath this colourful revetment are the sturdy and simple Herreran proportions of the door with its obelisk-like remates. They suggest several possibilities. The first might be the extraordinary persistence of the Herreran form to a very late date in this provincial area; the second, that the dating on the facade refers to the tile application, which might have been put on an original Herreran facade. The fact that the three arched gate composition is obviously modified by later additions at the sides, and that the date of the facade is in tile itself, seems to give strong support to the latter possibility. The upper portions of the facade, and probably the window as well, have been much altered and the tile has obscured any members of cut stone which may exist today.

One of the most interesting facades in Cholula is San Pedro Parroquia (Pl. 23). Probably including the window, the upper section of the facade is one of the eighteenth century remodellings, though the lower section is much earlier. De la Maza[15] mentions the date 1640 in its history and this may possibly refer to the date of its founding. Tall and light with very simple early Herreran proportion, the lower part of the facade has an archivolt finely fluted and the keystone is marked with a bracket form. Placed to either side of the portal composition, two slender, light pilasters suggest the sixteenth century Plateresque gestalt or that of the early Herreran. Of the same style are the obelisk-like remates which crown the cornice above. Located just across the plaza from San Francisco and the Capilla Reale, the early portions of this facade could easily have been influenced by their design.

By far the most interesting and unusual aspect of the facade, the second stage is comprised of a small round headed niche with two stylized scrolls of small proportion to the sides. Reversing the sequence of composition, this is the only case in Cholula where the niche is placed between the door and the window. An identical form is found on the main portal of the sixteenth century church of Tlalmanalco of 1591.[16] Even the stylization of the scrolls

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15 De la Maza, op. cit., manuscript with no pagination.

16 Angulo, op. cit., Vol.I, Fig.505.

and the proportions of both door and niche are identical in the two works. The second case of the identical occurrence of this form is on the door of the Santissima Trinidad in Puebla of 1671, (Pl. X-4). Here again the details as well as the whole composition and its sequence of parts are the same. Because of the usual influence of Puebla designs in the provincial area of Cholula, it seems likely that this particular facade may have been done toward the end of the seventeenth century, soon after the Puebla precedent. If the church was started in 1640, it is not improbable that the facade, ordinarily the last part of the structure finished, may date about 1680-90. Another possibility is that the door was finished earlier than the Santissima Trinidad, or the niche could have been added above a 1640 door, at the end of the century. In any case this theme is an unusual and unique one in Cholula itself.

D-2. Mannerist, Unpilastered Doorways. A second large group of seventeenth century cut stone facades are those which use no ornamentation but an unsupported cornice above the round headed door. Considerably more unified than the former type, this group of doors use no extraneous ornamentation and detail. The top heavy Mannerist type of composition is associated by Kubler with the last part of the sixteenth century in the Purist facades.[17] In these there is a lack of any but architectonic ornamentation a great restraint and a correctness of proportion. This group in

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[17] Kubler, op. cit., p.404.

Cholula is large and rather difficult to date since the popularity of this type of composition persisted to an unusually late date, either because of its simplicity and economy or because of provincial taste. A sixteenth century precedent for this type of rather overweighted Mannerist design is to be found in the side doors of Tecali (Pl. X-5) and Quecholac (Pl. X-6). In both cases there is a heavy and unsupported cornice above the round arched door, the characteristic of the group. In Puebla there are seventeenth century precedents for the same theme. The door of the Santissima Trinidad (Pl. X-4) of 1671 is one of these. The tile coating and probably the upper portions of the facade of San Marcos are dated 1797-1836 (Pl. X-7). The doorway and the window above are very simple, however, and being of cut stone, could very well be from the seventeenth century. In any case these are the closest direct precedent for the type of facades built in Cholula in the seventeenth century.

Among the Cholula facades there are two types of decoration: the first, more Plateresque, delicate and light in proportion; the second, heavier and using Baroque rustication much like that of San Andres.

The round arch of the door of Mexicalcingo (Pl. 42) is constructed of a dark stone with no ornamentation at all. The unsupported cornice above this looks clearly remodelled as does the large window above it. No relation exists between the arch and the cornice except a flat, vertical impost block which fills the entire area between the two forms. A very definite feeling of instability

in this design evokes the tendencies of Mannerist architecture cited above in San Francisco and San Andres. In both cases there is a predominance of weight over support. The doors of San Rafael Comac (Pl. 46) and San Dieguito (Pl. 56), both undated, are identical in design if not in material to Mexicalcingo. In San Rafael the rehandling of the window and the probable removal of the original cornice above the door must account for the awkwardness of the existing scheme. San Dieguito has been much modified in its upper portions, but the door composition remains intact.

The door of the Ecce Homo (Pl. 29) is based on the same design with the addition of a very correct frieze complete with triglyphs and metopes. Stuccoed over so that no stonework is visible at present, it is likely that this too is a seventeenth century door. The basic design of this facade must classify it in this group.

The rusticated doorways of this group are even more coherent and are all obviously of the original cut stone material. A square window occurs on the second stage of all these examples and some manner of elaboration in the form of carving on all the keystones exists, as in San Andres. San Pedrito (Pl. 30) and San Matías (Pl. 11), although of very different scale, both have ornate plastic elaboration at this point. San José (Pl. 57) and Santiago Momoxpa (Pl. 16), though equally rusticated, have incised rather than raised decoration. The only other decorative forms used in this group are the obelisk remates of San Matías. Other examples of this entrance type may have originally posessed this feature.

II. Eighteenth Century Facades.

As they stand today, nearly all the churches of Cholula are primarily the products of the eighteenth century or the first two decades of the nineteenth. These facades fall immediately into two general groups. The first, A, numerically the smaller group, contains portals three bays in width, the second is composed of facades but a single bay wide. This latter divides into five sub groups.

A. Three Bay Portals. Lateral niches, giving a three bay division to the design, are the characteristic of all these facades. Although all the churches are single aisle, some facades attain additional breadth by extending the face of the building in under the base of the tower; others gain a feeling of ample width simply by doubling the pilasters which flank the door.

1. Undercut Tower Bases. Chronologically the earlier of the two groups, some of the illustrations here may have been started late in the seventeenth century, but seem more closely tied to the style of the years following. Santa Maria Cuaco, whose wooden door bears a carved inscription, 1681, has a fairly flat quality in the decoration. Divided into three parts vertically, the composition is framed by two wide pilasters. The round arched door fills the first stage, while the other two are divided into three sections each by pilasters and windows. Two scrolls, which almost seem a remote and provincial edition of those used on the

Church of the Gesu in Rome, 1568-1584, run from the top cornice of the portal on a diagonal to meet the extremes of the two flanking sections of the wall. With these two sections the facade is again divided into two lateral parts. The left diagonal flank covers one third of the width of the tower base. This undercutting of the tower is a feature frequently used in many of the Cholula facades. (Pl. 43).

Although Santo Nino (Pl. 41), composed of only two vertical sections, maintains a three part division of the facade on the same basis as Santa Maria Cuaco, the scrolled flanking sections are adorned with niches and, as in the previous church, these are under the base of the tower. The upper portion of the composition, with its elaborate niche, is considerably narrower than the lower. It, too, is divided into central portion and two flanking sides. The increased plasticity, salomonic columns and stucco on the second level, all suggest that this facade is the product of the last half of the eighteenth century.

The facade of San Francisco Acatepec (Pl. 53) is one of the most famous in all Mexico. Actually it is somewhat of a unique case in Cholula, since the dominant feature of the facade, its extremely Baroque, concave plan, has no literal parallel in the area. The undulating facade plan was rare enough in Mexico,[18] but is virtually unknown in Cholula. The essential composition of the facade is a hybrid between the two divisions of the three part group. The

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[18] Angulo, op. cit., Vol. II., p.542.

projecting sides of the facade undercut the tower. The engaged columns, to either side of the entrance, are doubled and two niches are placed between them. Thus the essential character of both of the three part facade types is evident. The lavish tile decoration of the entire surface of the facade suggests an eighteenth century date, while the estipite forms on the upper stage of the portal enable us to date it 1760-1790.[19] The use of the espadana form is somewhat unusual in Cholula and it occurs here at Acatepec and nearly every other case of its occurrence is associated with a facade which employs diagonal side buttresses, if not an actually concave plan, to give the same effect as San Francisco Acatepec. Although Acatepec is the only church in Cholula which has a marked plasticity in facade plan, other facades use diagonal corner buttresses to achieve a more limited, though concave profile. Two cases of this are found in San Bernardino Tlascalcingo (Pl. 47) and San Pedro Acatepec (Pl. 58), both of which use the espadana form.

2. Doubled Pilasters. The two examples of this type of three bay facade design come from the first decades of the nineteenth century. The facade of Nuestra Señora de Tzocuilac (Pl. 32), dated 1807-1811 by inscription, has the usual round arched door with square window above and here the salomonic, engaged columns have been doubled

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[19] The first use of the estipite form on the exterior of a building in Mexico was on the Sagrario facade of 1749 by Rodríguez. Allowing the usual ten years for the provincial examples of a new style, it is improbable that this Cholula facade could be before 1760.

and niches placed between on both levels. Despite the use of Baroque salomonics on this facade, its ornamentation marks it clearly as the product of the Classical Reaction. Although salomonic, the engaged columns are of tall graceful proportion, rather than heavy and robust. The cornices and the pediment are composed with restrained Classic detail, dentil courses and moldings. The small pilasters to the sides of the window, with their bracket capitals, are a typical feature found on many of the interiors of the churches decorated in this same period.

The similarity of Santa María Tequanitla (Pl. 48) to the facade above is obvious, despite the altered condition of the facade. The doubled engaged columns, in this case not salomonic, the four niches and the identical proportions of the design, put it in the same group and period. It is likely that there originally was a mixtelinear scrolled upper section like that of the previous church at the top of this facade as well. The pairing of the towers, a feature which occurs primarily in the Classical Reaction in Cholula, as well as the designs of the towers of these two churches, is almost alike. It is obvious that the facade of Santa Maria Tequanitla was originally designed to have paired towers, although only the left one was completed. This may have been due to the interruptions of the building program by the wars of independence.

B. Single Bay Portals. This group, into which fall by far the majority of the Cholula facades, may be divided into five basic

sub groups in terms of general facade design. All of these churches lack side niches beyond the door itself as well as the three part lateral extension of Group A. All the examples in each of the five groups form a fairly coherent unit, although there are typical and unusual types in each. Attached to each of these divisions are a number of hybrid churches which incorporate features from several different group types. The many older cut stone doors, discussed above, most of which were later rehandled in the eighteenth century, will be considered here again in their altered state.

1. Flat or Polygonal Cornices. Six doorways in Cholula have completely flat or polygonal silhouettes. In no case are there marked secondary feature or singular ornamentation to distinguish them. The later portions of these facades are, therefore, almost impossible to place chronologically or stylistically.

Mexicalcingo (Pl. 42) possesses an old door which was discussed above in relation to the small doors of Cholula, derived from the Purist style of Quecholac (Pl.X-6). The upper part of the facade is obviously recently redone and has absolutely no architectural elaboration under its flat coping. The door of San Juan Calvario (Pl. 21) is recessed and its facade is completely unornamented. Although no overt evidence appears from the design of the present door, the three aisled plan of this church and its presence on the Map of 1580 provide considerable reason to suppose that the facade today is very recent, since a seventeenth century one of stone

must have once existed. With remodelling, all evidence of the original style are gone. The poverty stricken early nineteenth century facade of Niño Perdido (Pl. 13), which has a door of the same style as Mexicalcingo, must fall into this group. Aside from the door, a window above, and a small remate on center of the cornice, there is no other decoration of any sort. Like the other two facades above, the tower of this church is absolutely flush with the surface of the facade.

The door of the Chapel of the Third Order (Pl. 25), adjoining San Francisco, with its polygonal profile, salomonic columns and flanking octagonal buttresses, looks like a work of the mid eighteenth century. Its robust plasticity eliminates a seventeenth or nineteenth century date. No direct derivatives of this door are to be found in Cholula, but the use of octagonal buttresses is frequent among the other groups, particularly those using espadanas. This door may be the immediate precedent for this theme since it is apparently the earliest use of the form. The polygonal outline of the facade is a form found frequently on the exterior side walls of Cholula churches, and this is obviously the prime source of the form. The later additions to the early door of San Pedrito (Pl. 30) utilize the polygonal cornice as a convenient way of redoing an old door. The similarity of the window of this church, which is obviously later than the door, to the design of the niche on the Chapel of the Third Order, reinforces the relation between the two works.

It is hard to tell if there was an original Purist doorway under the plaster coating which now covers the portal of the Santissima Trinidad (Pl. 34), but the present brick frame of entablature and pilasters is an eighteenth century product. The polygonal shape of the cornice and the use of octagonal buttresses to either side of the facade link this design more closely to that of the Chapel of the Third Order than any other in Cholula.

The same plan is used in the facade of San Pedro Acatepec (Pl. 58), although the cornice is flat rather than being polygonal. The door, with its slender enframement, is inscribed 1812, and no applied decoration is used in the design. The inscription most likely refers to the interior remodelling and replastering of an older facade. There is no way of weighing the date and style much more satisfactorily, but this case does point up the continued appreciation of the Herreran seventeenth century portal type into the nineteenth century.

2, Niched Cornices. An elaborate niche, the basic feature of this entire group, falls on center and well above any hypothetical cornice line placed horizontally between the two extremities of the facade. This niche, in all cases, breaks up through the cornice molding and produces a shattered, broken profile. The group as a whole divides into two types. The first, highly plastic and Baroque in execution, may be stylistically dated 1700-1750. The second half are of simpler and flatter type and occur primarily in facades which exhibit early traits of the Classical Reaction and thus may be placed

around 1800. The basic disposition of parts of the latter group is merely a late statement of the earlier style, with new applied decoration.

2-a. Baroque Niches. All but one of this group incorporate an early door from the seventeenth century, or one which indicates an early date. The use of the central niche in the area can thus be termed primarily a remodelling device, by which the distilled Herreran style of so many of the late seventeenth century doors was made Baroque in the first half of the eighteenth century. The most extreme example of this technique occurs in the upper part of the door of the Capilla Reale (Pl. 24), where the profile of the niche is jagged and complex and the parts heavy and robust in contrast to the delicacy of the original Plateresque door below. The surface of the wall, as well as the profile is shattered and conceived in a multiplicity of levels. This door seems the earliest, and one of the most Baroque examples of the device.

The same solution to the Baroque remodelling fervor was used in the upper third storey of the facade of San Juan Acquiahuac (Pl.28). A continuation of the pilasters of the original door was added as well as the niche, heavy remates and a two stepped railing. Although the surface is not quite as violently treated as that of the Capilla Reale, the same basic design is used.

From about the same period at the middle of the century is the facade of Santo Niño (Pl. 41), which is discussed above under the three bay facades. It is the one case where the niche form is

used on an eighteenth century door where there are no evidences of a preexistant design. The plan outlined above is used and the forms are made heavier and even more plastic. In contrast to the other examples of this group, applied stucco decoration is used rather than only over elaborated architectonic forms. In this respect Santo Nino is more related to the second half of the niche group where this type of ornament is used extensively. Since the dating of the second group is around 1800, it seems probable that Santo Nino is a transitional case and may have been designed around 1775.

A rather diluted version of the central niche theme is used on the facades of San Juan (Pl. 40), San Rafael Comac (Pl. 46) and the Ecce Homo (Pl. 29). In all three cases there is no applied decoration of any kind with the exception of the niche. As in all the facades but Santo Niño, old doorways are used in these, Ecce Homo is the most positive and vital version and the other two examples have niches of very small scale which add little to the original design of the facades, by either their style or their location. The unpretentious facade of San Miguel Xochmilucan (Pl 45), though actually containing no niche, must fall into this group. The directional remates, which adorn the otherwise flat cornice, and the central cross, are obviously intended to evoke the aesthetic effect of the cornice of San Juan. The early cut stone facade of San Miguel Tecpan (Pl. 27) is a similar case. A very small niche has been stuck on the center of the cornice and a railing added to the whole. This is the same motif used on San Juan Acquiahuac, although the railing

is not stepped and the niche is much smaller.

2-b. Late Eighteenth Century Niches. In contrast to the more Baroque examples of this group, the second part of this classification is characterized by urns and other late eighteenth century forms of applied, non-architectonic ornamentation. The niches themselves are now flatter and less ornate. A straight or concave flank is present in each of these cases, which joins the niche to the facade, rather than creating the more jutting relation of niche and portal found above. The composition is tall and narrow in every case.

Though flatter and more restrained, the facade of San Miguel Tonantzintla (Pl. 55) is quite closely related to Santo Niño. The late eighteenth century frosting-like applied decoration produces a tall,almost rectangular design, which is characteristic of nearly all the examples of this group. The third level niche is the most Baroque in the group with its triangular remates and scrolls. The latter have been straightened and stylized in a fashion which is similar to the flanks of the other niches in this group and also appears on some of the atrium gateways of the same period. A heavy cornice of restrained design is placed just below the niche and is another characteristic feature. Its Baroque elements would seem to date it as the earliest of this group and probably from soon after Santo Nino,in the 1780's.

Pilasters, rather than the applied stucco of San Miguel, are used on the second levels of both Santiago (Pl. 38) and Santiago Momoxpa (Pl. 16), to produce a tall rectangular design. The

disposition of the niches in both cases, though lacking the scrolled flanks, can also be termed buttresses, and the remates of the church above are of an identical design. The lower section of Santiago Momoxpa, an old door of the Purist group, has no lateral pilasters. This may well have been the original plan of Santiago as well, before the addition of the paired freestanding columns to the sides of the door. The rusticated cut stone window and the Herreran remates of Santiago reinforce this supposition. The late date of the additions to Santiago are indicated by the freestanding columns. In these proportions, this motif is not found elsewhere except in the early nineteenth century examples of the Classical Reaction like the Guadalupe (Pl. 19) and San Juan Tlautla (Pl. 9). On the second levels of Santiago and Santiago Momoxpa the greatest amount of elaboration occurs, in both cases these are derivations of the estipite form. In Santiago these take the form of small lambrequin designs under the capitals of the pilasters, while in Santiago Momoxpa the pilasters themselves decrease in width to the bottom as does the estipite form. The same pilasters are panelled with a section of molding of the guiloche variety familiar in the vocabulary of the Classical Reaction.

The facade of Santa Barbara (Pl. 3) is unquestionably derivative of the same design. Like Santiago paired pilasters are here used to either side of the portal. Although not freestanding, these are paired on the second level as well as the first, while remates shaped like cartouches flank the third stage niche. The

simplicity and monumentality of the pilasters and their heavy, if flat, proportions do not have the grace and elegance of the other two churches. The left tower is dated from the early twentieth century by means of an inscription, and its similarity to the facade makes a contemporary date likely though not positive.

3. Mixtelinear Cornices. Employing heavily molded mixtelinear cornices, this group is generally more complex in terms of its sub-groupings than the previous classifications. Sculpture, both architectural and purely decorative, can be seen in this group and an unarchitectonic and fluid feeling of forms is evident here, which was not characteristic above. Remates adorn the cornices of almost all of these facades and a common secondary feature is the use of an oculus or quatrefoil, which punctures the facade above the level of the second stage window.

The first large section of this group seems both simpler and earlier, having a central section which bulges up, flanked by two concave or straight side portions. The second type of facade found here is more elaborate and complex with cornices disposed basically in three convex lobes. The taste for a central elliptical member on the facade is evident in this and the last two groups. Although the context of this feature is markedly different in each of the group types, an affinity for this motif may be derived ultimately from the elliptical niche of the old portion of San Andrés (Pl. 37), which was the earliest occurrence of the form in Cholula.

3-a. Central Lobed Facades. The simplest example of this first subdivision is the facade of Santa María Xinachtla (Pl. 50), whose round headed door and single window are virtually unornamented. The cornice forms a central lobe with two concave side portions, and a single tower is set slightly back from the surface of the facade. San Cosme (Pl. 8) is based on the same design while adding an oculus on the third level, so characteristic of the examples of this group. A rectangular section of cornice had been interpolated into the profile of the facade between the convex and the two concave side portions. The doorway itself is ornamented with eighteenth century pilasters and scrolls to the sides of the window. The purity of the forms of these elements, as well as the design of the tower, which is primarily associated with the late Classical Reaction facades, date it after 1800. The design of the cornice is from the eighteenth century though no positive date is evident from its design.

Although somewhat modified in that the side flanks are straight rather than diagonal, San Mateo Cuanalà (Pl. 5) is also part of this group. Four remates mark the extremities of each section but the most unique feature of the whole is the manner in which the flanks of the upper stage have been dropped so that they start well below the sides of the central portion. A date from the end of the eighteenth century is indicated by the scrolls to the sides of the window and the urn shaped remates over the door. These remates and the trilobed disposition of the door itself are the only difference between the section and that of San Cosme.

The Parroquia of San Pedro (Pl. 23) is the last facade in this first and simpler section of the mixtelinear group. The lower part of the door probably dates from around the middle of the seventeenth century, as was cited above. The upper section is obviously later. Particularly interesting is the horizontal cornice which runs the entire width of the facade between the old and the new sections. This seems to be a completely unique feature. Because of the design of the early part of the facade, the upper section here has a window rather than the usual niche or oculus. Heavy pilasters frame the entire facade and undercut the base of the tower slightly as in the first group. The cornice itself has a profile like San Cosme. The thickness of the molding of this area and the heavy remates which crown the top give the design a strong connection with the group to follow.

3-b. Trilobed Mixtelinear Cornices. In contrast to the above, this group possesses three distinct convex lobes in the profile of the cornice. This component of the design also tends to be heavier than those in the first subdivision, and like the first it is also crowned with remates. The same general design, a mixtelinear outline rising markedly in the center, is the basic premise of both types. An increased complexity and plasticity and a new crispness in the quality of the moldings are the only real differences between the two.

A small chapel in the San Andrés area, San Andrecito (Pl. 39) has no tower and is dated from the start of the nineteenth

century by de la Maza.[20] With its heavy molding, the cornice is now frankly trilobed, with a rectangular section interjected between the joints of the lobes. Designed in three stages, the door, window and niche occur in the usual order. The decoration is now frankly of the Classical Reaction type , primarily architectonic and restrained. The molding around the window is striated, a form used frequently in the last group of Classical Reaction facades, although in this case the striations are not recessed. The facade is flat with very little plasticity in the delineation of the forms. The niche above the window is of the same form as that of San Pedro Parroquia and of about the same proportions. The scroll designs are, however, much altered in this later example, being rectilinear rather than curved and sloping.

San Diego Tlautla (Pl. 10) combines an old door, probably from the seventeenth century with the upper parts of the facade which have the heavy mixtelinear outline of this group from the eighteenth. The trilobed disposition of the cornice is very like that of San Andrecito, though somewhat more vertical in proportion. This narrow verticality may be the result of the earlier design of the facade, with its two towers, between which the redecoration seems to have been interposed. The urn remates, which occur on the sides of the cornice, and the flat, broken pilasters of the niche, tend to associate the later additions with the end of the

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20 De la Maza, op. cit., manuscript with no pagination.

eighteenth century, possibly 1760-1800.

The facade of San Gabriel Ometoxtla (Pl. 6) is also a hybrid related to this group, though it seems from an earlier date in part. The three lobed profile of the cornice has a slight lateral extension between the lobes. This feature, combined with the lightness of the stucco, associate it closely with the more fluid outline of 3-a, rather than with the more plastic and close knit composition of 3-b. Secondary features here also relate this facade to group 2-b, the late eighteenth century facades, with niches. Although no application of sculpture occurs here, the tall vertical plan of the portal with a niche breaking the cornice above, is unmistakable. The doubling of the flanking pilasters of the window is the same motif found in Santiago, although in this case the pilasters are not freestanding. A possible date for the later portions of San Gabriel might be 1760-1790.

Because of the occurrence of lambrequin forms on the facade and estipites on the tower, Nuestra Señora de Santo Entierro (Pl. 20) can be fortunately pinpointed more surely during the same period cited above.[21] The cornice here is proportionally closely related to that of San Diego Gallyotitla (Pl. 49) and the group to follow. In all there is a fluidity and undulation in the thick molding which crowns the design and relatively little division of the three lobes of the cornice. A late eighteenth century example like this

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[21] Cf ante., p.69, footnote 19.

is ample proof that the earlier compositional solution of the single Herreran portal has been continued. The late Baroque interpreter has here merely increased the complexity of all the forms by the reduplication of pilasters and cornices and the increased plasticity of the different components.

The three facades of San José (Pl. 57), San Diego Gallyotitla (Pl. 49), and San Bernardino Tlascalcingo (Pl. 47) are almost identical in style. In each there is a strong possibility of the use of an early door in the lower section. A quatrefoil window punctures the upper section of all three facades and heavy remates adorn the cornice, while the similarities of the entrance composition have already been discussed. San Diego Gallyotitla and San Bernardino Tlascalcingo both have triangular Herreran remates above the pediment over the door, while these are lacking in San José. This may be a loss through time or perhaps the Purist derivation of the latter door. In San José no rectilinear section occurs between the lobes, while this feature is found in both the other churches. Aside from the tile coating of the latter, the basic difference between San Diego Gallyotitla and San Bernardino Tlascalcingo is in the placement of the towers and the buttresses. In San Diego Gallyotitla the facade is placed flush with the tower and no buttresses occur. In the other church, and this is the only case of this form, two diagonal buttresses are placed at the extremes of the facade. The tower is then located continuously with the front edge of the left buttress and parallel to the facade. The tower is

by this means located about five feet in front of the facade of the church. This is the closest example in the area to the concave plan of San Francisco Acatepec (Pl. 53). Since the tile coating of San Bernardino Tlascalcingo was probably added to the older church in 1789, and Acatepec was not done until the 1760's, it is likely that this concavity in the later church may be derived from San Francisco Acatepec, as was the use of a tile coating. San Bernardino Tlascalcingo uses a small niche between the window and the quatrefoil in addition to the basic plan of the other churches of this group.

3-c Trilobed Mixtelinear Cornices with Espadanas. A common form in Mexico, the same cannot be said of the use of the espadana in Cholula. Of the six instances of this form, four occur on trilobed facades. They also seem closely associated with the use of diagonal buttresses at the sides of the composition. Into this group fall by far the most complex of the mixtelinear designs and the outline of the cornice is crisp and well defined in all cases.

San Francisco Acatepec (Pl. 53) is the textbook example of the group as well as the most complex design. It is likely that most of the other churches were influenced by this facade since it seems to be the earliest of the group. The composition of the portal has already been discussed under the three bay portals. Nevertheless, the mixtelinear treatment of the cornice, the concavity of the facade itself, and the use of the espadana form, all place it in this group as well, since all of these are the distinguishing characteristics of the group.

San Dieguito (Pl. 56) and Santiago Xicocingo (Pl. 52) are both very closely derived from the above facade. Both have trilobed mixtelinear cornices and espadanas. San Dieguito has an oculus above its Purist doorway and seems closely patterned on the style of San Bernardino Tlascalcingo. The facade is flush with the tower and an espadana has been added on the side opposite the tower and just behind the right lobe of the cornice. Closely related to its model, this facade utilizes a similar placement of buttresses and tower. The right diagonally placed buttress marks one extreme of the design, while the tower is contiguous to a similar form to the left. Considerably in advance of the face of the facade, this form is a provincial edition of the Baroque, concave motif of San Francisco Acatepec. The provincial estipites which occur on the niche place the upper part of the design between 1760-1790. The complexity of the design is increased by the enlargement of the espadana and its location contiguous with the trilobed cornice so that the right lobe of the latter is displaced.

Although Santiago Xicocingo (Pl. 52) has simple proportions which seem based on the usual Herreran door composition of the Cholula area, the lightness and slenderness of the pilasters, with their delicate fluting, and the correctness of the cornice, would indicate a date from the late eighteenth century for the upper parts of the facade. In this case there is no hint of the element of concavity in the disposition of the whole.

Although employing no trilobed silhouette, San Pedro Acatepec (Pl. 53)

(Pl. 58) must be treated as somewhat of a hybrid in this group. It possesses both the other features of the type, an espadana and diagonally placed buttresses. Markedly concave, the facade composition cuts away under the base of the tower and considerably to the front of this form, just as it was placed behind in San Bernardino Tlascalcingo (Pl. 47) and San Dieguito (Pl. 56). In this respect the design is close to that of San Francisco Acatepec (Pl. 53). As in San Dieguito and Santiago Xicocingo, an espadana is placed to the right of the facade. Like San Francisco Acatepec, the espadana is located diagonally across the corner of the building. The guiloche panelled pilasters which decorate the tower, and the similarity in the material of the tower and the facade, as well as the inscription over the door from 1812, indicate the facade as a hybrid from the period of the Classical Reaction. The design of the door itself, while possibly a remodelling, is the last dated example of the seventeenth century Herreran door style in Cholula and indicates the prolonged popularity of the type in the area.

Two other instances of the use of the espadana in Cholula are essentially anomalies and are not connected with this group. Santiago Cuayangle (Pl. 51) is an early nineteenth century facade which will be discussed in the last facade group, concerned primarily with the forms of the Classical Reaction. The espadana to the right of the facade is small and parallel to the face of the building. It seems little related to the other instances of the use of the form. The Carmen (Pl. 12) is the only other church which

has an espadana, but the disposition of this church in plan and in design is completely without parallel in Cholula. An unroofed, small atrium with roofed side portions is attached on to the front face of the building. Two espadanas occur in the composition, one to the right of the rear wall of the atrium and one over the door. Though slightly incoherent, the whole composition is simple and relatively unornamented. Because of the unique design of the church it is very hard to place stylistically. The only clue which seems to indicate any period for the structure is the espadanas themselves. That over the door is punctured by an oculus of the same variety as that on the atrium gate of Santa María Xixitla (Pl. 35) and is undoubtedly from the Classical Reaction. The espadana to the right of the atrium has double arched openings and is flanked by scrolls with striated undercutting behind. The use of both striations and stylized scrolls are associated primarily with the period of the Classical Reaction in Cholula. Scrolls of exactly the same form as those of the Carmen occur on the facade of San Juan Tlautla (Pl. 9), although in this case there are no striations. The use of horizontally striated areas is not present in Cholula until the start of the nineteenth century. At this time they occur frequently. The facade of the Jerusalem (Pl. 22) is boldly striated and the same motif is exploited on the facade of Santiago Cuayangle (Pl. 51). The only instance of a combinations of striations with scroll decoration is found in the side altar of the main church of San Andrés (Pl. 37). All of the examples cited above are without doubt from

the same time and it therefore seems likely that the Carmen is from the same period. No other comparable evidence in this church associates it with any other examples in Cholula.

4a. Central Ellipse Cornices. These facades are all characterized by a distinct central ellipse which bulges up from the top of a basically flat facade, Combined, as a secondary feature, this group also shows a marked widening of the second stage of the portal composition, perhaps a derivation from the facade of San Andrés. Two essential subdivisions are evident. The first has no break above the ellipse and railings are used twice as are trilobed openings, and a slight use of architectonic sculpture. The second type of elliptical facade is characterized by heavy folk type polychrome sculpture, a break in the central ellipse, triangular remates over the door and a Baroque plasticity which frequently utilizes salomonic columns. In both of these sub groups the facades tend to intrude in under the base of the tower area. All of the examples in the first type are single towered.

1. The one other church, with San Pedro Parroquia (Pl. 23), which inverts the sequence of window and niche, San Miguel on the Hill (Pl. 18) has a facade which is flush with the tower. A trilobed archivolt molding frames the round arched opening of the door and is topped by a small niche. Four niches, two above the door and two framing the window, are the only ornamentation beside a heavy hanging cornice. The interruption of this cornice and the entire composition of this facade are about the most gauche and provincial

designs in all Cholula. The square window of this design looks as though it may once have been circular, thus repeating the uncontrolled curvilinear rhythm of the facade. If so, this too was a unique feature in the area.

The very weak fill in over the door of San Andrés (Pl. 37) mark its later portions as from the same period as San Miguel on the Hill. The central ellipse is evident here, with its gauche and unarchitectonic delineation, and the primary architectural value of the facade as it stands is to be found in the cut stone parts from the seventeenth century.

Three more facades, which use the central ellipse form, are also remodellings of seventeenth century facades. The old cut stone door of Jesus Nazareno (Pl. 14) is dated above from 1681, but the upper part of the facade is of stucco and obviously from the eighteenth century and based on a similar design to the previous churches. The octagonal buttresses, which move in under the base of the tower, link this facade to the second sub-group of elliptical entrances of polychrome type.

The two churches Santiago Parroquia (Pl. 17) and Santa María Xixitla (Pl. 35) are both cited from the Map of 1580 and are of three aisle plan. The door of Santiago Parroquia is of cut stone and obviously from the seventeenth century while there is no more than a slight indication that Santa María Xixitla is of the same type in other than a general sense and its history. Both facades, like Jesus Nazareno, have a single tower right, which is flush with the

facade and are also flanked by diagonal buttresses which undercut the base of the tower. As in Jesus Nazareno, two large plaques flank the window in Santiago Parroquia achieving the typical wide outline. The niche is small, though flanked by remates and a railing is added over the cornice. Lack of adequate photographic detail in Santa María Xixitla enables only the observation of the same plan, no railing and a small niche over the cornice.

4-b. Polychrome Facades. The central ellipse of this group is marked by a heavier molding than in the previous examples and is broken by remates. The usual rectilinear form of the portal, due to a widening of the second stage is more pronounced in all these, with the exception of San Matías (Pl. 11), which utilizes a seventeenth century door. Added to the third stage of this design, a stucco medallion is typical of the brightly coloured, heavy polychrome detail of the examples of this group. Heavy, striped, octagonal buttresses frame both sides of the composition and intrude under the base of the tower. Thus, although in reality flush with the towers, the facade seems slightly concave.

Having an early door, the majority of the facade of San Juan Cuautlancingo is done in heavy polychrome sculpture of the mid-eighteenth century, (Pl. 4). This later composition is clearly derived from the ponderous facade of San Cristóbal (Pl. X-8) in Puebla of 1676-87, though the material is different as is the decoration, with two square plaques added by the window. The similarity is evident in the weight of the heavy salomonic columns which, lavishly decorated

façade and are also flanked by diagonal buttresses which undercut the base of the tower. As in Jesús Nazareno, two large plaques flank the window in Santiago Farrapuia achieving the typical wide outline. The niche is small, though flanked by rosettes and a railing is added over the cornice. Lack of adequate photographic detail in Santa María Xixitla enables only the observation of the same plan, no railing and a small niche over the cornice.

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and paired, flank both window and door. Two large niched panels are placed between this window and the columns to increase the width of the second stage of the design. The molding which marks the central ellipse of the cornice has become much more plastic and is broken on center by a large medallion in the same style of sculpture. Triangular remates, wildly swirled, decorate the tops of the columns which are almost freestanding. The facade is flush with the surface of the paired towers.

San Pedro Colomoxco (Pl. 44) has the heavy striped buttresses of San Matías and salomonics, of the same polychrome quality, occur on the tower. The second stage window and the third stage niche are framed by sculpture with colonnettes and octagonal medallions to give width to each. A heavy tubular device curves in an inverted "U" around the entire doorway, producing an effect similar to that of the arched facade compositions of the group to follow from the Classical Reaction. This motif also serves to accentuate the central ellipse characteristic of this polychrome group of facades.

A marked Baroque plasticity is notable in all of these churches, and this fact would tend to place them in the Rich Baroque period in the middle of the eighteenth century, in contrast to the restrained Herreran style of the seventeenth, and the flatter, more delicate Classical Reaction details from the last decade of the eighteenth and the start of the nineteenth century.

5. Classical Reaction Facades. The most unified and coherent of all the facade types in Cholula, the churches from the Classical

Reaction are singular in that nearly all are from but one period and none incorporate cut stone doors from the seventeenth century. These churches most certainly date from the first decades of the nineteenth century and the great boom period in Cholula. By far the most coherent group in terms of design, these facades utilize an arched frame around a recessed two stage portal composition and are crowned by some sort of mixtelinear profile above, which incorporates a niche or medallion. There is relatively no fusion of the facade and tower areas and the towers are usually advanced a short distance in front of the facade. A profusion of delicate, fine scale applied ornamentation and sculpture, incorporating urns, flutings, scrolls and moldings of a fairly flat Classical Reaction type is usual. A tendency to centralize and stabilize the design employs several methods. The use of paired towers is the solution in several of the churches while a wide, flat wall area, advanced to the same degree from the face of the building, appears in others. The doorways are uniformly arched and the windows square.

The primary trait of all the churches, aside from their ornamentation is the recessed arch of the entire composition. This particular facade solution was not a new one in Mexico, having appeared in the portal of San Felipe Neri in Mexico as early as 1684-1687. Although the composition of the portal differs in detail, a related scheme is used again in San Juan de Dios in Mexico in 1729 (Pl. X-9). Also closely related is the Churrigueresque facade of Santa Prisca in Tasco (Pl. X-10) of 1751-1758, and that of the Sanctuary of Ocotlan

in Tlascala of the same style (Pl. X-11). Although none of these are from the Classical Reaction, the historical derivation of the design is obvious. Unquestionably the most direct precedent for the type, as it evolved in Cholula is the facade of the Guadalupe in Puebla (Pl. X-12), which though undated, must be from the very end of the eighteenth century and the Classical Reaction. The paired towers, proportions and details of this facade are all markedly like the evolution of the type in Cholula.

5-a. The first grouping of these facades is characterized by two freestanding columns on the first stage of the composition, scrolls to the sides of the window of the second stage, and a mixtelinear area, entirely striated, above the arch of the facade. The clearest example of the type, the Jerusalen (Pl. 22) incorporates all these features. The towers are paired and the detail is all of the Classical Reaction. The main ornamentive theme is the use of multiple striations on the door, arch above, spandrel area, and behind the scrolls. A guiloche molding edges the large arch of the facade, and another frames the window. An almost exact, but poorer provincial edition of this facade is found in that of the Trinidad Cuatengo (Pl. 2), which possesses each motif above as well as the same correct Classical cornice, with triglyphs and metopes, above the door. The only missing feature is the urn remates above this cornice. The assembly of the whole here is more gauche and gives the effect of being a painstaking literal copy of the other facade.

Continuing the same style in basic forms, Santiago Cuayangle (Pl. 51) introduces some changes in detail. The decorative attention has here been fixed upon the mixtelinear, striated section above the arch, at the expense of the portal composition. This portal retains the urns of the Jerusalen, but none of the other ornamental components. At the same time the freestanding columns have become unornamented pilasters. The aspect of paired towers is introduced by advancing the single tower to the left, and adding a flat section of wall, also advanced, to the right.

Pilasters also replace the columns in the Magdalena (Pl. 33), and similar supports are added to the sides of the window on the second stage of the facade. A guiloche decoration is used under the main arch, although this ends in an awkward and unsupported fashion at the haunch of the arch. The mixtelinear area above the framing member has been discarded and only the central niche remains. Though simple, there is a delicate and classic feeling in the proportions of the entire design.

The unornamented facade of San Sebastian Tepalcatepec (Pl. 7) may have been finished in this fashion for reasons of economy. The recessed arch is present here, together with the mixtelinear cornice. Two flat buttress forms are slightly advanced from the facade and stabilize the design. Aside from the arched door and the square window above, no other ornamentation is used. The very recent decoration of the interior of this church supports the contention that it must have been left unfinished when first built.

5-b. Paired Column Classical Reaction Facades. Along with a pairing of the columns on the portal of this group is an increased use of applied sculpture and a greater plasticity of form. The facade of the Guadalupe (Pl. 19) is the most literal translation of the design of the Guadalupe of Puebla which was cited above. The basic components of the previous group are all here, with two exceptions. The first is the omission of the mixtelinear cornice on top of the main arch and the addition of a railing at this point just as this form is used in the Puebla church. The second change is through the pairing of the freestanding columns to either side of the door, and the breaking of the cornice above these into three distinct sections. Rather than striations, a coffered archivolt decorates the recessed arch. The use of paired towers is continued here and the urn remates and scrolls are enlarged and elaborated. The facade is dated 1842 and it is likely that the inscription refers to the date of completion of the facade, which without doubt was designed and started before 1820.

The exploitation of applied sculpture is extended in the magnificant facade of San Juan Tlautla (Pl. 9), which deviates from the Jerusalen type in the same direction as the Guadalupe. Rather than a railing at the cornice of the recessed arch, small mixtelinear scrolls are used after the fashion of the Jerusalen. The columns on the first stage of the entrance are paired, and another set of smaller supports are added at the sides of the window while the scrolls are also retained. Although only one tower occurs here,

square buttresses are placed to either side of the facade to frame the design. These serve the function of paired towers, but this is the only instance in all ten examples of the Classical Reaction style in which the facade moves in under the base of the tower. By far the most unique feature of this facade is the liberal application of vegetal sculpture on the archivolt of the recessed arch, the cornice above the door and the spandrels. The plastic lavishness of this ornament and its combination with the most successful and coherent of the Cholula facade types, make the aesthetic merit of San Juan Tlautla unequalled in the area.

The new church of San Pablo Tecama, complete in every part, was added on to the front facade of an old church probably from the seventeenth century, since it appears by name on the Map of 1580 (Pl. 36). Like San Sebastian Tepalcatepec, this facade was most likely unfinished when the wars of independence broke out, and it remains in this state today, with brick structure exposed and only partly stuccoed. Two pilasters to the sides of the doorway do relate it to this second group. No mixtelinear cornice occurs, and it is impossible to tell if one was originally projected. A single tower is placed to the right of the facade and a heavy wall is built out to the left. No other features are present with the exception of an oculus high in the base of the tower, similar to the opening in the tower of the Guadalupe, which is the only other occurrence of the form, implying another link between the two styles.

5-c. Hybrid Classical Reaction Facades. Two churches in Cholula are unquestionably linked to this last group, although they lack certain features. The facade of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios (Pl. 31), which we know was at least partially destroyed by earthquake in 1864 and rededicated 1874,[22] is almost an exact transcription of San Juan Tlautla. The transcription is now flat, but the pilasters are paired on both stages of the entrance and scrolls, applied sculpture are used in an identical manner. Aside from the change of quality from highly plastic to almost flat, the other major change here is in the omission of the recessed arch, framing the entire composition. Since we know that there was a shrine on this spot, the top of the Cholula pyramid, as early as 1590, and that there were at least two subsequent rebuildings of the church,[23] a possible solution to the omission presents itself. The towers of the church are paired, a major feature of the Classical Reaction style, and the designer may have felt that in view of the location, the pairing of the towers was more important that the width of the facade for reasons of effect. The small size of the site, and an already existing foundation probably did not allow room for a recessed arch, as well as paired towers, thus the deviation from the usual form of the style.

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22 Palacios, op. cit., p. 285.

23 Loc. cit.

Also lacking the recessed arch, the facade of San Antonio Acatepec (Pl. 59) is the other hybrid of the Classical Reaction. The disposition of the components of this design is the same as in the previous churches, but the recessed arch is lacking. A great deal of emphasis has been placed upon the mixtelinear cornice above a facade which is shaped like the group of the central ellipse. This upper section, combined with the fluted character of the detail and the bracket pilasters to the sides of the window, link it closely to the Jerusalen group. The facade has but one tower, and as usual, a flat wall area appears on the opposite side of the design for balance. The profuse sculpture and its Classical Reaction details indicate that the date 1918 which appears over the window refers to either interior remodelling or some minor additions to the facade.

CHAPTER V

TOWERS

Essentially characterized by the single towered facade, the two stage tower is likewise most common in Cholula. A single opening, usually round-headed, relieves each face of each stage of the tower in almost every case. Openings are usually simply arched, though several notable exceptions occur, particularly in the crowning stages of the most Baroque tower types. Location of the tower to right or left of the facade is roughly equal.

As in treatment of the facades, discussion of the towers in terms of their basic architectural components seems most meaningful. Little coherence of analysis would be possible if an attempt were made to treat the towers in terms of their finer details, or either materials or degree of plasticity. Due to destruction, remodelling and protracted building periods, the Cholula towers cannot generally be correlated decisively with the facades on which they occur. Each will therefore be treated as a separate unit.

Yet it is interesting to note that some significant correspondences exist between towers and facades. In several instances a certain combination of tower and facade is evident and thus assists in determining chronology, but this is not always the case. Relatively few examples of paired towers exist in Cholula. Group 5, the Classical Reaction facades, is the one case where a conscious pairing is evident. In most other occurrences of this form there is a

marked difference between the towers in both date and style. In such cases the towers will be discussed each in its group.

The greatest number of towers are two stages high, twelve of the remainder are composed in one stage; eight in a single stage with a complex cone at the top, but only three in all Cholula have three stages. Only one instance occurs where there is a double opening on the first stage of the tower. Two large classifications are then evident. The first, A contains all the single staged towers, twelve in number. All the rest, including the three three-staged examples will be in group B. Some sixty towers will be considered.

A. Single Staged Towers. The single staged tower is often associated with southern Mexico and South America, earthquake areas. This factor has obviously necessitated an over all decrease in the height of buildings and a greater structural stability. Towers in the south, for example Santo Domingo in Oaxaca, tend to be lower, usually single staged, and of heavier proportions in comparison to the tall slender compositions of the northern towers. Although Cholula is not an earthquake area the occurrence of the single staged tower is not rare. This may possibly be the result of an architectural influence which was common to both Oaxaca and Puebla, the seventeenth century Pueblan Baroque style. A comparison of the church cited above with that of the same name in Puebla well illustrates the similarity of the style of the two areas.

1. Unornamented Single Staged Towers. The simplest among the four types of single staged towers have one opening on each face of one square stage which is ornamented by a simple molding top and bottom. The entire composition is crowned with a small unadorned octagonal lantern. The tower of the Santissima Trinidad (Pl. 34) is completely unornamented even to the absence of pilasters while San Pedrito (Pl.30) has a simple archivolt framing the opening and simple doric pilasters at the corners of the tower. As all the other single staged towers, the basic form is square.

2. Estipite Single Staged Towers. San Miguel on the Hill (Pl. 18) and Nuestra Señora de Santo Entierro (Pl. 20) both have a single square stage, disposed basically like the tower of the Soledad at Oaxaca. Estipite ornament adorns the arched openings of each face. These Churrigueresque supports occur both adjacent to the openings and at the corners of the tower. Although the top section of Nuestra Señora de Santo Entierro is missing, the similarity of the lower parts to the tower of the other church enable them to be grouped as one. The arched opening of San Miguel on the Hill has an upward curving molding at the lower part of the design, which echoes the roundness of the arch above; this is a feature used extensively in the area. The top of the tower like the rest of the group is composed of an octagonal lantern. While San Miguel has an elliptical facade and Nuestra Señora de Santo Entierro is of the trilobed mixtelinear variety, the similarity of the towers illustrates the divergence in combinations of the two.

3. Baroque Single Staged Towers. Ribbed and punctured, incorporating an additional small dome under the lantern, the top section of this third group of single staged towers becomes decidedly more complex. The entablature, separating the tower from its cupola, has been considerably enlarged and elaborated, while large remates crown it in every case.

The Ecce Homo (Pl. 29) is perhaps the earliest example in the group. A somewhat stilted dome, ribbed in eight parts tops the profile, while a simple molding edges the arched opening on each face of the tower. This is in turn flanked by flat lambrequin type capitals which relate the pilasters on which they occur to the estipite with its top heavy proportions. The same type of support can be noted on the tower of the Compañía at Zacatecas, 1746-1749. This occurrence must be placed at the start of the Churrigueresque period which has been placed in Cholula at about 1760-1790. The relative lack of popularity of the style in the entire Puebla area indicates the slightly later date for the form in Cholula.

The tower of Santiago Xicocingo (Pl. 52) is capped by a round dome on a small drum. As in the Ecce Homo, the cornice is thickly dominant in the design. This horizontal break is made even more emphatic through the use of a drum with quatrefoil punctures and heavy remates. The slenderness of the engaged columns and the urn remates would place this tower toward the very end of the eighteenth century and just before the Classical Reaction since it

possesses less Baroque plasticity.

Although square and flat, rather than almost freestanding, the pilasters on the tower of San Mateo Cuanala (Pl. 5) are used in a tower design which is almost the same. Of taller proportions in both base and upper portions, this narrower tower is doubtless from the same period.

Thicker and heavier, the tower of San Juan Calvario (Pl. 21) utilizes the same basic members. Restrained pilasters occur both beside the round arched openings and at the corners, and like the tower are rather heavily proportioned. Although based on the type of towers found in the previous churches, a date from the start of the nineteenth century may be possible for this tower. A scheme very similar to that of San Juan Calvario appears in the right tower of San Rafael Comac (Pl. 46), obviously much later than the church or the other tower to the left. Remates above the main stage of the tower are heavy and the round dome is punctured by circular openings. The quality of the applied decoration differs markedly from that of all the other churches in Cholula. Its heaviness and polychromy give the feeling of a late nineteenth century version of the Classic style, rather than the lighter and more delicate Classical Reaction of the start of the century. The rustication on the base of the tower, like that of San Juan Calvario, is painted rather than three dimensional. The disproportionate size of the tower, as well as its style also support a date of 1890-1900, with that of Santa Barbara (Pl. 3), the latest in Cholula.

4. Classical Reaction Towers. But two churches are contained in this fourth group of single staged towers. In this instance both facades are very similar as well as the towers. Nuestra Señora de Tzocuilac (Pl. 32), dated 1811 and obviously one of the few cases where towers and facade were completed as parts of a single design, is the product of the Classical Reaction. The one stage towers of this church are paired and the round archivolts of the openings are broken at the springing. Only fluted Doric pilasters are used to frame the openings, while none occur at the corners. Heavy plain cornices mark the single stage both top and bottom. The lower of these has been broken by a round bracket on all four sides of both towers. One of the most original features of these towers is the use of flying buttresses above the small domed top, which run from the lantern to the remates at the corners below. This is the only instance of the projection of the towers themselves in front of the facade in the single staged towers.

Santa María Tequanitla (Pl. 48) is an almost literal copy of the previous church. Although the facade is partially destroyed, the close relationship of the two designs is evident. Only one tower occurs on Santa María Tequanitla, but the blank tower base to the right of the facade is evidence that two were originally projected. The lack of brackets beneath the openings, and of flying buttresses above are the only difference to be seen from the towers above. The proportions and all other details are the same. Since this church is obviously a provincial edition of the other, its date must fall

between 1810-1830. The lack of the second tower, as well as the ruined condition of the facade, may be the result of the interruptions of the wars of independence.

One hybrid tower, which falls into the single staged group is that of Santa María Xinachtla (Pl. 50). The single stage tower of this church is a unique case in Cholula in terms of its curious egg shaped dome. This feature may have been inspired by the tower of the Balvanera in Mexico of 1671 (Pl. X-13), although the later example is not tiled. The restraint of the flat pilasters and the lack of other ornamentation is the same in both towers, although the small octagonal drum under the dome of the Balvanera is lacking in Santa María Xinachtla. Though no more complex, the Cholula church may date from around 1750, when the extensive building of small parish churches began. The ungainly proportions of the openings of this tower, which is still in an unfinished state, may result from the fact that it was originally designed for a small basement division like that of San Miguel Xochmilucan (Pl. 45).

B. Conical Silhouette Towers. The next large grouping, the most Baroque in the area, adds a half stage above the main storey of the composition. A desire to negate the vertical function of this upper section of the tower is evident in all the designs of this type. Complex scrolls and profuse ornament are used to blend this half stage with the dome area below, resulting in a cone shaped silhouette. This the dome, half stage and lantern all function as

one aesthetic unit. This is in marked contrast to the two staged towers which follow and where, although the upper stage is much shorter than the lower, there is a definite division between the two, with the emphasis of the design on the lower.

San Pedro Colomoxco (Pl. 44) is the most extreme example of this tower style and, as in the case of Nuestra Señora de Tzocuilac (Pl. 32), there is an obvious stylistic correlation between the tower and the facade of the church. The usual square, with single arched openings on each face, comprises the first stage of the tower. A socle, or basement fill in, beneath each of the openings, like that observed on San Miguel on the Hill (Pl. 18), curves out and echoes the profile of the opening itself. Rich, heavy decoration, with corner salomonics and sculptured band-like pilasters at the sides of the openings cover this stage of the design. Both cornices are broken with sculptural application. The most distinctive section of the composition is above, where the octagonal drum is split with five salomonic colonnettes and two square slit openings. The remates of the lower cornice are placed close to the upper stage, so that they blend with it to form the cone shaped silhouette. Rather than a dome, an octagonal pyramid forms the crown of the tower. Over this, at the corners, are laid heavy bands which run to meet the remates and blend as well into the lantern above. Thus every element above the cornice functions to increase the conical section of the silhouette. The quality of the sculptural decoration of the tower is the same as that of the facade, a heavy folk type of stucco work

which is Baroque, highly plastic and wildly polychromed. The Baroque quality of the ornament would suggest a date of 1750-1770 as likely for this type of work.

Although there is little more separation of the upper and lower stages, the tower of San Francisco Acatepec (Pl. 53) undoubtedly must be treated here. Heavy salomonics decorate both stages of the tower and of course in this second example, tile has been used profusely in conjunction with the stucco. The remates, dome, drum and lantern all work again toward a conical profile. The arched opening of the first stage has been raised by means of a socle, as in the previous examples. In the octagonal drum of Acatepec odd slit windows like San Pedro Colomoxco, have been replaced with a single puncture, decoratively splayed at the bottom, so that it forms a modified triangle. The use of unusually shaped openings in the upper stages is one of the most salient characteristics of this entire group.

The imaginative facade of San Miguel Tonantzintla (Pl. 55) is certainly equalled by the design of the tower. The first stage, now an octagon rather than a square because of its clipped corners, is completely unornamented save for the four tall narrow openings, one on each face of the tower. No socle occurs in these openings, an unusual omission in this group. The plasticity of the major cornice is extreme. A thick molding, a broken pediment on each side on bracket bases, and heavy remates at the corner and on center of each face, increase the desired effect. As in the other examples

of the type, unusual openings, here alternate round and square punctures, decorate the octagonal drum. The usual small narrow cornice is placed above the drum, while a crowning conical form, also decorated with round holes, tops the drum. Again the entire upper part forms one conical unit in profile, while theapparant width of the cornice is increased by the lack of decoration on the lower stage. The probable date for this tower, as well as the church to which it belongs, must be 1760-1780.

Whereas San Miguel Tonantzintla is the most lavish of this group, the tower of San Juan (PL. 40) is the most restrained. Flat pilasters which decorate the first stage serve to deemphasize the corners of the body of the tower. This tendency is evident in the great majority of the Cholula towers and takes two basic forms. The first, used here, is the stepping back by rectangular sections of the cornice so that a transitional area is created between the two sides of the tower. The second, observable particularly in the Classical Reaction, is the placing of a pilaster or a freestanding column at the corner itself, thus clipping the square joint of the two sides. In San Juan a socle is used in the arched openings and the upper cornice moves out at the corners and again the remates are placed in line with the octagon above to produce one unity in the upper part of the design. Oculus window pierce the upper octagon and the cornice above this member is likewise decorated with triangular remates. The crown of the lantern completes the inward line of the remates below and no other sculptural ornament is used.

The restraint of this tower and the proportions of the whole are well related to the simple facade of the church which itself suggests an early date, perhaps from the early eighteenth century.

A later example of this tower style from nearer the end of the eighteenth century is Santiago Momoxpa (Pl. 16), similar to the tower of San José in Puebla. The tall narrow first stage is broken by the usual arched opening, raised by means of a socle projecting out from the surface of the tower. The sides of each opening are flanked by Doric pilasters, of fairly flat design, while round engaged colonnettes mark the corners of this first stage, producing the clipped effect noted in many of the other towers. The upper cornice is heavy and broken and decorated with remates, while the octagon on the second stage is pierced with oculus windows splayed to four squares. The cohesive unity of the silhouette is achieved by heavy scrolls at the corners of the octagon which run up through the cornice above. The ribs on the top of the dome of the octagon continue this line up to the lantern. The early door of this church must be from the seventeenth century, while the decoration of the second stage of the facade itself is the product of the Classical Reaction.

The two staged tower of the early church of San Juan Acquiahuac (Pl. 28) is a hybrid appendage to this group. Here the conical element is the crown of the second stage, rather than of the first. The closely placed corner remates and the sculptured scrolls on the dome area, as well as the tiny eye window in the octagonal drum above

the second stage, puts its design into this class. The first stage of the tower is decorated with fluted pilasters of a delicacy which suggests the Classical Reaction. Here the round arched opening is raised by means of a socle with the bulging parapet inside the lower cornice of the arched opening. At the second stage the corner of the tower is minimized by actually clipping the joint to form an octagonal plan, and pilasters decorate these areas. No other decoration occurs on this stage. The door of the church, which is closely related to the facade of San Andrés (Pl. 37), must be from the mid-seventeenth or early eighteenth centuries. The tower, on the basis of its style, must have been added at the very end of the eighteenth century at the start of the Classical Reaction. This was the same period in which the interior was obviously redone. The flying buttresses which are placed on the crown of this tower reinforce this contention, since the only other case of this form is in the towers of Nuestra Señora de Tzocuilac, securely dated from the same period.

The tower of the Capilla Reale (Pl. 24) would seem to have added the octagonal superstructure to its tall square base sometime in the eighteenth century, probably around 1740. The lower stage of the tower, broken by a single round arched opening, has no ornamentation and although the conical silhouette of the upper section is modified, it does fall into the type, The second stage is octagonal with eight slit openings, separated by flat Doric pilasters.

The octagonal drum above is of the same design though smaller, and the archivolts of the openings break into the line of the cornice above. Triangular remates are placed between each of these enlarged archivolts and form a continuous line to the top of the lantern. These function to make the upper section into a single aesthetic unit.

The late tower of San Francisco (Pl. 26) is considerably more complex and unique in design. The conical profile of the upper section of this tower make it, however, most closely allied to the conical group. The first stage of the composition is the only case of a vertical doubling of the openings on each face of the tower. The usual round arches have been surmounted by an oculus and these two openings are separated by a detached archivolt which echoes the form of the lower arch. There is no other elaboration. The corners of this stage of the tower are clipped by means of freestanding Doric columns at the transitional point of the juncture of the sides. The freestanding disposition of the columns and their general proportions, combined with the archivolt motif of the first stage, tend to suggest a late date for this tower, possibly from the end of the eighteenth or the early nineteenth century where both these motifs are common. The upper stage of San Francisco has a conical silhouette, although the method of attaining this form is unique. A tremendously elongated round drum is the underlying form and this is capped with a round dome and a tall slender lantern. Twelve heavy remates of triangular shape produce the transitional area from the main stage to

the top of the lantern, and unify all the components of the upper area.

C. Double Staged Towers. All the double staged towers, and the three triple staged examples in Cholula, are characterized by a distinct separation between the storeys and a crowning dome and lantern.

Niño Perdido (Pl. 13) is a tower which must fall into this type, although the poverty of the design make it essentially unrelated to the other churches of the area. Both stages of the tower are square and pierced by the usual arched openings. So enlarged are these, that the tower has an insubstantial effect very like an espadana. No dome appears on the top of this tower, which ends in an odd crenellated profile in three parts. De la Maza[1] places this church in the nineteenth century and its poverty may be accounted for by interruption in the building period.

C-1. Square Two Staged Towers. Double Staged towers of square section fall into two large divisions in Cholula. In the first, both stages of the tower are of almost equal width and height, while in the second group the top stage is considerably narrower. Generally an equal division of interest is found on both stage of the design.

Mexicalcingo (Pl. 42) is perhaps the simplest and the most typical example of the square tower design. The cornices below and above are definite but not overly emphasized. Doric pilasters and

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[1] De la Maza, op. cit., Manuscript with no pagination.

a separate cornice molding frame the round arched opening of the first stage, while the trilobed opening of the second stage is unique in Cholula towers. The semi-detached columns marking the corners of both stages are an important and unusual motif, common in Cholula but not in Mexico. This is the second method of solution for the apparant desire for an octagonal composition in the tower. Although the corner supports take the form of the estipite rather than the column, the same design is evident in both the towers of Ocotlan (Pl. X-11) and Santa Prisca in Tasco (Pl. X-12). Although examples do occur from the last half of the eighteenth century in Cholula, the most extensive use of this form is from the Classical Reaction of the early nineteenth century.

Very similar to Mexicalcingo is the tower of San Diego Gallyotitla (Pl. 49), except that here the usual round arched openings are to be found on both stages of the tower, while the use of a socle is evident in the first stage opening. Urns crown the upper cornice and panels of tile have been inserted between the pilasters and the corner columns. Due to the heavy top section and the smaller first stage, the tower has a top heavy effect. The restraint and regularity of proportion here and the type of architectural ornamentation date this tower from the very end of the 1700's.

C-2. Narrow Upper Stage Towers. Although the amount of ornamentation is about the same on both stages, the upper part of this second group is markedly narrower in width than the lower.

San Miguel Xochmilucan (Pl. 45) has a completely undecorated tower with single openings of the usual type on each stage. It thus well illustrates the underlying structure of this type. A rounded socle is used in the openings of the first stage, though this form is lacking in the side elevation. A plain dome, surmounted by a round lantern caps the whole.

Flat Doric pilasters have been added to the sides of the openings and salomonic columns mark the corners of the tower of Santiago Parroquia (Pl. 17), which uses the same basic form. The dome has been divided by flat tile ribs and has a diamond at the center of each section, while remates mark the cornice of the second stage. The lantern here is somewhat larger than on the previous tower. The occurrence of salomonics mark this tower as one of the earliest of this type, although it is still considerably later than the seventeenth century facade of the church. The tower must date from the second quarter of the eighteenth century.

Very similar to the above, and probably from about the same date is the tower of San Gabriel Ometoxtla (Pl. 6). The main change is the substitution of another set of engaged salomonics for the Doric pilasters which framed the opening on both stages of the tower. The dome here is divided as was that of the previous tower, but now the entire surface is tiled. The base of the tower is small in relation to the upper sections so that the same overweighted effect is produced as was seen in San Diego Gallyotitla. A socle appears

in the lower stage openings.

The tower of San Bernardino Tlascalcingo (Pl. 47) is almost identical in plan to the previous towers. The inner set of salomonics has been replaced, however, by the original Doric pilasters next to the opening on each stage, and the divisional ribs of the dome are now raised. Tile has been inlaid between the pilasters, but the basic design is unaltered. The facade of the church is dated 1789. This is the only other facade in Cholula, beside San Francisco Acatepec (Pl. 53), which employs an undulating facade plan. An oblique projecting wall here forms the transition between the tower base and the facade behind so that the tower is located considerably to the front of the facade.

C-3. Octagon on Square Towers. Three towers, all of which have a second stage where a clearly defined octagon is used, rather than only a square with clipped corners, comprise this group. The basic disposition of the tower compositions is so close to that of C-2 that these must be treated here.

Santa María Tonantzintla (Pl. 54), the only other fully tiled facade, has a tiled tower with an octagonal second stage with doubled salomonics. Almost identical to San Gabriel Ometoxtla (Pl. 6), the most unusual feature here is not the tower but its placement. A perfectly good tower base is to the left of the facade, but the tower is placed well behind the surface of the facade and some distance to the right of the base. The result is that the tower rests half

on the tower base and half over the facade, disconnected from the base aesthetically it is thus closely linked to the facade. This change may be due to the use of the tile and brick on the tower and facade and not on the base. Another possible explanation for the placement may be a chapel behind the tower base which makes the vault area unable to support the entire weight of the tower. The tower base and the slanting wall to the right of the facade are the only untiled areas in the whole facade composition. Conscious of the material relationship of the tower and facade, the designer of the tower must have moved the tower in order to achieve a more balanced and unified effect. This is the one instance of the use of this placement in Cholula and the only case in which the material composition of either facade or tower seem to have effected design. Of a more restrained style than the tower, the facade of the church may be dated 1700-1750, while the tower must be from the last half of the century.

The tower of the three aisled church Santa María Xixitla (Pl. 35) is of the same design as the above, except that there is no tile on the tower and that member is placed in the usual fashion. The facade of this church is possibly from the seventeenth century but the tower is from the mid-eighteenth in style.

Santiago (Pl. 38), though the dome of the tower is lower and flatter, has a tower of the same design. The slenderness of the salomonic columns of the first stage and the classical correctness of the moldings would suggest a slightly later date than Santa María

Xixitla. Lacking salomonics, the second stage contains only two flat Doric pilasters which flank the openings. The dome area of the tower, as noted above, is conical rather than bulbous as in Santa María Xixitla, and thus the general profile of the entire design is somewhat different.

The tower of the old San Pablo Tecama (Pl. 36) is unique in Cholula. The tall pyramidal steeple, punctured by an oculus and seated on a heavy molding which forms a kind of second cornice, is unknown even in Puebla. The general form seems closer to the towers of western Mexico. Santa Rosa in Querétaro, dedicated in 1752, has an exaggerated example of this form. The church of the Congregación, of the same city, built 1675-1680, is an early example of the style although in this case two openings rather than one penetrate the first stage. The same type of tower occurs on the Carmen of San Luis Potosí. In Cholula this tower may date from the late seventeenth or the early eighteenth centuries. It could not be from a much later period, since the late tower of the church dates 1800-1820. It seems inconceivable that the rebuilding of an entire new church could have taken place if recent additions had been made to the edifice already standing. This is the one case in Cholula where an entire new church was constructed in the period of the Classical Reaction, contiguous to one of an earlier date. In all other cases there was only a remodelling of the earlier edifice. Thus San Pablo Tecama must be one of the earliest churches still standing.

D. One and One Half Staged Towers. By far the largest group in the area, the one and one half staged towers subdivide sharply into two sections. The first are those towers whose short and narrow upper stage is octagonal with a heavy spreading cornice at the top. The other type consists largely of Classical Reaction designs and the center of interest is consentrated on the first stage, by means of the extension of the round archivolts of the openings which are extended to the point where they bow up into the cornice above. In this group the upper stage is usually round rather than octagonal.

D-1. Octagonal Second Staged Towers. The first part of this group are the two staged towers. The second subdivision, of which there are only three examples, contain three stages. The lanterns of towers and domes in Puebla seem to be the primary precedent for these tower designs, rather than other towers. An example of this is found in the lantern of the dome of the Delores Chapel of the Guadalupe in Puebla.

a. San Matías (Pl. 11) and San Andrés (Pl. 37) both have single round arched openings on both stages of their towers. On the first stage the opening is wide and Doric pilasters, applied to either side of this form, serve to break and soften the line of the corner. Neither tower has remates at the corners of the upper cornice, but downward sweeping scrolls from the sides of the octagon to cornice unify the design. The cornice of the octagon itself, somewhat more characteristically in San Matías, spreads markedly beyond the sides of

of the octagon. This seems the most dominant form in all the examples of the type. The dome of San Matías has raised ribs under the lantern, while that of San Andrés is merely tiled. Both towers are strongly polychromed and the complexity of the cornices, pilasters and scrolls are emphasized by this element.

Santa María Cuaco (Pl. 43), dated 1683, has a tower of this same design, though without scrolls at the level of the octagon and with eight windows rather than four. The system of flat pilaster decoration is also the same except that the polychrome has been replaced by tile for ornamentation. The tower here is of a later date than the facade, probably from around 1700-1725.

Santo Niño (Pl. 41), in the same area as Santa María Cuaco, also uses tile for the ornament of the tower. The disposition of the first stage of the tower is just like the previous example, but the upper stage is square rather than octagonal. This second stage differs further in that the round arched openings break up into the cornice of the octagon, a feature noted in the Classical Reaction type of tower. Since the facades of Santa María Cuaco and Santo Niño both belong to the three part facade type, A-1, and the towers themselves are so similar, it is fair to assume that this type of tower dates from fairly near the time of the facades. The upper section of Santo Niño may have been a later addition from the last half of the eighteenth century, but this is hard to establish as other than conjecture based upon the occurrence of arches breaking the cornice.

The tower must still be treated as a hybrid between groups D-1 and D-2 since it incorporates motifs of both types.

The towers of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios (Pl. 31) is another case which must be linked as a hybrid to this group. As in the other examples of the type, the first stage is square, with the clipped corner motif evident, and the second is octagonal. The emphasis of the design is on the second stage and the cornice is wide and emphatic. Two elements of group D-2 are evident in the design. The first is the occurrence of doubled corner columns on the first stage, with a wide section of entablature placed diagonally above. The second is a rounded pediment set above the line of the cornice, which gives the upper stage the aesthetic effect of the swelling archivolt although the cornice is actually not interrupted. The facade of this church is unquestionably the product of the Classical Reaction, reinforcing the motifs of this period which appear on the towers. The entire composition is probably from the early 1800's.

D-1-B. Three Staged Towers. With but slight modification, the three staged towers of Cholula must fall into this group, and the hybrid San Diego Tlautla must also be included. In all these towers, the dominant motif is the octagonal organization of the upper stage of the tower, with its widened cornice.

San Miguel Tecpan (Pl. 27) is the simplest and clearest illustration of the group. The tower is composed of two square stages, the second considerably smaller and shorter than the first. These

have no corner pilasters but small Doric supports flank the arched openings on each face of the tower. Both of these stages have triangular remates at the corners above the cornices. The third stage of the tower is unquestionably associated with the design of the above group. It is octagonal in shape with a heavy projecting cornice and eight openings. The pilasters between these are restrained in style. Thus, with the exception of the addition of a second square stage, the style of the tower is that of group D-1-A, the two staged type.

San Pedro Parroquia (Pl. 23), located in the center of Cholula, has a tower of the same style, although the pilaster decoration is considerably more complex. The cornices of all three stages are wide and break frequently, while a sculptured entablature has been interposed between the tower and its base. Less differentiation is evident between the width of the first and the second stages than in San Miguel Tecpan. Other than these points, no major difference exists between the designs. The octagonal shape of the third stage of San Pedro Parroquia confirms its placement in this grouping.

The tower of Jesus Nazareno (Pl. 14) is a unique case in Cholula. The paired arched openings on both the first and the second stages of the tower are the only evidence in Cholula of the influence of the towers of Puebla Cathedral designed in 1660.[2] This

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[2] Angulo, op. cit., Vol. II, p.31.

is all the more remarkable since the towers of the cathedral were the most influential and important designs in the whole area. In Jesus Nazareno both the first and second stages are square, the second considerably smaller than the first. The Baroque plasticity of the decoration and the elaborate stucco work incorporated in the design are also unique. As in San Pedro Parroquia, a wide entablature, ornately polychromed and decorated with scrolls and stucco, is interposed between the tower and its base. The third stage is octagonal with the usual wide projecting cornice and small lantern of this group.

San Diego Tlautla (Pl. 10) is a hybrid case since its third stage is really only a tremendously enlarged lantern rather than being a separate stage. This lantern is so functional in the entire design of the tower that it must be treated among the three staged towers. The design conforms to type in all other respects. The first and second stages are square and of almost equal width. The second stage has been considerably shortened, while the octagon with projecting cornice is restricted to the lantern above. The upper member of the scheme must be termed a lantern, rather than a true third stage due to the interposition of a dome between it and the stage below. In size, however, this member could easily function as a third stage. Were the dome area removed, the tower would make a very plausible illustration of the group under discussion. As it stands, the design incorporates all the features of the three staged

towers, although the placement and the components have been altered and rearranged.

D-2-A. Swelling Archivolt Towers. The last and most unified group of Cholula towers come from the first decades of the nineteenth century, the Classical Reaction.

The towers of the Jerusalen (Pl. 22),[3] textbook examples of the style, are paired and stand slightly in front of the facade. The essential members of these towers are almost the same as those of San Dieguito, with a square lower stage, clipped corners, and a round upper stage surmounted by a round lantern. The main motif which distinguishes all the examples of this type is the enlarging of the round headed opening of the first stage so that its archivolt forces the entablature above into an arching profile. This unusual feature is one of the most striking in the Cholula area. It appears not only on most of the towers from the early nineteenth century, but on a great many of the baldachinos and altar compositions of the Cholula interiors which date from the same period. The primary source for the interior use of the form seems to have been in the baldachino of the Rosary Chapel of Santo Domingo in Puebla, probably

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[3] The same theme of the swelling archivolt is found on the towers of the Compañía of Guanajuato and, less remotely, in the towers of Santa Catalina (X-14) and San Marcos (X-7) in Puebla of 1797-1836. In all these cases the upper section of the tower differs markedly from the Cholula type. The Compañía is Baroque, rather than Classical Reaction, though it does have corner columns of projecting profile. Although the upper stage is again varied, the freestanding columns appear also in San Diego Guanajuato, 1784.

from the early eighteenth century soon after the completion of the chapel in 1690. The flat pilasters, with their guiloche stucco decoration, which clip the corners of the square first stage, are another feature of the Classical Reaction style. Also characteristic are the urn shaped remates above the first stage cornice. The second stages of nearly all these towers are cylindrical in shape, with eight arched openings and guiloche pilasters between. A small dome on a low drum, surmounted by a lantern, crown the towers in the same manner as the rest of the examples of group D, the one and one half staged towers.

The towers of San Cosme (Pl. 8) and San Juan Cuautlancingo (Pl. 4) are very close to those of the Jerusalen. Their prominant distinction is their use of tile and polychrome decoration, rather than guiloche pilasters. All the other features of the type are present, although San Juan Cuautlancingo has only four openings in the second stage of the same shape and style as the previous ones. The proportions of both these towers and the relation of the two stages in each are identical. They differ from the Jerusalen also in their lack of the low drum beneath the dome and lantern area. Santiago Cuayangle (Pl. 51) has neither tile nor polychrome nor guiloche decoration, but uses only plain Doric pilasters. Its second stage is an octagon instead of a cylinder. But for this, it is like the other examples, with swelling cornice and urn remates.

D-2-B. Freestanding Corner Columns. The towers of the

Guadalupe (Pl. 19) are designed on exactly the same scheme as the previous group with the same individual members and proportions, and are distinguished also by the use of the swelling archivolt. Except for slight differences in decoration, the towers are basically the same. Here the guiloche pilasters occur only at the corners, while those flanking the openings are undecorated. Both types of pilasters employ the curious scroll shaped capitals which are so prominant a feature of the interior decoration of the period. A second change in form found in this group, as distinguished from the previous one, is the use of downward sweeping scrolls in place of the pilasters on the second stage of the tower. These are another common Classical Reaction feature which appear on many of the facades in the area. However, the major distinction of this second type is in the treatment of the corners of the first stage. In contrast to the Jerusalen type, the clipping of the corners has become more pronounced through the use of diagonal sections of cornice at this point, rather than continuing a square section between the swelling areas. Associated with this diagonal cornice are freestanding columns at the corners. Although these columns do not occur in the Guadalupe, the placement of the cornice is diagonal.

Although it has only one tower, San Juan Tlautla (Pl. 9) follows the Guadalupe design in respect to both tower and facade. The architectural forms of the tower are the same, elliptical entablature, scrolls on the cylindrical second stage, pierced by eight openings, diagonally placed cornice at the first stage corners. Here,

however, we actually see the use of a freestanding columns at the corner. This particular feature appears on the interior altar baldachinos of many of the Cholula churches, particularly in association with the style of Tolsa's design for Puebla Cathedral of 1799-1819 (Pl. X-2). Thus the feature is firmly placed in the Classical Reaction period. A second, and minor, innovation in the ornament of San Juan Tlautla is the substitution of a band of stylized vegetal decoration for the guiloche pilasters of the previous examples. This same form is found on the facade in place of the fluting of the other churches.

Other examples of this tower style show relatively little deviation from form. The tower of the Magdalena (Pl. 33), whose facade is also from the Classical Reaction, is identical to San Juan Tlautla, except that the guiloche decoration is retained. The same similarity occurs in the tower of the Trinidad Cuatengo (Pl. 2), which uses neither guiloche nor sculptured strips but has freestanding corner columns like San Juan Tlautla. Lacking scrolls on its second storey, this member of the tower is octagonal rather than round. The new tower of San Pablo Tecama (Pl. 36) follows the same design with two minor exceptions. No extra pilasters flank the openings of the first stage, while the octagonal second stage is punctured now by four arched and four oculus penetrations in alternating order. It is likewise ornamented with plain pilasters and has no scrolls.

D-2-C. Hybrid Classical Reaction Towers. The hybrids related

to the previous groups are several. These examples, like their precedents, have short second stages, in this case round or octagonal, on a square first stage. The octagon form, when used, does not feature a heavy spreading cornice as in type D-1 where this is the major motif of the style. The decorative interest of the design is rather maintained on the lower storey. The almost complete derivation of the group from the Classical Reaction is evident as well in the design and the decorative ornament.

San Sebastian Tepalcatepec (Pl. 7), whose facade is clearly formed in this same period, has a square lower stage and a small round upper section in the tower. Simple Doric pilasters flank the round arched openings of the lower storey and the cornice above is not broken, except for the capitals of these pilasters. Classical Reaction urns crown the cornice, while the round second stage has eight openings and no other decoration. The dome above is round and a small lantern crowns the design. The date of this tower, like the others of the type, must be 1800-1820.

San Antonio Acatepec (Pl. 59), a member of the same facade type, differs slightly in basic design from San Sebastian Tepalcatepec. The two stages are proportioned and shaped in similar fashion. The cornice above the first stage swells up very slightly and the opening below is tall and narrow, although it does not actually break up and interrupt the cornice area. The same aesthetic desire to extend the archivolt up into the cornice, evident in all this

group, must be the element causing the swelling of the cornice here. The corners of the first stage cornice have been set diagonally as in type D-2-B, although Doric pilasters, rather than freestanding columns complete the design. Delicate remates mark the four corners of the cornice and the style of the pilasters themselves is without doubt that of the Classical Reaction. The cylindrical second stage is unornamented except for four downward curving scrolls which link it aesthetically to the lower stage. The crowning portion of the tower is like that of the last church.

The hybrid San Dieguito (Pl. 56), whose facade is of a much earlier date, has a tower which is an almost exact copy of San Antonio Acatepec. As in San Antonio Acatepec, the cornice of the first stage swells up though it is not interrupted, and scrolls are applied to the round second stage. The main distinction between the two designs is in the addition of freestanding Ionic columns at the four clipped corners of the first stage of San Dieguito. True Classical Reaction urns are placed, as remates, above the cornice.

Another hybrid church, also from southern Cholula, San Pedro Acatepec (Pl. 58) has a facade which may be originally from the seventeenth century, although the date 1812 appears on the entrance, possibly from a nineteenth century remodelling. The tower is unquestionably from a date near 1812. Though the arched openings of the first stage do not actually break the cornice, or even cause it to curve upward, the tower posesses all the other features of this

type while the first stage is square with slightly clipped corners. To either side of the single opening are guiloche decorated pilasters. The pedestals for freestanding columns are evident at the corners of the first stage, although the columns themselves are not presently in position. Classical Reaction urns crown the cornice above, while the upper stage is an octagonal drum with round lantern.

From a considerably later date, the end of the nineteenth or start of the twentieth century, the two remaining towers, Santa Barbara (Pl. 3) and Sant'Orun (Pl. 1) both utilize the swelling cornice motif in modified form. This element is treated as a pediment with the straight horizontal line either partially or entirely preserved below the pediment. Dating from the early twentieth century by inscription, the tower of Santa Barbara would appear to be the product of the Díaz regime in style. The ornament is much heavier than the more delicate style of the Classical Reaction of the previous century. The heavy proportions of the corner columns and the pilasters with heavy rustication do relate somewhat to the architectural forms of the late tower of San Rafael Comac (Pl. 46), a product of the same period. Thus the style would be that of the New Classicism. The horizontal cornice line of Santa Barbara is only partially continued but broken at the center. Above this form is a curved pediment which has the effect of the swelling cornice of the early nineteenth century. The second stage of the tower has been considerably lengthened, although a stylized version of the scrolls of the Guadalupe are retained. Instead of a dome, an unusually low

octagonal drum and a short conical cap form the transition between the upper storey of the tower and the lantern.

Sant'Orun (Pl. 1) is possibly from the same period, since it uses the same variation of cornice to break the top of the first stage of the tower. The cornice has now become triangular rather than round, but the second stage of this tower is as short as the original examples from the start of the century in contrast to the change apparant in Santa Barbara in this element. These two towers, despite their late date, seem most closely related to the last style of the Colonial Period. The occurrence of a complete pedimental motif is to be seen only in the towers of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios (Pl. 31) among the colonial examples and the use of pediments themselves are rare in Cholula even on the facades.

The problem of correlating the tower types with the established facade groupings in Cholula remains to be determined. The fact that the towers often differ markedly in date from the facades with which they occur, and that even the facades themselves incorporate components from different stylistic periods, makes the problem hard to resolve. In every case where a connection seems to appear between a group of facades and a certain type of tower, there are many exceptions to prove the rule. Thus the correlation of the two components must be reduced to a notation on the frequency of different combinations rather than to any definite rule.

None of the towers in Cholula can be dated stylistically much

before 1725, so that the cut stone fragments incorporated into so many of the facades, dating from the seventeenth century, prove nothing in relation to the towers. Group I, the flat or polygonal facades, which have towers number five. All of these are single towers, square, one or two stages and relatively unornamented. Eleven churches fall into facade Group II, where a niche breaks through the cornice. Eight of these facades have towers of markedly Baroque design: type A-3, the single staged towers with large cornices and punctured crowns or type B, those towers of conical silhouette. There are three facades remaining in this group, whose towers are spread evenly in unrelated types. Thus the tower type which is most Baroque and plastic tends to definitely associate itself with the most Baroque tower designs.

Eleven churches whose facades are of trilobed mixtelinear profile, type III, have towers available for analysis. Of this group, eight have simple, square towers of one or two stages, while the three remaining towers are in different groups. It therefore seems safe to assume that the preponderance of the fairly simple tower in this group indicates it as the usual design in the original.

Facade group IV, the central ellipse type, comprises ten tower examples. These fall into all different types with regard to basic architectural form. However, all the towers used here are liberally and plastically decorated with estipites, salomonics and polychrome sculpture, be they one, two or three staged.

Group V, the Classical Reaction facades, is associated definitively with the last tower type, D, in which the archivolt of the first stage opening interrupts the cornice above. The only exception to this relationship among the ten churches of the group, occurs in those cases of hybrid towers which have all the features of the usual Classical Reaction type with the exception of the actual break in the cornice. Thus, as with the facades and the interiors, the period of most decisive stylistic cohesion occurs in the towers of the first decades of the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER VI

DOMES

As one descends from the mountains to the west, certainly one of the most significant aspects of the valley of Puebla is seen in the seemingly numberless yellow tile domes of Cholula. Except for a very few of the smaller churches, every example boasts one or more domes. The silhouette is perhaps the most striking element of dome design and results from three major components of every dome. The first is the actual shape of the dome; hemispherical, pointed or flattened, while the second is the height of the supporting drum on which the dome is mounted. The third component of dome design is the placement of windows and their decoration. In contrast to the relatively secondary importance of decoration in a classification of facades and towers, the placement of windows is an intrinsic part of the dome. Openings occur sometimes in the dome itself and sometimes in the drum below and the decoration of these through pedimentation vastly effects the aesthetic result of the silhouette. Secondary elements of dome design are the use of tile or brick as the material of construction, and the employment of ribs and panelling. Aside from the secondary shallow saucer domes, most have either four or eight windows. The four windowed domes generally seem earlier than those with eight, and ride on lower drums, while raised ribs and distortion from the half round shape are also more common.

I. Four Windowed Domes.

A. Distorted Ribbed Domes. This first type of four windowed dome has heavy ribs, often raised, running from base to crown. Marked deviation from the half round to the flattened and the pointed silhouette is frequent here, where in the other groups a variation on the hemisphere is usual.

A-1. Pointed Domes. A small chapel in central Cholula, the Ecce Homo (Pl. 29) has the most pointed dome in the area. Eight ribs run from the haunch of the untiled dome to the large octagonal lantern, while four unornamented vertical windows puncture the lower portion of the sides. Though different in decoration, the proportions of this example are similar to San Hipólito in Mexico of 1739. Santiago Momoxpa (Pl. 16), though less pointed in profile, follows the same scheme. The windows here are emphasized by means of pedimental decoration and the lantern is domed, as are most of those in Cholula. San José (Pl. 57) has a thin lantern, decorated with four salomonic colonettes, but the plan of the dome is identical to Santiago Momoxpa.

San Francisco Acatepec (Pl. 53) deviates from the previous examples in two respects. First, it is tiled, an unusual feature in this group. Secondly its dome, divided into eight panels, does not actually have raised ribs since the divisions of the panels are indicated by means of the coloured tile. This is a feature which will hold true in nearly every case, that is, the tiled domes do not use raised ribs. Here the silhouette is slightly pointed and like

the other examples of this type, possesses a domed lantern and four vertical, pedimented windows. Like the facade of the church the dome must date from the mid-eighteenth century.

Santa María Xinachtla (Pl. 50) is identical to San Francisco Acatepec, being tiled and panelled, but there are neither raised ribs nor particoloured separations between the tiled panels. The four windows, treated in the usual manner with pedimental decoration, are placed over the pendentives. The lantern is tall and narrow, as in San José. Instead of salomonics, late eighteenth century scrolls are used on the octagonal drum of the lantern and the cornice line is slightly enlarged. Santa Barbara (Pl. 3), a dome of the same shape but untiled, has raised ribs like the Ecce Homo. The lantern in this case is very small and has no dome and the windows are square rather than arched. The occurrence of estipites on the early tower of this church date it as 1760-1790 and it is likely that the dome is from the early part of this period.

A-2. Flattened Domes. The dome of the Chapel of the Third Order (Pl. 25), between San Francisco and the Capilla Reale, is the most extreme example of the flattened dome in the area. Other than in profile, it has all the secondary characteristics of those above. Untiled, eight heavy raised ribs run the length of the dome. Four windows, placed vertically, protrude from the side of the dome and emphasized with large pediments, puncture the panels. As in all the four windowed domes, these are placed on axis, rather than over the

pendentives. The lantern here is fairly large and its octagonal drum is decorated with fluted Doric pilasters and crowned with a conical top. It may well be the earliest example of the type.

San Matías (Pl. 11) has a dome not so blatently flattened, but which otherwise follows the model of the Chapel of the Third order exactly. The windows here are less strongly stressed and the lantern is identical with the exception of having a domed rather than a conical cap. The ribs of Santo Niño (Pl. 41) are barely raised, but the dome with its four windows is markedly flattened and divided into eight panels. Untiled, its octagonal lantern has a conical top and is decorated with salomonics.

The two flattened domes of San Miguel Tecpan (Pl. 27) and San Gabriel Ometoxtla (Pl. 6) are related most closely to this type. They are low and four panelled, but their most distinctive feature is the use of small oval windows rather than the usual vertically placed arched type. San Miguel seems to be tiled and, as is to be expected, there are no raised ribs but merely sharply defined divisions of the panels from the exterior. A small lantern is used.

The small chapel of San Andresito (Pl. 39), has a flattened, untiled dome with the usual eight heavy ribs. Its lantern, which is partially destroyed, is quite small and has a conical cap. The dome must be associated with the following group in that it has no windows. Its herringbone brickwork is a structural form frequent in the untiled domes of Cholula.

A-3. Windowless Domes. Primarily a form of the secondary domes of the multidomed churches, these examples are usually saucer shaped or almost square with clipped corners. The main dome of San Dieguito (Pl. 56) must be associated with this type, since it possesses all the primary characteristics of the style. From the exterior it has no ribs, is untiled and its lantern is rather large in relation to the size and height of the dome. Most of the examples of this type have no lantern and the use of this element here may be due to the emphasis of the dome from the exterior.

San Miguel on the Hill (Pl. 18) has an eight panelled dome, windowless, squared and flattened. Its vertical curve is singular for a windowless dome and this may result from its function as a main rather than a secondary dome. The use of estipite on the tower and the gate of this church implies that the dome must have been constructed around the middle of the eighteenth century as well.

San Pedro Acatepec (Pl. 58) also has a squared dome with clipped corners from the interior, though no panel divisions occur as in San Dieguito. Its most unusual feature is in the single window, placed on the west side of the dome, so that its light falls directly on the altar. This seems to be a rare feature in Mexico and is primarily associated with the provincial churches of New Mexico.[1] It is the only case of this feature in Cholula.

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[1] Kubler, George, The Religious Architecture of New Mexico, op. cit., pp. 133-134.

The remaining examples of the windowless domes occur in the multidomed churches. Many are saucerlike in shape: San Bernardino Tlascalcingo (Pl. 47), San Juan Calvario (Pl. 21); and some are almost square with clipped corners: San Cosme (Pl. 8), San Pedro Acatepec (Pl. 58), San Juan Acquiahuac (Pl. 28). These domes do not have drums but are constructed as closely as possible to the top of the vaults on which they rest. The two examples of oculus windows in the center of domes occur in this type, the secondary domes. One is in San Cosme and the other is in the round dome over the apse of San Rafael Comac.

B. Half Round Domes. Often tiled, with four windows, the domes of this type utilize short drums. Little stilting or flattening of the profile occurs although some examples are more bulbous than others. Only a small number of these use ribs or panel divisions of the dome.

B-1. Untiled Half Round Domes. These, which seem the earliest type of design, ride very low in relation to the cornice of the nave wall. Generally they are untiled and made of either brick or plaster. No effort has been made to divide the domes into section either with brick of varying colour or with ribs. All the lanterns are cylindrical or octagonal, fairly tall and slender with conical caps.

The first type have vertical, small unpedimented windows and no separate drum, though the domes ride slightly higher than the saucer type by means of an extension of the base ring. They possess all the characteristics cited without exception: San Pablo (Pl.36)

the old church; San Juan (Pl. 40); Jesus Nazareno (Pl. 14); and the Carmen (Pl. 12). Stylistically these are all fairly early and are all in the central Cholula area. They must date from the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century.

The second type are identical to these except that the four windows have been emphasized with heavy pediments which project markedly from the sides of the low domes. No way is available for determining if the windows have been modified, but the churches themselves all seem to be of early date: San Juan Acquiahuac (Pl. 28); Santissima Trinidad (Pl. 34); San Miguel Xochmilucan (Pl. 45) all fall into this type.

B-2. Tiled Half Round Domes. This type is identical with the former with tile and additional elaboration. The group seems coherent and comprises Santiago Xicocingo (Pl. 52); San Diego Gallyotitla (Pl. 49); San Rafael Comac (Pl. 46); all in the southern section of Cholula. No attempt has been made to divide any of these into sections by either ribs or panelling but, in contrast to the previous type, they do seem to untilize low drums. With the possible exception of San Rafael Comac, which seems somewhat later by virtue of its bulbous profile, they would all seem to date from the first half of the eighteenth century.

The four remaining churches are connected closely with this style in that they have heavy pedimental forms at the tops of the four windows. An added feature on all these is a desire to subdivide

the half round dome into sections and the use of elaborate mixte-linear pediments and remates to add to the complexity of the design. Stylistically, these examples seem later than the others of this type. The Magdalena (Pl. 33) is perhaps the most restrained, since it is untiled but merely of red brick with blue and white divisions between the parts. The windows are topped with broken Neoclassic pediments which again indicate a late date. The round lantern has scrolls of the late eighteenth century style on the drum. Sant'Orun (Pl. 1) is of exactly the same scheme except that the dome is tiled. Like the Magdalena, it has colouristic divisions of the area between the windows. The pediments, the windows and the lantern are treated identically.

The dome of Santa María Tonantzintla (Pl. 54) also falls into this category. The pediments of the windows have been treated in an even more complex fashion and look more Baroque then Neoclassic. Earlier than the others, the church and the dome both date before 1750. The dome of San Andrés (Pl. 37), although it shows features of the untiled half round domes, B-1, must be treated in relation to this second group of tiled examples. The windows have round, rather than square decoration and are surmounted with remates. The unusual feature here is an elaborate step-like division of the areas between the windows. This is a unique case of this motif in Cholula. Although the shape of the dome is different, it is found also on the dome of San Juan de Dios in Mexico of 1739 (Pl. X-9). Stylistically, the decorative features of the design are from the mid-eighteenth

century, whereas most of the other examples are later.

II. Eight Windowed Domes.

A. Drumless Domes. These examples all ride higher than those above and have a series of eight, separately articulated windows placed in the base of the dome itself. The effect of these is to form a pseudo-drum and to flatten greatly the curve and the visual impact of the dome itself. Two defined types occur.

A-1. Eight Panelled, Tiled Domes. The high eight panelled dome of Santiago Cuayangle (Pl. 51), with octagonal, conically capped lantern, is the clearest example of the type. The sides of the lantern are decorated with scrolls, while the eight large, round arched windows are placed vertically in the dome. The square pediments of these give the effect of a drum, while the windows are still treated separately. The dome is tiled, although untiled precedents for the design can be found in the Cupola of Analco (Pl. X-16) and San Jose in Puebla. The facade of the church is from the first decades of the nineteenth century, the Classical Reaction. Nuestra Señora de Tzocuilac (Pl. 32), dated 1811, and its dome, also tiled, is treated in exactly the same fashion as Santiago Cuayangle. The pedimentation of the windows is a bit more elaborate, since the pilasters are well defined and remates are added at the top of each, but the basic components are the same.

Photographs are not available for two more eight windowed domes, except from the interior. The interior structure of Mexicalcingo

(Pl. 42) would indicate that it is one of this type. The design of the lantern supports this view. The tower of the church is of a Classical Reaction style and if the dome is of the same building period, this too would support its relation with the previous church. by placing it also at the start of the nineteenth century. It was not possible to get an exterior photograph of the dome of San Pedrito (Pl. 30). The facade and the tower of this church are from a very early date. The lack of any other eight panelled domes in Cholula which have eight windows of this type before the Classical Reaction suggest a comparable date for this example.

A-2. Hemispherical Ribbed Domes. Rather than being panelled and tiled, these domes are round and untiled, while the division of the dome area is accomplished through the exterior application of heavy raised ribs. The proportions of the domes and the placement and treatment of the windows are identical to the previous group.

San Pedro Parroquia (Pl. 23) is the clearest example of the style and the occurrence of estipites between the windows place it securely in the 1760-1790 period. The eight windows are articulated separately so that they do not form a continuous cornice line but merely a pseudo-drum. Heavy ribs appear on the exterior and run the length of the dome. The lantern is octagonal and has a conical cap.

Constructed on the same plan, the dome of San Juan Cuautlancingo adds a tile coating along with raised ribs, an unusual combination. Like the other examples of this type it is round rather than

panelled (Pl. 4). The partial photographs available for the dome of Santiago Parroquia (Pl. 17) seem to place it also in this category, since it has eight windows in the dome and exterior ribs.

San Antonio Acatepec (Pl. 59) has a tiled dome which fits clearly into this type. The pedimental forms of the windows are lacking here and have been replaced by hooded archivolts. The dome itself is panelled as in the first type discussed, but ribs are used at the intersections.

The round dome of the Guadalupe, whose facade is dated 1842 (Pl. 19), has a slightly modified design. The eight windows are round and the Classical pointed pediments on them encroach further onto the dome area than in the other examples. The dome is tiled and ribbed and the lantern is of about the same proportions as those cited above. There seems to be as aesthetic desire for emphasis on the vertical area formed by the windows. This links the dome more closely to the following group, where the emphasis of the design is on the tall drum. It is evident that the dome must fall in the last part of the Colonial Period in its design if not its execution.

II-B. High Drummed Half Round Domes. This last group of domes are distinguished by a high octagonal drum under a hemispherical dome, usually tiled, and ornamented with devices of the Classical Reaction. A very early example of the design is found in the dome of Morelia Cathedral (Pl. X-17), completed by 1700. In Cholula this type of dome is associated primarily with the early 1800's.

B-1. Continuous Drum Cornice. Here an unbroken horizontal cornice forms a sharp division between dome and drum areas. The dome of Santiago (Pl. 38) has all the characteristics mentioned above and the eight angles of the drum are marked by remates. The dome is smooth and unpanelled and brilliantly tiled. Ribs, though not raised, are indicated colouristically in the tile and blue stellar designs decorate the intervening panels. A dome of very similar style and decoration is found in Nuestra Señora de la Luz in Puebla (Pl. X-18) which is dated from the Classical Reaction, having been completed in 1820.

Of the same form and proportions, the dome of the Jerusalen (Pl. 22) uses plain tile with no divisions on the round surface of the dome. Large hooded archivolts bow up in the shape of eight round windows and while these do not actually break the cornice of the drum, they come to the top of the entablature between drum and dome. The lantern is tall and slender and adorned with the late eighteenth century style scrolls used on both the facade and tower of this church. Guiloche pilasters ornament the window area and carry through the decorative motifs of the tower. These together with the bowed archivolt motif clearly indicate the unity of the Classical Reaction forms in Cholula, which appear on towers, domes and facades in similar function.

An interesting case of the application of this design is found on the dome of Santa María Cuaco (Pl. 43), whose wooden door in dated

1683. The dome was altered in some fashion in 1925 as indicated by a plaque on the facade of the church and its style conforms in all but proportion to the Jerusalen type. It may well be that an older dome, of the low lying type, needed repair and was remodelled in an effort to conform to the aesthetic ideals of the Classical Reaction. The dome is hemispherical and tiled like the Jerusalen and adds coloured divisions by means of the tile. Eight windows puncture the octagonal drum which, though much lower, has a continuous cornice like the Jerusalen. The swelling of the cornice through the extension of the archivolts is without question a form derived from the earlier church as are the Classical Reaction scrolls which ornament the lantern.

The main dome of San Bernardino Tlascalcingo (Pl. 47) is almost identical to that of Santa María in both design and proportion. In this respect it varies from the higher examples of the rest in this group. Also tiled, the essential difference between the two is that the swelling cornice of Santa María Cuaco is eliminated so that the cornice is consistantly horizontal. In both cases the domes are hemispherical and the windows in the drums are square. The angles of the octagonal drum of San Bernardino Tlascalcingo are marked with remates as in Santiago (Pl. 38). This church is dated 1782-1789 and the dome may well be from this time or slightly later.

Although derived from the same design as Santiago and the Jerusalen, the dome of San Juan Tlautla (Pl. 9) is somewhat modified.

Four windows, rather than the usual eight are used here in a unique feature in the group, while no separation occurs between drum and dome. The windows, like the Jerusalen, are hooded and the rectangular members to each side infer the existence of a hypothetical cornice. Coloured tile bands divide the dome into four sections while the lantern, though somewhat smaller and lacking scrolls, is of the same proportions as that of the Jerusalen. As a whole this dome is a unique case in the area but there is little question as to its derivation. The date of the facade of the church as well as the interior, from the Classical Reaction, reinforces this analysis of its style.

Santa María Tequanitla (Pl. 48), whose facade is an exact duplicate of that of Nuestra Señora de Tzocuilac, has a dome which also falls as a hybrid into this group. Untiled, its proportions are high like Santiago and the Jerusalen, one of the most salient qualities of the type. The cornice between dome and high drum is uninterrupted by either pediments or remates. In basic form it is identical to Santiago, although it lacks the applied decoration present in the others of the group and therefore presents an unfinished whole. This is significant for the facade also is in an unfinished state, possibly through the interruptions of the wars of independence.

Two churches have domes which are panelled like group A-1 of the eight windowed domes. They both preserve and emphasize their high octagonal drum, characteristic of the present type as well. San Mateo Cuanalà (Pl. 5) is tiled and eight panelled, while a lantern

with salomonics and a conical cap crowns the whole. As in the style of Santiago, the distinctive feature of the whole is the octagonal drum, with eight windows, which is distinctly exposed above the vaults of the structure. The panelled dome varies in silhouette from this type, being less bulbous and more similar to the other group of its design.

The main dome of San Juan Calvario (Pl. 21) is also a hybrid design, being a panelled dome with the proportions of the high drummed type. The high octagonal drum is separated from the dome by a continuous cornice and punctured by four windows rather than eight. The dome itself is untiled and unlike San Mateo Cuanalà, has taken on the proportions of the high drummed type, being bulbous and large rather than of smaller more slender profile.

B-2. Interrupted Drum Cornice. The examples of this type are identical to group B-1 with the addition of triangular pediments over the windows, which break the cornice line of the drum. All three examples are tiled and the lanterns are decorated with scrolls. The tall bulbous proportions of the profile are identical to the previous design.

Nuestra Señora de los Remedios (Pl. 31) and the Trinidad Cuatengo (Pl. 2) both have flat undecorated areas between the windows. The late dome of San Pablo Tecama (Pl. 36) adds small colonettes and remates above in these areas. The first two have coloured bands dividing the tile and all three lanterns are identical with conical caps with balls above. Each facade is also from the Classical Reaction.

CHAPTER VII

INTERIORS

One of the most stylistically uniform aspects of the area, the great majority of the Cholula interiors are from the period of the Classical Reaction, 1800-1820. But two really notable exceptions are evident: Santa María Tonantzintla and San Francisco Acatepec, both in the Pueblan Baroque style.

Although some characteristic variation in plan and vaulting is evident, there is a uniform desire to increase the center of focus in lighting and decoration toward the apse. In even the most sparsely decorated examples, the flood of light at the crossing from the dome and the altar composition emphasize this same area. Variations occur in the illumination of the nave and its degree of elaboration, but the function of the crossing and apse are rarely sacrificed.

I. Lighting.

Nave windows occur in nearly all of the Cholula churches, although there is variation in form in a few. San Diego Tlautla (Pl. 10) is a typical example of the most frequent solution to the problem of interior illumination. The dome here serves as a lantern by producing the highest concentration of light at the crossing. A rectangular opening occurs in the center of each bay of the nave, while a round arch is formed above this by the vaults. Thus the lighting is equally distributed throughout the church, but intensified at the apse

end. This emphasis is always retained though variations and modifications occur, usually in terms of the number and shape of the nave windows. The only exceptions to this method of illumination are in the two small and almost identical chapels of Niño Perdido (Pl. 13) and Cuamilco Jesus (Pl. 15) which have no interior illumination, no domes and no transcepts.

Several of the larger churches eliminate nave windows so that the only light is preserved in the dome and apse. San Sebastian Tepalcatepec (Pl. 7), San Juan Acquiahuac (Pl. 28), San Mateo Cuanalà (Pl. 5) are of this type, having only solid panels in the positions where nave windows would ordinarily occur. Santo Niño(Pl. 41) lacks even these panels, though windows occur in dome and apse. San Pedro Acatepec (Pl. 58) is the most extreme interpretation of the system, since it has but one window in the entire church. This is placed in the west side of the dome so that the light floods directly into the apse. This type of illumination is unique in Cholula, rare in Mexico, but one of the most salient features in the churches of New Mexico.[1] San Pedrito (Pl. 30) receives its illumination only from the eight windows in the dome.

While function of dome and apse remain constant, the other variations in fenestration occur in the nave illumination. Santiago Cuayangle (Pl. 51) has regular windows in each bay of the nave, but

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[1] Kubler, George, The Religious Architecture of New Mexico, Colorado Springs, The Taylor Museum, 231 pp., p. 133.

only a false one under the dome, while San Diego Gallyotitla (Pl. 49) lacks openings in the first two bays of the nave. While Santiago Xicocingo (Pl. 52) has standard windows only in the second bay of the nave, Sant'Orun (Pl. 1) alternates a real and a false openings from bay to bay.

The regular system of windows, as cited in San Diego Tlautla, employs a square opening under the arch formed by the meeting of nave wall and vaults. The window, occuring as it does in the wall of the nave, is vertically placed. Several deviations of note are evident in both the shape of the window and its placement. One of the older churches in Cholula, Nuestra Señora de Santo Entierro (Pl. 20) has the usual vertical placement, but alternates this by using a round rather than a rectangular opening in the second bay of the nave. San Juan Cuautlancingo (Pl. 4) has no openings in the first, choir bay, a round one in the fourth bay of the nave and the typical square type in each of the others. San Miguel Tecpan (Pl. 27) of 1690, is the only instance of variation in the vertical structure of the window. The vaults here rise continuously from the cornice of the nave, rather than meeting an arched section of nave wall above this point. The windows thus occur above the cornice and in the vault instead of the nave wall, in slanting position.

The examples cited above are the only deviations among all the churches from the standard form of San Diego Tlautla of windows shape, placement and frequency.

II. Altars.

A. Retables. Pre-1800. Although many of the facades are from an earlier period, the interior decoration of the Cholula churches is primarily from the early nineteenth century. The particular interpretation of this Classical Reaction style in the area is the logical outgrowth of the tradition of stucco ornamentation so popular in Puebla in the Baroque period of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The altars of Cholula display, nevertheless, examples from nearly every phase of the Baroque period.

The Herreran, or High Renaissance, style began to be common in Mexico in the 1570's, primarily associated with the sixteenth century fortress churches. The two examples of this type in Cholula, San Francisco and San Andrés, undoubtedly originally possessed altars of this style, although they have both been redecorated. Chronologically speaking, the altar of San Juan (Pl. 40) is the earliest still extant in Cholula. A product of the transitional period of the Sober Baroque, its large size, dark canvasses and balanced compositional scheme are more related to the Herreran style of the sixteenth century than to the later Baroque. Rather than plain columns, however, the architectonic elements are composed around salomonics without foliage ornamentation. This type of column, the signature of the Baroque, was introduced into Mexico with the retable in the Chapel of the Kings in Puebla Cathedral by Lucas Mendez of 1649 (Pl. X-19), and soon spread throughout all Mexico, appearing in both

retables and on the facades of the churches.[2] The next decisive step in the evolution of the Baroque style in Mexico was in the Maldonado Altar of Santo Domingo in Puebla of 1688.[3] Salomonic columns are used in the lower portions of the design, but the decisive advance here is in the three dimensional undulation of the surface of the altar as a whole (Pl. X-20). In comparison to this aspect of the Maldonado Altar, San Juan in Cholula seems much closer to the earlier work of Lucas Mendez. On this basis its date might be as early as 1650-1680.

Between 1688 and 1718 Mexico moved into the Rich Baroque style. During this period profuse, fine scale foliage ornamentation creeps all over the salomonics and the architectonic members of the composition.[4] At the same time the paintings in the altarpieces decrease in size and the architectural framework is more emphasized, Statuary is favored over painting in the retable compositions and the parts tend to become smaller and smaller. The result is a stuffed feeling as the ornamentation becomes heavier and heavier.[5] The very fine retable of San Juan Cuautlancingo (Pl. 4) in Cholula is an excellent example of this style. It seems closely related to the retable of San Francisco in Tlascala from the late seventeenth century. In

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2 Weissman, op. cit., pp. 202-3.

3 Ibid., pp. 79, 202.

4 Angulo, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 867-870.

5 Loc. cit.

comparison to this design, the altar of Cholula is more plastic and three dimensional, but its style must place it in the same period.

The transcept retable in Santa María Tonantzintla (Pl. 54) is stylistically of the same period, though something in its opulence and complexity associates it more with the Churrigueresque style which developed in Mexico following the magnificent Altar of the Kings, 1718, in Mexico Cathedral. It therefore seems logical to place the Cholula altar from the first decades of the eighteenth century, although no estipites are actually used.

One of the most interesting ramifications of the Rich Baroque style, the Pueblan Baroque of the seventeenth century covers the altar and the entire interior of the churches with strapwork. The altar of San Francisco Acatepec in Cholula (Pl. 53) is one of the best known examples of this style anywhere in Mexico. Rather than being completely covered in gold leaf as is the Rich Baroque, the Pueblan Baroque picks out only the edges of the decorative forms in this material while the majority of the surface is covered in contrasting colours, predominantly white. More logic and organization emerges by this means in the optical effect of the whole. The actual architectonic structure of the altar can here be seen to correspond very closely to that of San Juan Cuautlancingo, though the latter is entirely in gold leaf, closer to the altars of Mexico than to the Pueblan style.

In 1718 the estipite was introduced into Mexico by Jeronimo Balbas in his epoch making retable for the Chapel of the Kings in

Mexico City. As Angulo points out,[6] this style dominates the middle third of the eighteenth century, with the estipite form holding sway. Just as they are rare in Puebla, no examples of the High Churrigueresque exist today in Cholula, though at the end of the eighteenth century one finds some indication of the flattening out of the three dimensional Churrigueresque forms. These flattened Churrigueresque retables are particularly associated with the area of Querétaro. The individual parts become much larger in size and there is a reintroduction of painting in a primary place in the design, usually in large oval frames. A glassed in vitrine, or niche, is often incorporated into the retable, as are windows in the second stage of the composition. A particularly good example of this style is the retable in the church of the convent of Santa Rosa in Querétaro, while that of the Santuary of Ocotlan in Puebla is good evidence that the style change also effected this area of Mexico. The main retable in the lateral chapel of San Andrés (Pl. 37) is without doubt a product of this style. Its central vitrine projects markedly beyond the rest of the surface while the other components cited above are also evident. Although undated, this must be from the last quarter of the eighteenth century and is the only true product of the style in Cholula.

A reinstitution of the columnar form, in place of the estipite, took place in Mexico in the last third of the eighteenth century and

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6 Ibid., Vol. II, p. 871.

along with this came a flattening and a simplification of the retable surface[7] as a prelude to the Classical Reaction which invaded Mexico at the end of the century. The general disposition of the retable of Nuestra Señora de Santo Entierro (Pl. 20) must be from the very end of the century, before the full scale invasion of the Classical Reaction around 1800. With its flat forms and central vitrine, the composition is basically much like that of the flattened Churriguer-esque cited above. The estipites have now been replaced by columns and a greater simplicity is evident in all the forms. The design is divided vertically into three parts and is the only example of this compositional feature in Cholula. The lower part looks like a product of the 1790's while the upper section, with its thin flat pilaster forms of greater rectangularity, was probably completed after the turn of the century. Perhaps constructed over a period of some years, the original design may have been adapted to the purer tastes of the Classical Reaction.

B. Classical Reaction Retables. The Classical Reaction came to Mexico through the foundation of the Academy of San Carlos in Mexico City in the 1780's. Its appearance in Puebla was marked by the great baldachino design for the cathedral by Manuel Tolsa of 1799. The influence of this monument was so great that at the time of the dedication in 1819, despite the upheavals of the wars of independence which raged

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[7] Ibid., p. 871.

in Puebla, the entire city was given over to celebration for more than a week.[8] Such interest was evoked through the institution of this cipres that, according to Cervantes, a wholesale remodelling was begun in all the interiors of the area. Many fine Baroque retables were replaced in this period with others of the Classical Reaction style.[9] Nearly all the interiors of churches in Cholula seem to have been designed at this time, although there is no way of establishing how late into the nineteenth century the completion of the designs extended.

A possible source of even earlier date for the Cholula altar compositions is the Altar Mayor of the Convent of San Francisco in Mexico by Jeronimo Gil, dated 1792 (Pl. X-21). Apparantly one of the first great monuments of the Classical Reaction, the three dimensional organization, broken pediments and other plastic features of this altar make it considerably more Baroque than the later examples in Cholula. Essentially composed of two sections, vertically and horizontally, its dominant stylistic feature is the arch shaped upper frame of the composition which is striated and coffered. In every altar of this period in Cholula this feature is present with different degrees of modification, and the same horizontal and vertical organization appears.

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[8] Gomez Haro, op. cit., p. 133.

[9] Cervantes, Enrique, "Bosquejo del Desarrollo de la Ciudad de Puebla", Universidad, Puebla: 1938, Vol. 5, No. 24, p. 17.

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[8] Gomez Haro, op. cit., p. 133.

[9] Cervantes, Enrique, "Bosquejo del Desarrollo de la Ciudad de Puebla", Universidad, Puebla: 1936, Vol. 3, No. 8b, p. 17.

Three major steps seems to be evident in the transition of this form from Mexico to Cholula. The first is the altar cited above. The second step was the Tolsa Cipres which introduced the fashion of the Classical Reaction to Puebla in 1799. At this same time it is probable that the old altar of Lucas Mendez in the Chapel of the Kings in Puebla (Pl. X-19) was remodelled and this contention will be defended in the following discussion. The Altar of the Kings in Puebla was the third, and most direct step, in the transition of the style, and it is this altar which is the basis of the Cholula designs.

The Altar of the Chapel of the Kings in Puebla has long been a landmark in the history of Mexican art, since it was the first introduction of the salomonic columns, that unfailing signature of the Baroque style. This altar, originally designed by Lucas Mendez, with paintings by Garcia Ferrer was completed in 1649 under the stimulus and interest of Bishop Palafox of Puebla. Work on the cathedral, which was first projected in the sixteenth century was suspended in 1618 and not resumed until 1640. Between 1640 and 1649 all the rest of the building and the interior decoration were completed under the auspices of this bishop,[10] with the exception of the towers.

The original altar was a product of the Sober Baroque style, and the original paintings by Ferrer are in the altar as it stands

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[10] Zeron Zapata, Miguel and Manuel Fernandez de Santa Cruz, La Puebla de Los Angeles en el Siglo XVII, Mexico D.F.: Ediciones Patria, 1945, 247 pp., pp. 54-55.

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today. Likewise there seems little reason to doubt the authenticity of the lower parts of the design, or the second and third vertical sections with their salomonic columns. A close examination of some details, particularly in the upper section of the altar, reveals that there must have been a rehandling of the architectonic members, The style of these later portions of the altar indicates that this rehandling seems to have taken place at the same time that the great cipres was installed, and remodelling was begun in so many other interiors in the area. No mention is made of this alteration in the many discussions of the altar in the history of the development of Mexican architecture.

An engraving of unknown date and authorship is included by (Pl. X-22)
Zeron Zapata in his discussion of the altar of 1649. Assuming that the canvasses of the present altar are original, and this is certain, it is obvious that the author of the engraving took considerable liberties with the size and composition of the paintings themselves. Each painting is, however, definitely recognizable from the engraving. The same holds true of the basic architectural framework of the retable. Thus, although there are discrepancies between the engraving and the parts of the altar which we know are original, these are errors of proportion and extension while the salient details and main outlines are recognizable. This closest agreement between the engraving and present altar occur in the areas which are most Baroque. Obvious disagreement is strongest in the areas where a Classical Reaction quality is most evident. Thus it seems safe to assume that the engraving is

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of the original altar, as designed by Mendez, and from sometime prior to 1800.

Working up from the bottom of the altar, the deviations observable support this contention. The statues in their niches look like those of the present altar (Pl. X-19) as do the framing columns. There has obviously been a change in the niches themselves. The pedimental upper sections evident in the engraving have been replaced with a striated recessed panel which smacks of the Classical Reaction, while the same changes are evident in the pedestals on which the statues are placed. In the engraving ornate benchlike forms, somewhat akin to those used on the first and third stage of the Maldonado Altar (Pl. X-20), appear. Now the statues rest on plain blocks, decorated with the typical garlands and swags of the Classical Reaction. The cornice bands seem essentially the same, but the framing of the central painting of the Virgin is markedly different. In the engraving it is heavy and profusely decorated with frond forms, while today the frame is a very thin molding whose flatness and delicacy also indicate the Classical Reaction. The engraver seems to have been fairly accurate in respect to the differentiation of different types of columns; salomonics of the second and third stage are carefully, if clumsily, distinguished from the plain corinthian supports of the first level. To either side of the present central painting are columns of the same size as the original salomonics. Round and covered with foliage, their most distinctive feature is the use of putti heads below the capital, one facing front

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and the others in profile to either side. Columns of this same design are indicated to either side of the painting on the upper stage, with the addition of drapery beneath the heads. This type of column was primarily in use in the sixteenth century as indicated by a comparison of the engraving with some gilded fragments of existing Herreran altars (Pl. X-23). It is logical that columns of this type be used in the altar of 1649 since, after all, this was the first introduction of the salomonic in all Mexico. As the altar stands today, no evidence appears of any columns of this type. The archivolt frame of the main painting now ends clumsily at the very edge of the cornice below and has no aesthetic relationship to the pilaster beneath. No continuation of the frame is evident below the cornice. Rather than the two columns of the type cited above, two flat pilasters, tall and slender, with delicate corinthian capitals, have swags of foliage executed in the best traditions of the Classical Reaction. A uniform band of decoration, which is almost a guiloche pattern, runs down a panel in the center of each of these pilasters. Both their decoration, proportions and lack of relation to the framing of the painting, make it impossible that they were from 1649. Any comparison of the engraving and the present altar indicate that the former, despite its distortions, is nearer to the original design of Mendez. All marked changes are in terms of the Classical Reaction.

The greatest changes of all have occurred in the top part of the altar. This, unfortunately, is the area in which the engraver has also produced the greatest amount of distortion from the original.

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The greatest changes of all have occurred in the top part of the altar. This, unfortunately, is the area in which the engraver has also produced the greatest amount of distortion from the original.

The alteration in the size and shape of the central painting, which remains today, is evidence to this fact. Several observations on this top section are rewarding nevertheless. The engraving shows a broken pediment, of rectilinear disposition, above the central painting. Now a full curved pediment with the same garlands and swags of the Classical Reaction appears. A form like this was impossible in 1649 but was the height of style in 1800 when the Tolsa cipres was started and the remodelling of the rest of the cathedral presumably took place. The triangular pediments which cap the lateral portions of the altar in the engraving are now curved like the central one. The sheild and coat of arms, though somewhat changed, and the putti which rest on the pediments are essentially the same.

The large arched frame at the top of the apse provides the greatest argument of all for the rehandling of the altar around 1800. Almost indistinguishable from the arch of the Gil altar of 1792 (Pl. X-21), this form could not possibly be the product of Lucas Mendez in 1649.

The Classical Reaction altars of Cholula divide into two major types. The first are regular retable altars whose closest and most influential precedent is the remodelled Altar of the Kings in its present state. The second type, largely influenced by the Tolsa cipres itself, incorporate a large baldchino as the central and dominant element of the design. These also retain the arched frame of both the Puebla and the Gil altars.

B-1. Regular Retable Compositions. The main altar of the Jerusalen in Cholula (Pl. 22) is one of the closest in the area to the Puebla precedent. The sotobanco, or base of the structure, is fairly low and the main level of the altar is divided into three sections horizontally. A large vitrine fills the central bay of this stage. This vitrine motif is a carry over from the same form which was so popular in the flattened Churrigueresque style of the end of the eighteenth century. The side bays of the lower stage are almost exact copies of the tabernacles which occur on the third stage of the Puebla altar. The tabernacles of the latter do incorporate the salomonic columns of Lucas Mendez, while those in the Jerusalen are identical to the delicate Classical Reaction supports on the upper stages of the Altar of the Kings. The same round pediments with their central, square decoration, crown the tabernacles of both altars. The only basic difference between the two designs is that the Jerusalen altar has a entablature which bows slightly forward, rather than being flat. The upper levels of both altars are alike and both are framed with the familiar archivolt motif at the intersection of the back wall of the apse and the vaults. This arch ring is not striated in the Jerusalen, but is a band of continuous molding. The garlands and swags in the area beneath the pediment of the Puebla altar have been omitted in the Cholula version. This altar is the clearest example of the basic forms which exist in nearly all the other altars in the area. De la Maza, dating the facade of this church from

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the "nineteenth century"[11], is doubtless referring to the period just preceding independence. As the reconstruction of the Altar of the Kings would not likely have antedated the Tolsa cipres of 1799, the provincial Jerusalen altar might well fall between 1805-1820.

Further confirmation of the relation of these two retables is evident in an examination of the aisle altar of Puebla Cathedral (Pl. X-24). Like the retable of the Jerusalen, the precedent for this second Puebla design is obviously the remodelled section of the Retable of the Kings. The columns and the treatment of the tabernacles and their pediments, with central coffer and crowning statues are identical. The archivolt frame and the single section of the second stage are the same, with the exception of the use of a window rather than a niche in the Puebla example. A glassed in vitrine is the central member of the lower stage of both compositions. It is likely that this Puebla altar was built during the same period that the Altar of the Kings was remodelled, and the resemblances of both these works to the design of the Jerusalen, in both detail and proportion, is more than coincidence.

Exactly the same subdivisions and the familiar arch ring are used in the very lovely altar of Nuestra Señora de Tzocuilac (Pl. 32) in Cholula, dated 1807-1811. A wide and ornately stuccoed archivolt frames the upper part of the design, somewhat wider than that of the Jerusalen and more like Gil's original creation of 1792. The design

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[11] De la Maza, op. cit., manuscript with no pagination.

of both stages, divided horizontally into three bays, utilizes a painting in the central portion rather than a vitrine. To either side of this the columns are doubled. Having no individual pediment, the lateral thirds rest their heavy banded cornice on the framing columns which, as in the other cases mentioned, are freestanding. The usual tabernacle form is placed at the upper zone of the design. In this case the pediment, rather than being round, is formed by two scrolls which meet in the center. Like those which appear on so many of the Cholula facades, two flattened scrolls work as transitional elements between the upper and the lower stages of the composition, and here two putti, precarious, are placed as well. As in the aisle altar of Puebla Cathedral (Pl. X-24), the upper tabernacle encloses a window in the rear wall of the apse. A striated panel, elaborately gilded, runs horizontally across the cornice above, which separates the upper and lower stages. A ballustered railing is added to the cornice, increasing the horizontal emphasis of this element, a device quite common in the Cholula interiors. Three dimensional movement, particularly in the cornices of the interiors, is one of the most obvious Baroque elements which continues to operate within the context of the Classical Reaction. The Baroque detail and plastic organization of this altar as seen above are as active as the forms of the Classical Reaction ever get in the area. The slender mixtelinear moldings of this cornice appear earlier, though with different qualitative manipulation, on the fanciful facade of San Miguel Tonantzintla (Pl. 55).

(Pl. 55).

The same forms and the return of the central vitrine occur in the retable of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios (Pl. 31), whose interior is unquestionably comtemporary with that of the previous two churches, the early nineteenth century. Here the railed cornice theme is continued, but the entire central third of the lower stage swells forward with doubled columns to either side of the central vitrine. Two scrolls, which rise from the cornice and give an arched profile to this vitrine, may be related to the mixtelinear facades of the eighteenth century. The tabernacle of the upper section of this altar has a broken cornice, but continues the elliptical pediment used in the Puebla Cathedral. As in the other altars, the columns to the sides of the tabernacle are doubled.

Containing the same components as the previous examples, but with some definite modifications, the main altar of Jesus Nazareno (Pl. 14) also utilizes a heavy striated archivolt to frame the composition. The usual division of the design is apparent with three bays on the lower stage and one on the upper. Rather than equal division of the lower stage, here the central portion is horizontally enlarged, and swells forward to form a baldachino which is almost freestanding. The upper niche has doubled side columns and is flanked with volutes linking it to the lower section. The pediment is elliptical, with two straight horizontal bands of cornice over the columns. Although it has only one opening in its domical upper section, the baldachino of this altar appears to derive from Tolsa's Puebla design. The central opening in the dome is pedimented and raised ribs divide

the dome itself, which is of a pointed profile like that of Tolsa's baldachino. Two sections of pediment run from the sides of the dome to the cornice below in both altars. The essential innovation here is the emphasis on the first stage of the altar composition. In the following series of designs this component of the design is continued while the upper area is less and less important.

The retable of Santiago (Pl. 38) continues this same scheme. The central third of the lower stage is tremendously enlarged and a baldachino is placed in this area. The tabernacle of the second stage is minimized, with no actual pediment joining the paired pilasters to either side of the niche. Sculptural elaboration is profuse over the entire altar, while the coffered arch ring and the heavy cornice noted above are retained. The cornice itself, rather than any separate pediment, joins the columns of both lateral thirds of the lower stage.

The altar of the Chapel of the Third Order (Pl. 25), adjoining San Francisco, is virtually identical to that of Santiago. All the elements are the same including the sculptural distribution and the coffered archivolt. As in the previous altar, the Classical Reaction vocabulary of the decoration, columns and sculpture are unmistakable.

The same forms, with considerably less plasticity and more elongation, appear in the side altars of Santiago Parroquia (Pl. 17) and Santa María Xixitla (Pl. 35). In the first, an oculus forms the second stage rather than the niche of the other compositions, while garlands and swags of the Classical Reaction are the major ornament.

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A desire to minimize the pediment of the second stage tabernacle is evident and here it is virtually eliminated. The baldachino of the central third of the lower stage is one in name only, since it consists merely of a domical member over what is actually a vitrine. The same components are used in the aisle altar of Santa María Xixitla. No actual baldachino occurs on the first stage but the widening and emphasis of the central vitrine continue, as does the railing over the cornice. One major innovation here is in the decorative application. Rich Baroque foliage has been used to ornament the arch ring, cornice, sotobanco and vitrine, while stylized scrolls, much like those on the facade of San Juan Tlautla (Pl. 9) link it closely to this design.

The same use of Rich Baroque foliage is present in the main altar of San Sebastian Tepalcatepec (Pl. 7), while an oculus forms the central member of the second stage as in Santiago Parroquia (Pl. 17). Though not freestanding, a baldachino on the first level is of large scale, rectilinear, with a heavy pointed dome, closely related to the type of the Tolsa cipres. The usual archivolt is here rendered not through a molding but through stucco fronds, as in the facade of San Juan Tlautla. The minimizing of the second stage of the design is here carried to an extreme in the two small colonettes which rise from the lower cornice to support nothing. As in Santa María Xixitla's side altar, a mat of Rich Baroque foliage fills the spaces behind the columns and spills over onto the ribbed dome of the baldachino.

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The main altar in the Chapel of San Bernardino Tlascalcingo (Pl. 47'), is a hybrid though closely related to the previous type. The lower section is composed of the usual three parts, with large columns to either side, framing the lateral niches. The main mark of individuality in this altar is the placement and size of the central niche. Considerably enlarged, it is placed on the lower stage of the design, but raised high above the altar. By this device it forms the center of both stages of the composition and is the only case of this motif in Cholula. The usual arch ring frames the entire altar.

The side retables, placed in each bay along the nave walls of the larger churches are composed in basically the same manner as the main altars. The transcept altar of San Bernardino Tlascalcingo (Pl. 47) is the only case of a two staged retable among the secondary altars. Here the window of the upper stage is incorporated as the central member of the design. Paired columns to either side of the window and an elliptical pediment with two straight side sections is used as the framing device for the composition. Divided into three almost equal parts, each one of these forms a niche on the lower stage. The central one breaks up through the cornice above and runs almost up to the window. A liberal application of Classical Reaction stucco covers the surfaces.

Although no window appears on the second stage and the lower central niche does no break the cornice above, the same general principles of design are used in the side altar of San Andrés, (Pl. 37).

The main altar in the Church of San Bernardino Alexandrino (Pl. 47'), is a hybrid though closely related to the previous type. The lower section is composed of the usual three bays, with large columns to either side, framing the tabernacle. The only mark of individuality in this altar is the pyramidal end etae of the central niche. Considerably enlarged, it is placed on the lower stage of the design, but raised high above the altar. By this device it forms the center of both stages of the composition and is the only case of this motif in Cholula. The usual arch ring frames the entire altar.

The side retables, placed in each bay along the nave walls of the larger churches are composed in basically the same manner as the main altars. The transept altar of San Bernardino Tlaxcalancingo (Pl. 47) is the only case of a two staged retable among the secondary altars. Here the window of the upper stage is incorporated as the central member of the design. Paired columns to either side of the window and an elliptical pediment with two straight side sections is used as the framing device for the composition. Divided into three almost equal parts, each one of these forms a niche on the lower stage. The central one breaks up through the cornice above and runs almost up to the window. A liberal application of classical decoration covers the surfaces.

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A monogram as the upper section, with striated flanks of undulating profile, cannot in reality be termed a second vertical stage, though its derivation is obvious. A Baroque undulation is evident in the surface of the retable as a whole, but the urns at the cornice, the slender fluted columns and the striated archivolt all mark it as a product of the Classical Reaction of the early nineteenth century.

Very like the above, the side altar of San Juan Cuautlancingo (Pl. 4) has no undulation in the surface, although the columns of the lower section are large and plastic and the cornice is thick and heavily stuccoed. The central niche of the lower stage is slightly wider than the side bays and contains the usual glass vitrine. Very small in relation to the lower, the upper stage has a false window instead of a niche, flanked with volutes of stylized rectilinear design. Two slender moldings of mixtelinear outline run from the top of the false window to the entablature below and serve to unify the composition. Thus the entire upper section forms a modified pedimental crown for the lower.

The remaining side altars of the larger churches are small and much less ornate. Nearly all are composed of a single unit in the form of a niche. One group. including San Matías (Pl. 11), the Jerusalen (Pl. 22), San Diego Tlautla (Pl. 10) and Nuestra Señora de los Remedios (Pl. 31), have altars with a concave conical cap at the apex of the design. The transcept altar of the Chapel of San Bernardino Tlascalcingo (Pl. 47') uses the same design, but the conical element

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has been replaced with a large half moon, a unique theme in Cholula. Also composed of a single niche, the side altars of Santa Barbara (Pl. 3) have side columns and pediments like the above type. In this particular case the niche is enlarged in relation to the architectural framework of the design, and cusped at the top. The remaining side altars are much less complex and, though they vary greatly in size, are all constructed on this single niche plan.

Two last principle altars are composed on a different plan, though several of their elements are related to the other Cholula altars. Distinguished primarily through the use of a giant order and a broken rectilinear pediment, their derivation seems to be from the main altar of the Side Chapel, Puebla Cathedral (Pl. X-25). Although the familiar archivolt motif is present and a single tabernacle still forms the second stage of the composition, the basic proportions of upper and lower sections have been distorted, the lower becoming tremendously enlarged. The Puebla precedent has a large and ornate entablature above the giant order of paired corinthian columns, capped with the broken pediment. A large painting forms the center of the lower zone and Classical Reaction urns decorate the pediment. The second stage is really only vestigial, formed by two small pilasters with panels of guiloche molding. Between these is a large circular painting capped with a Baroque sunburst which reaches to the archivolt above. Though the forms are heavier than the other altar type, and thus more Baroque, the vocabulary is of the Classical Reaction.

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The main altar of San Pedro Parroquia (Pl. 23) is one of the largest in Cholula. Virtually identical to the Puebla example above, it utilizes paired giant order, pediment, sunburst, and even a strip of guiloche pilaster molding between each set of columns. The proportions are similar as well. As probably could be expected, some influence of the regional Cholula designs appears. The arch ring, which is small in the Puebla altar, is now of emphatic size and elaborately coffered. A baldachino is incorporated into the design between the two sets of columns, relating closely to the use of the form in Cholula. The dome of this is pointed and bulbous, with large applied ribs. The second stage is more emphasized than in Puebla, with paired small pilasters and a curved pediment above, though it is still a very minor portion of the design.

The main altar of San Andrés (Pl. 37) is practically identical to that of San Pedro in both design, ornament and proportion. Being one of the fortress churches, San Andres is also one of the largest in Cholula. Every element appears here, giant order, pediment, tabernacle and domed baldachino. No doubt is possible regarding the relationship of the two designs or their derivation from the Puebla altar.

A wonderfully provincial example of this type appears in San Juan Tlautla (Pl. 9). It is the only other altar in Cholula which uses the large triangular broken pediment theme. In this case the baldachino has remained the same size as those of the other altars, although the dome lacks ribs and crown. Due to the tiny size of the

church, and the fact that the sanctuary is raised, the available space on the altar wall is very limited. In his effort to emulate the monumentality of the large altars, the designer constructed the baldachino of equal size. The result of this apparantly necessitated the dwarfing of the giant order so that the columns themselves became even stumpier than those which support the dome of the baldachino. The huge broken pediment emphasizes the ridiculous size of the columns below, but is still too small for the dome of the baldachino, and fades off uncertainly as it rises. The crowding of the lower portions of the baldachino was so great that the designer found it necessary to delete half of his columnar supports under the dome so that it rides uncertainly on very slender and insufficient supports placed far to the center of the entablature. The awkwardness of the design and the eagerness with which the author has tried to reproduce the large scale altars have created a typical provincial transcription of a more sophisticated design.

2-2. Baldachino Altars. The remaining twenty eight principle altars of Cholula have modified retable compositions which incorporate a freestanding baldachino as the center of the design. These must be termed "baldachino retables" since they are not baldachinos in the strict sense of the word which implies a completely independent composition. The apses of these altar compositions have the familiar archivolt above, and are entirely filled by the large baldachinos. Columns on the rear wall of the apse form a vestigial altar, though in most cases this area is almost entirely obscured by the freestanding

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member in front.

a. Santa María Tonantzintla Designs. The earliest, and by far the most reknowned of the Cholula baldachinos is that of Santa María Tonantzintla (Pl. 54) and an entire group of altars in the area are based on this design. The entire apse, which is the only splayed, three-walled example in Cholula, is covered with typical ornamentation of the height of the Rich Baroque style. A retable fills the apse behind the altar, composed of niches with doubled and tripled salomonics, entirely covered with stucco ornamentation. The retable itself is surfaced with gold leaf and looks like a typical product of the Rich Baroque of Mexico, rather than of the stucco workers of Puebla. Probably dating from the early eighteenth century, the baldachino is, in this case, completely freestanding and, like the rest of the interior, from the wildest imagination of the Pueblan Baroque. A central glassed in section is flanked with four wildly decorated salomonics, adorned with many small putti, bunches of grapes and almost freestanding foliage. The cornice of the baldachino is basically square, while the columns support an additional block of entablature set in front of the cornice proper. The center of the design is capped by a dome of the same general proportions as those in the retable compositions above. A circular medallion with the monogram of Mary is placed on center front of the dome, while ribs ending in large scrolls run to the entablature below. Like the columns, the dome is covered with foliage and a population of putti, and must also date from the first half of the eighteenth century.

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The baldachino retables derived from this design are nearly all transposed from the Rich Baroque into the vocabulary of the Classical Reaction. These, from their style, seem to have been installed during the remodelling boom from 1800-1820. San Dieguito (Pl. 56) and San Pedro Acatepec (Pl. 58), like the former church located in the southern Cholula section, are almost literal transcriptions of the Tonantzintla altar. Salomonics have changed to Classical columns now, however, the proportions are more slender and both putti and foliage are gone. The round medallion on center of the dome has become a niche but otherwise the parts and proportions are unchanged. Early twentieth century vitrines, placedbehind the baldachino, serve to obscure the original niches of the retable composition on the rear wall of the apse. Often evident in present day Cholula, this feature makes it difficult to analyze the rear apse walls with completeness and accuracy. The Baroque veneer has been trimmed off and replaced with Classical Reaction decoration.

The same statement may be made of the baldachinos of the new San Pablo Tecama (Pl. 36) and San Diego Gallyotitla (Pl. 49). In these the circular medallion of Tonantzintla has been reintroduced along with the scrolls at the sides of the dome. The addition of small colonettes between these scrolls is the only real change in this area. The lower portions of the baldachino are like the previous two examples, but the cornice behind the columns has become convex at the front and clipped and concave at the corners.

A very similar example of the style, rather than a dome, La

Magdalena (Pl. 33) utilizes a single oval form, flanked by scrolls to form the top section of the baldachino. The aesthetic result is much like that of San Pablo Tecama with its medallion. The sides of the cornice are convex as is the front section. The columns, as in all the others, are placed in front of the cornice proper, rather than under it, thereby breaking its continuity. Almost identical to this design, the baldachino of Santiago Xicocingo (Pl. 52) uses a real dome, this time with a quatrefoil opening at the top.

The same scheme with a slightly more conical profile is used in Niño Perdido (Pl. 13). Here an oculus punctures the dome area, but the major change is in the imposts of the side columns. These have lost their wide, square upper section, so that the columns now blend into the body of the baldachino. By this device the rectilinear profile of the composition is lost, while the other details remain the same. Very like this, the baldachino of Santa Barbara (Pl. 3) uses a slightly flattened dome. The available photographs make it impossible to tell if there is an opening in the ribbed dome.

Of the same style, with minor variations, the most striking feature of the baldachino of San Cosme (Pl. 8) is the close placement of the pilasters to either side. No portion of the cornice of the baldachino itself appears between the imposts of these supports. The front section of the baldachino is slightly convex and no opening occurs in the stuccoed dome above. This is one of the few cases in which the rear wall of the apse is not a part of the general design of the baldachino altar. No other niches or decoration appear here

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aside from the baldachino itself.

The lower sections of the baldachinos of San Diego Tlautla (Pl. 10) and Santiago Cuayangle (Pl. 51) are identical to those of San Pablo Tecama and La Magdalena, but their main distinction is in the domes. Colonettes are used as in San Pablo Tecama, but the central opening has become a large, vertical and pedimented window in both cases. San Diego Tlautla has an elliptical pediment and Santiago Cuayangle has a triangular one at this point. The baldachino of San Juan Acquiahuac (Pl. 28) is identical to that of San Diego Tlautla in all its forms.

b. Rosary Chapel Designs. Another large group of unified style seems based on the second stage and crown of the baldachino of the Rosary Chapel in Santo Domingo, Puebla (Pl. X-15), though these are but one stage high and surmounted with a dome. The Rosary Chapel itself was completed in 1690 though this does not necessarily imply that the baldachino was installed. As the salomonic columns and foliage decoration appear to be the products of the Rich Baroque style, it would seem safe to assume that the baldachino of this chapel was completed sometime after the chapel itself, probably sometime during the first half of the eighteenth century. Although this is the obvious derivation for all the Cholula group, it is definitely Baroque where they have transcribed the form into the style of the Classical Reaction.

Several very salient features are observable in all these designs. The columns tend to be clustered at the corners of the baldachino in

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Several very salient features are observable in all these designs. The columns tend to be clustered at the corners of the baldachino in

every case, as the second stage of the precedent. This is achieved through placing three columns at each corner, the central one forming the outmost point of the design. The central niche is in the shape of an arch, whose archivolt bows up through the cornice of the baldachino, a feature evident in both the dome and tower designs of Cholula. A rectilinear pedimented window occurs on center of every dome but one, which has no opening.

The clearest example of this type of column placement is in the baldachino of Mexicalcingo (Pl. 42), while the cornice swells up though not actually interrupted by the archivolt below. A comparison of this type of column placement with that of the tower of San Juan Tlautla (Pl. 9) justifies the strong relationship between the two designs, supported by the similar deviation of the horizontal entablature. Putti act as remates above the column clusters and the dome of the baldachino is elaborately decorated with stucco in the Classical Reaction style. Though somewhat less ornate in terms of applied decoration, the baldachino of San Gabriel Ometoxtla (Pl. 6) is identical in design. The cornice of the front section is, in this case, merely convex. More lavishly decorated, San Rafael Comac (Pl. 46) uses a perfectly straight cornice, while elaborate remates are placed over the columns.

Though a poor provincial performance, the baldachino of Santa María Cuaco (Pl. 43) is nearest to the design of the second stage of the Rosary Chapel, from a literal standpoint. Trilobed, rather than a single arched opening, the central niche actually breaks through

every case, as the second stage of the precedent. This is achieved through placing three columns at each corner, the central one forming the outmost point of the design. The central niche is in the shape of an arch, whose archivolt bows up through the cornice of the balcachino, a feature evident in both the dome and tower designs of Cholula. A rectilinear pedimented window occurs on center of every dome but one, which has no opening.

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Though a poor provincial performance, the balcachino of Santa Maria Ouaco (Pl. 43) is nearest to the design of the second stage of the Rosary Chapel, from a literal standpoint. Trilobed, rather than a single arched opening, the central niche actually breaks through

the main entablature. Flying buttresses, or freestanding ribs run from the top of the dome to the remates at the corners above the columns. This flying buttress form is one found in Puebla on the dome of the cathedral and in several other places. Not common in Cholula, its one occurrence is the towers of Nuestra Señora de Tzocuilac (Pl. 32). Its appearance on this baldachino may be related in some way to the composition of these towers.

The altar of San Mateo Cuanalà (Pl. 5) has the central entablature broken by the round archivolt of the niche below just as in its precedent, the Rosary Chapel. In this case no opening occurs in the dome. The small baldachino of San Miguel Tonantzintla (Pl. 55) must be placed in this group, although the reconstruction of the chapel makes it impossible to analyze the central portion of the design. The columns are clustered in the usual fashion at the corners of the structure, and surmounted with elaborate remates of putti. The cap of the baldachino, rather than being a dome, is bell shaped. The sole instance of this form in this group, only one other instance occurs in Cholula.

c. Tolsa Influenced Designs. More directly influenced by Tolsa's great cipres for the cathedral of Puebla (Pl. X-2), this group of Cholula designs have four columns, set obliquely at the corners of the baldachino, while incorporating most of the other features of the previous group. Although but a single stage high, the style is best illustrated in Cholula in the altar of San Bernardino Tlascalcingo (Pl. 47), which is a direct copy, in simpler terms, of the cipres.

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3. Tolsa Influenced Designs. More directly influenced by Tolsa's great ciprea for the cathedral of Puebla (Pl. X-2), this group of Cholula designs have four columns, set obliquely at the corners of the baldachino, while incorporating most of the other features of the previous group. Although but a single stage high, the style is best illustrated in Cholula in the altar of San Bernardino Tlascalchico (Pl. 47), which is a direct copy, in simpler terms, of the ciprea.

A separate and straight section of entablature is placed above the oblique corner columns, while the same broken pediment form found in the cipres gives a complexity to the upper section. A vertical pedimented window is on center in the dome and thus the copy has every individual feature of Tolsa's work except the side openings in the dome itself. In no case in Cholula is there more than a single opening on center of the dome, a deviation from the model doubtless caused by the isolated and freestanding character of the original while the copies all function only from a single view. Although lacking a pediment for the window and the broken sections above the main entablature, the baldachino of San Matias has every other feature cited above, (Pl. 11). In this case the opening of the main niche is trilobed.

The two baldachinos of Santiago Parroquia (Pl. 17) and Santo Niño (Pl. 41) are very similar aside from the lack of an opening in the dome of Santo Niño. These must be treated as hybrids between this type and that derived from the Rosary Chapel in that they incorporate features of both. The archivolt of the main stage niche bows up into the entablature as in the latter group, but both these examples also have obliquely set corner columns like the former. Here only two, rather than four columns occur at the corners and these are somewhat enlarged as are the oblique sections of entablature above them.

d. Miscellaneous Baldachino Retables. More closely related to the baldachino designed for the Cathedral of Mexico than to any in the more immediate area of Puebla, the design of Santa María Xixitla

(Pl. 35) is completely round, with no interruptions in the entablature and no openings in the dome. Eight columns, of fluted Classical variety, support the dome and are spaced widely in the center to reveal the image of the Virgin. Closely related to this unbroken cylindrical arrangement are the central attached baldachino of the altars employing the giant order, San Pedro Parroquia (Pl. 23) and San Andrés (Pl. 37).

Totally individual in the area, the baldachino of San Miguel on the Hill (Pl. 18) is really a part of the altar composition. Its round and unbroken entablature is supported only by two columns, one to each side. These, by their slenderness, give a top heavy and unstable effect to the design. Above the entablature is a bell-shaped covering with two freestanding ribs running to the remates above the columns. The only altar in Cholula related to this design is that of San Miguel Tonantzintla (Pl. 55). Both of these seem derived in shape from the design of the towers of the Cathedral of Mexico. In these, a round ribbed dome slightly overlaps the top of a ribbed bell beneath, which forms a transition to the tower itself, (Pl. X-26), also the product of the Classical Reaction, early nineteenth century. In San Miguel on the Hill the bell is fluted and only two flying ribs are used, while the other example in Cholula, also fluted, lacks ribs. The small domed cap in both is like that of the cathedral towers.

Only two cases of two staged baldachinos exist in Cholula. Both, like the great majority of the single staged baldachinos, are from the Classical Reaction period. The larger, in the sixteenth

century fortress church of San Francisco (Pl. 26), has several salient features. The most prominant is the use of an individual tabernacle, with separate entablature and columns, in front of each face of the square body of the baldachino. Thus a negative space occurs on each corner of the baldachino, while this arrangement is repeated on the upper section in lesser scale. Another set of columns is introduced between the columns of each tabernacle, under the main cornice level of the body of the baldachino. The upper stage reproduces exactly the baldachino of the Magdalena with two columns set out in front of the slightly swelling convex cornice. An elongated, pointed dome crowns the design and no other in the area presents quite so exaggerated a profile. No opening is introduced into this element.

Just like the baldachino of the new San Pablo (Pl. 36) is the lower stage of Sant'Orun (Pl. 1). The cornice here is concave beyond the corner columns, while the upper stage belongs to the Rosary Chapel group, with three clustered columns at each corner. Unbroken by the archivolt of the niche, the front cornice goes straight across, adorned with projecting impost blocks, with no columns beneath. The dome, ribbed and stuccoed, has no opening.

III. Dome, Vault and Nave Decoration.

The decoration of the interiors of the Cholula churches has two primary antecedents. First is the tradition of stucco work of the seventeenth and eighteenth century Pueblan Baroque, exemplified in Santa María Tonantzintla (Pl. 54). The second is the vocabulary

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of the Classical Reaction which arrived in the area in 1799. Since the transition of style is never absolutely clear cut, it is not surprising that the interpretation of the Classical Reaction in the area of Puebla retains a large amount of stucco decoration under the guise of the new form of organization. The Classical Reaction is thus a transitional style.

Although the dome, vault and cornice decoration of the early nineteenth century is much more restrained than the wild exhuberance of the earlier Pueblan Baroque, a comparison of these with an interior like Santa María Tonantzintla (Pl. 54) is rewarding. Under its overlay of stucco, strapwork and putti, the decoration of this church has basically the same architectural substructure as many of the later examples like Nuestra Señora de Tzocuilac (Pl. 32) of 1807-1811. In the later work the architectonic substructure of the building has emerged from its frosting and, though much stucco is used, it is always thinner and flatter than the earlier type. Stucco is confined within the basic architectural subdivisions of the space in the early nineteenth century and never forms a transition from one area to another. This stucco is confined primarily to the cornices, vaulting and domes while the wall decoration is relatively sparse.

The problem of assigning an absolute chronology to the interiors of these later churches, without further documentation, is insurmountable. With fresh paint and gold leaf, it is evident that repainting, repair and upkeep have continued through the years. To make matters more complex, it appears that there has been some kind

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of a crystallization in Cholula in the style of the Classical Reaction. This term implies a continued horizontal prolongation of any style, usually in a provincial area, for a considerable period after it has become outdated in more urban areas.

During an inspection of San Matías (Pl. 11), one of the nicest stucco interiors, an artist standing by proudly asserted that he had just finished painting the pendentives under the dome, and that other men had recently done the stucco work. The schoolteacher in this same village stated that men from his barrio were the ones who had decorated San Sebastian Tepalcatepec (Pl. 7). The interior of this latter church, although ungilded and somewhat flat, is very heavily stuccoed in panel divisions almost indistinguishable from the interior of Nuestra Señora de Tzocuilac (Pl. 32) which is securely dated 1807-1811. The very adept restoration of the interior of San Francisco Acatepec (Pl. 53), damaged by fire in 1939, is further proof that the stucco tradition is by no means a lost art in Cholula. Although the colours in this church are fearfully garish, a comparison of the small stucco putti heads and other details of decoration being constructed today with undamaged parts of the original shows little qualitative variation.

Basically stucco ornamentation is so superficial as to make the dating of a building by this skin decoration highly problematic. Applied to the surface of the wall rather than forming a part of the structure, stucco can be added or removed with little alteration and is difficult to place chronologically and almost impossible to detect.

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It is therefore evident that any assertion as to date of the interiors as they exist today must be hypothetical at best. Generally speaking, those examples that are more plastically executed and where the stucco is heavier, would seem to be more authentic than those where the stucco has thinned out until it is sparse and widely separated by flat areas of wall. The present day style of the area is still that of 1800-1820. It is impossible to establish without extensive archival investigation which interiors are authentic and which may have been copied from original designs or other churches nearby.

A- Dome Decoration. The Pueblan Baroque style, the earliest type present today in Cholula, was individual in Mexico in that it was conceived in terms of strapwork rather than vegetal or architectonic forms. Angulo discusses the evolution of strapwork in Puebla in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries at length.[12] There was a gradual progression from relatively rectilinear, sparse and flat division of the surface to a thicker, heavier and undulating form. Starting in the vaults of Santo Domingo after 1610 (Pl. X-27), this development reached a peak in the decoration of the Rosary Chapel of this same church, dedicated in 1690 (Pl. X-28), paralleling the progressive incrustation of the Rich Baroque forms which took place in the rest of Mexico in the seventeenth century. In the Rosary Chapel the entire surface is covered with an overgrowth of stucco.

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The frenzy of movement reaches such a peak that the strapwork breaks loose from the wall and becomes freestanding in certain areas. The architectural substructure is almost obscured in the vault and dome areas. This trend of increasing ornamentation continued through the first half of the eighteenth century as the Churrigueresque gestalt was felt, with its finer, smaller scale ornament. After 1750 a calming down of forms occurs in the Pueblan Baroque just as in the Churrigueresque, in preparation for the Classical Reaction at the end of the century.

In Cholula Santa María Tonantzintla (Pl. 54), undated but probably the product of 1700-1750, is the most Baroque and ornate of all the interiors. In terms of complexity and surface activity it goes even beyond the decoration of the Rosary Chapel. Aesthetically speaking, this style is the Pueblan counterpart of the Churrigueresque. The same essential motivation, the dissolution of the architectural substructure by a fine scale decorative overlay, is present in both forms. A look at some of the details of the pilasters, or the interior surface of the dome of this church makes this point clear. Shattered and alive with putti, strapwork and frond forms, the only organization which appears to the eye on first inspection is achieved through colour, which naturally does not function in black and white photographs.

The next most Baroque example in Cholula, estipites appear on the facade of San Francisco Acatepec (Pl. 53) dating it 1760-1790.

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In Chorula San Luis Tlaxialtemalco (Pl. 52), probably the product of 1700-1750, is the most baroque and ornate of all the interiors. In terms of complexity and surface activity it goes even beyond the decoration of the Sagrario Chapel. Aesthetically speaking, this style is the Mexican counterpart of the Churrigueresque. The same perceptual modification, the dissolution of the architectural substructure by a fine scale decorative overlay, is present in both forms. A look at some of the details of the pilasters, or the interior surface of the dome of this church makes this point clear. Shattered and alive with profit, strapwork and floral forms, the only organization which appears to the eye on first inspection is achieved through color, which naturally does not function in black and white photographs.

The next most baroque example in Chorula, exhibited again on the facade of San Francisco Acatepec (Pl. 53) dating to 1750-1790.

The Baroque plasticity of this facade and its comparable interior would place it nearer the beginning than the end of this period. Generally the interior of a church is completed before the facade. If this is true of San Francisco Acatepec, the interior date may well be 1750. Although the interior revetment of stucco has been largely reconstructed from photographs, the present decoration follows the original form. A comparison of the dome decoration of this church with that of the earlier Santa María Tonantzintla (Pl. 54) shows that although the use of stucco is still profuse, there is now a larger degree of emphasis on the architectonic substructure of the dome itself. As Angulo points out[13], there is a decisive step between the use of stucco in these two churches. In the later church the designer clusters ornament in the vaults and dome and apse areas, where earlier it was used with almost equal profusion over the entire interior surface. This basic development is all important in an understanding of the later evolution of the Classical Reaction, for the tendency toward more clear and architectonic use of decoration becomes increasingly strong. A desire to maintain the tradition of lavish stucco is evident even after 1800. The increasing restraint which came in the last third of the eighteenth century, was a prelude to the further calm of the Classical Reaction.

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dome structure. This same organization is even more evident in San Francisco Acatepec. By 1807-1811, when the interior of Nuestra Señora de Tzocuilac (Pl. 32) was completed, the continuation of this trend is quite plain. Like most of the others in Cholula, this interior shows the height of the new Classical interest. The basic form of the stucco is in eight panels as before. Now, however, it is used to delineate the contour of the windows and the ribs formed at the intersection of the eight faces of the dome, where earlier it clustered with equal emphasis on the flat wall areas. The entablature at the base ring of the dome is enlarged and emphasized in Tzocuilac by means of stucco, where in the earlier churches it is obscured by stucco surging up from the pendentives. Stucco is still freestanding, as the small leaves and fronds seem barely attached to the dome surface, but there is less strapwork and more use of a vegetal vocabulary. The famous putti are now fewer and more judiciously placed, isolated, each in his own oval, rather than struggling to emerge from a jungle of foliage and strapwork as in Acatepec and Tonantzintla.

Even in the most heavily stuccoed domes of the Classical Reaction, such as that of the San Andrés Chapel (Pl. 37'), the new logic and organization are apparant. Though still freestanding, the stucco and moldings are flatter and more restrained, expressing the critical architectonic areas rather than destroying their meaning. Again the disposition of putti heads, although derived from Santa Maria Tonantzintla, is isolated and stucco never breaks through to

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form a transition from one architectural area to another. In this case the entablature base of the dome is more heavily stuccoed than even San Francisco Acatepec, but the aesthetic result is more logical because of the placement of the decoration. The stellar medallion at the crown of the dome is very similar to that used in the earlier church. Thus the Classical Reaction is interpreted here in the terms of the Pueblan Baroque tradition.

The success and continued use of this interpretation is plain throughout the area. The dome of San Mateo Cuanalà (Pl. 5), though the windows are here situated in the drum, conforms to an identical design. Each panel is heavily foliated in gold leaf and contains one putto, while a railing has been added above the base molding to make its horizontal supporting function more pronounced. One of the most beautiful of the Classical Reaction interiors, San Juan Cuautlancingo's dome (Pl. 4) is of similar design.

In some cases, like Santa Barbara (Pl. 3), the actual three dimensional projection of the stucco work is less and the enframed fields are filled with painted arabesques. The flatness of the stucco and its tendency to adhere closely to the wall rather than standing free, plus the substitution of painted for molded arabesques, must throw the antiquity of this decoration under suspicion. Supporting this premise are the atrium gate and one of the towers of this church from the early twentieth century. In style, however, if not in execution, it is still the product of the Classical Reaction. It may well be a reconstruction on the pattern of an original design.

The same problem of authenticity arises in the dome of the Chapel of San Bernardino Tlascalcingo (Pl. 47'). The high contrast of colour intensity between the different areas, suggesting a freshening of the paint, the oval paintings and particularly the stencilled decoration of the wall areas make any claim to authenticity somewhat doubtful. As in Santa Barbara, this may be a case of modern tampering with an original design.

Divided into four larger panels rather than eight, the dome of the Jerusalen (Pl. 22) has no immediate precedent. The similarity of the scheme to that of the rest of the church, and the use of coffering and Classical Reaction urns, like those appearing elsewhere in the decoration, make an early nineteenth century date very likely. The manner in which the archivolts break up from over the windows into the painted cornice of the dome is similar to the features found on the tower and dome of the church. Although there is no coffering and more stucco on the dome of the Magdalena (Pl. 33), the same four-part division appears. While seemingly authentic in design, the flatness of the stucco and its relative sparseness do not make a positive assertion as to date possible.

Dating the main dome of San Bernardino Tlascalcingo (Pl. 47) also presents problems. The largeness of the forms and the lack of stucco, combined with the colour contrast make it more likely the product of the end of the nineteenth century than the start. On the other hand, there is nothing in the treatment of the drum to question either in respect to windows or railing.

The same problem of authenticity arises in the dome of the Chapel of San Bernardino Tlacocalpan (Pl. 47). The high contrast of colour intensity between the different areas, suggesting a freshening of the paint, the oval paintings and particularly the stencilled decoration of the wall areas make any claim to authenticity somewhat doubtful. As in Santa Barbara, this may be a case of modern tampering with an original design.

Divided into four larger panels rather than eight, the dome of the Jerusalem (Pl. 22) has no immediate precedent. The similarity of the scheme to that of the rest of the church, and the use of coffering and Classical reaction urns, like those appearing elsewhere in the decoration, make an early nineteenth century date very likely. The manner in which the arch-volts break up from over the windows into the painted cornice of the dome is similar to the features found on the tower and dome of the church. Although there is no coffering and more stucco on the dome of the Magdalena (Pl. 33), the same four-part division appears. While seemingly authentic in design, the flatness of the stucco and the relative sparseness do not make a positive assertion as to date possible.

Dating the main dome of San Bernardino Tlacocalpan (Pl. 47) also presents problems. The largeness of the forms and the lack of stucco, combined with the colour contrast make it more likely the product of the end of the nineteenth century than the start. On the other hand, there is nothing in the treatment of the drum to question either in respect to windows or railing.

It is known that the church of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios (Pl. 31) was at least partially destroyed in the earthquake of 1864 and was rededicated in 1874.[1] The lower parts of the interior decoration are one of the nicest examples of the Classical Reaction in Cholula, as well as seeming among the most authentic; the dome area is somewhat more doubtful. There is considerable use of stucco here and the dome is divided into four parts as was the Jerusalen. It is likely that the design of the whole is original in terms of basic scheme, done probably between 1800-1820. The allegorical figures, painted in dark colours, in their flat cartouche frames, the projecting heads of the Franciscan fathers and the putti do look suspicious. These latter parts may have been restored on the pattern of the original in 1874.

The apse dome of San Rafael Comac (Pl. 46), the only section of the interior which is stuccoed, is divided into eight panels. The magnificent detail of this work is in sharp contrast to the flatness and sparsity of the stucco on the previous church. Nearly all freestanding, the stucco is here sculptured with a plasticity and refinement which are unquestionable. Undated, the apse decoration is doubtless from the early nineteenth century, as is the baldachino altar. The main dome of the church is on a very tall drum and of bulbous shape like so many of the Classical Reaction. The apse dome is, however, of more pointed profile. Although the right tower of this church must be from around 1910 the stucco of the interior is from a century earlier.

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The apse dome of San Rafael Ormaz (Pl. 46), the only section of the interior which is stucco, is divided into eight panels. The magnificent detail of this work is in sharp contrast to the flatness and sparsity of the stucco on the previous church. Nearly all freestanding, the stucco is here sculptured with a plasticity and refinement which are unquestionable. Undated, the apse decoration is doubtless from the early nineteenth century, as is the baldachino altar. The main dome of the church is on a very tall drum and of bulbous shape like so many of the Classical Reaction. The apse dome is, however, of more pointed profile. Although the right tower of this church must be from around 1910 the stucco of the interior is from a century earlier.

The flattened dome of San Andrès (Pl 37) is patently not a part of the church as built in the sixteenth century. Its exterior may be the product of the late seventeenth century, but the interior decoration is of a much later date. Divided by four wide bands of gold leaf, no stucco of any sort appears on the dome; nor does the stencilled ornamentation of the whole church suggest the Classical Reaction. The uniqueness of its decorative scheme and the points mentioned above make it fairly evident that the decoration of the dome interior was not done before independence.

A number of the Cholula domes are not stuccoed at all and don't even use gold leaf in their decoration. In these cases it is especially difficult to suggest chronology. Among these examples one group does emerge very clearly. Here the characteristic trait is a painted coffering of the entire dome surface. The main precedent for this seems to be the coffered vaults of the Cathedral of Puebla, where each panel is adorned with a central, gold stucco rondell (Pl. X-29). Because of this antecedent, as well as the faded colouring and the ruined condition of painted surfaces, one might assume that these domes indicate the preferred style of the late eighteenth century.

The dome of San Juan Acquiahuac (Pl. 28) is the closest of the group to the Puebla dome in that there is no panelled division of the coffering. Painted in simulation of three dimensional depth, the coffers are of the same size and disposition as those of the cathedral. The centers of the stylized rosettes painted in each

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coffer are the only portion of the dome which is adorned with three dimensional stucco, here in the form of gold leaf rondells. The entablature at the base of the dome is decorated with freestanding stucco relief, very similar to the domes of the Classical Reaction. The painted decoration of the walls, however, may be the product of the late eighteenth century. The fact that the facade of this church is, stylistically, one of the oldest in the entire Cholula area, and that the dome itself is of an early type, supports the likelihood of authenticity in its design.

Very similar in design, except that the coffering is separated into four panels, is the saucer dome over the second bay of San Bernardino Tlascalcingo (Pl. 47). The dome of Mexicalcingo (Pl. 42) is identical in design to the above and the discrepancy between the style of the dome and the Classical Reaction decoration of the interior of the church itself is marked. The lefthand part of the dome is the only area in the entire church which is not in an excellent state of repair. The paint here is obviously much earlier than that of the rest of the decoration, a fact supporting the premise of its early date.

The dome over the first bay of Santiago Xicocingo (Pl. 52) follows the same plan and like the others of its type has small stucco rondells at the centers of the painted coffers. The coffers are here disposed in four sections.

Two more examples of this type are more elaborate and add a simulated molding to the painted decoration. In San Gabriel Ometoxtla

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Two more examples of this type are more elaborate and add a simulated molding to the painted decoration. In San Miguel Ometoxtla

(Pl. 6) the coffers do not decrease in size toward the crown of the dome. This feature may be mere provincialtiy, or it may be the flattened design of the dome itself which led to a change from the usual pattern of coffering, though the four panelled division is retained. In both this church and Sant'Orun (Pl. 1) extensive use is made of auxiliary painting. An arabesque decorates the drums of both examples and even a painted railing is used in Sant'Orun, Urns of flowers, similar to those used on the wall decoration of San Juan Acquiahuac (Pl. 28) appear in both these cases, while allegorical figures are painted in over the four pointed windows of Sant'Orun. The antique colours and poor state of repair in both these domes support a date from the late eighteenth century, soon enough before the Classical Reaction boom so that there was no object in fresh redecoration. The pendentives of San Gabriel Ometoxtla look original and similar to the dome in style, while those of Sant'Orun are at the earliest from the nineteenth century. Though not so elaborate and complex, a similar pattern of decoration and coffering is used in San Dieguito (PL.56).

B- Vault Decoration. An analysis of this part of the Cholula interiors discloses that the vaults follow the domes almost exactly in style and dating. The basic structural form of the vault in Cholula is unvarying through the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. Essentially this form is a modified groin vault in which the crown of the lateral penetrations varies, being usually somewhat lower than that of the penetrations on axis of the nave. The plain, undecorated

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vault of San Juan Tlautla (Pl. 9), whose facade is one of the nicest examples of the late Classical Reaction churches in Cholula, illustrates clearly this vault form. A comparison with the elaborately decorated vault of San Francisco Acatepec (Pl. 53) reveals no essential deviation in the formal structure. The concept in all Cholula, with the exception of the sixteenth century Gothic vaulting of San Francisco (Pl. 26), is the application of rich surface decoration to the same basic vault form.

Aside from the single sixteenth century example cited above, the earliest type of vault decoration occurs in Santa María Tonantzintla (Pl. 54). A detail of the cornice here shows how stucco has been applied to cover and break the underlying structure of the vault. In the slightly later interior of San Francisco Acatepec (Pl. 53), though still profuse, the ornamentation is more confined to the critical structural areas of the body of the church. Even in the earlier church the basic groin lines of the vault are evident and these become more and more apparant in the Classical Reaction.

The beautifully decorated apse of Mexicalcingo (Pl. 42) follows the same design as the two Baroque examples cited above except for a flatter ornamentation and a lack of interruption of structure by decoration. The stucco here is still freestanding. San Diego Tlautla (Pl. 10), San Mateo Cuanalà (Pl. 5) and Nuestra Señora de los Remedios (Pl. 31) all have ornament which outlines the edges of the groin and decorates the panels between with arabesques. The richness and three

dimensionaltiy of the ornament make its authenticity unquestionable.

In the vaults of the Magdalena (Pl. 33) and the first choir bay of Nuestra Señora de Tzocuilac (Pl. 32) the stucco is thinner and flatter. The sparseness of the panel decoration between the divisions of the groin may raise a question about their antiquity, but the over all feeling of the interior is convincing. The soto-coro in the first bay of the San Andrés Chapel (Pl. 37') uses painted arabesques combined with stucco, but the lushness of the ornament and its quality look authentic. In cases like Santa Barbara (Pl. 3), San Matías (Pl. 11) and Mexicalcingo (Pl. 42), recent reworking seems likely from the thiness and sparseness of the stucco. In the case of San Matías we know from the testimony of the painter that his pendentives as well as the stucco of the decoration were relatively new in 1956.

Another stuccoed vault of recent date occurs in the apse of San Dieguito (Pl. 56). In this case a plaque on the wall of the nave gives the names of the stucco workers who decorated the apse in 1893. This proves the continuation of stucco work in Cholula in the style of the Classical Reaction for almost a century. Qualitatively, there is little difference apparant between this work and that of the start of the century.

The apse vault of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios (Pl. 31) has the same type of decoration as the dome, with large cartouches in the panels and fairly flat stucco. It could easily be the product of 1810-1820, but could also date from the reworking of 1874. The nave

vaults of Santiago (Pl. 38), like those of the main church of San Andrés (Pl. 37), have a stencilled pattern on the flat wall surface which must be from 1890 at the earliest and are closely related to the dome decoration. The stucco arabesques are thin and not closely related to the vault decoration.

Living proof of the continued ability of the stucco workers of the area, the vaults of San Sebastian Tepalcatepec (Pl. 7) show the continued popularity of the style of the Classical Reaction to the present day. The schoolmaster at San Matias said that these were but recently completed by artisans from his barrio and, though there is no gold leaf, the profuseness and placement of the stucco is so similar to that of the dated work of the early nineteenth century that their design must be derived from this period. The lack of ornamentation or refinements on the facade of this church and its obviously late stylistic date support the view that its construction was interrupted by the wars of independence around 1820. The original design for the interior may well never have been executed at that time, but followed by these recent decorators.

There is also a group of vaults decorated with painted coffers, like those of the domes cited earlier. Done in deep greens and grey, colours popular around 1800, these also utilize gold stucco rondells. Prime examples of this type are the vaults of San Dieguito (Pl. 56), Santiago Xicocingo (Pl. 52) and San Juan Acquiahuac (Pl. 28).

C- Cornices and Entablatures. One of the most distinctive parts of interior decoration, the cornices reach the height of stucco

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6- Cornices and Entablatures. One of the most distinctive parts of interior decoration, the cornices reach the height of stucco

elaboration, beyond any other part of the interiors. Within the basic subdivisions of the classical entablature, an infinite amount of variation and imagination seem to have been used in Cholula. Two basic forms for cornices are evident in Cholula: those supported on pilasters, like San Diego Gallyotitla (Pl. 49), and those where both nave and crossing piers are cut to mere bracket capitals in scrolled form. Illustrated clearly in the interior of San Miguel of the Hill (Pl. 18), this particular variety of scrolled capital crops out over and over, both on piers and in suspended form. Unusual elsewhere in Mexico, it seems to have been one of the favorite forms in Cholula. To this, and the basic form of the Classical entablature, every variety of stucco decorative motif has been applied.

Now and again a very Baroque motif will appear in one of the Cholula interiors. In the relatively restrained nave of Santo Niño (Pl. 41), which incidentally has a very Baroque facade, the second pier of the nave, though unpainted, has as Baroque a salomonic as could be imagined. In Sant'Orun (Pl. 1) the suspended capital of the sotocoro is a magnificent Baroque detail. The shell niche over the main entrance of this church is of the same style. The painted coffering on the domes and vaulting of this church support the contention of a date in the last half of the eighteenth century for these details. In the Classical Reaction Chapel of San Andrés (Pl. 37') the sotocoro is treated in the same manner. Although the remainder of the chapel is undoubtedly from 1800-1820, the flattened Churrigeresque altar, possibly from 1790, might indicate that the chapel was

built during the Baroque eighteenth and merely redecorated at the start of the nineteenth century.

Aside from the already cited and more obvious examples of Santa María Tonantzintla (Pl. 54) and San Francisco Acatepec (Pl. 53), by far the most elaborate and ornate of the cornices in Cholula is that of San Francisco (Pl. 26). The cornice, like the better part of the vaults, is not original from the sixteenth century, but is undoubtedly from the eighteenth. Within the wonderfully undulating profile can be seen the basic componants of the later examples of the Classical Reaction. A detail of the cornice shows the profusion of dentils, scrolls and freestanding stucco leaves and frond forms, all combined under the guise of the Classical cornice. The large railing, which occurs above the cornice, seems the probable source for the later uses of the same motif. Although corinthian columns are used, the unique bracket form is introduced for intermediate supports.

A comparison of this church with the lovely examples of San Juan Cuautlancingo (Pl. 4) and San Diego Tlautla (Pl. 10), shows clearly the derivation of the latter entablatures. The portion of the entablature above the frieze is, in every case, the section where the greatest amount of freestanding stucco work appears on the interior. Sometimes freestanding columns are used, sometimes flat pilasters or engaged columns. In Nuestra Señora de Tzocuilac (Pl. 31) the pilaster form is used and the stucco is applied in rectilinear disposition in the intervening panels so that the supporting function of the pilaster is never destroyed. Here, as in San Francisco (Pl. 26),

the railing appears in front of the nave windows and above the cornice. Nuestra Señora de Tzocuilac (Pl. 32) uses the identical form, though without a railing. Although the decoration of the cornice itself is more flat and has no freestanding stucco, the familiar scroll pilaster capital is found in the nave of the Jerusalen (Pl. 22). The railing of San Francisco is also used.

The disturbing example of San Sebastian Tepalcatepec (Pl. 7) must be cited again in this case to show how, although a modern creation, the forms of decoration are so similar in both stucco motifs and scroll capitals.

D. Pendentive Decoration. In nearly all the cases where the dome interior itself is decorated with stucco, the same is true of the pendentive. These stucco forms are most frequently of the four apostles or the fathers of the church and are either in stucco oval frames like those of Mexicalcingo (Pl. 42) and San Cosme (Pl. 8) or they are composed in triangular disposition so that they fit the pendentive without a framing member. San Mateo Cuanalà (Pl. 5) and the Magdalena (Pl. 33) fall into this category and their precedent seems to be in the main dome of the Puebla Cathedral (Pl. X-29). It is sure that the latter is not the product of 1649, but there is no recorded date for the later remodelling. Like the majority of the interior decoration, this portion of the cathedral dates from the start of the nineteenth century without question. One peculiar feature which can be clearly studied, evident in Nuestra Señora de Tzocuilac (Pl. 32) and San Mateo Cuanalà (Pl. 5), is the placement

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of an extra horizontal band under the regular entablature of the dome and also below the nave transcept vaults. On these, as in Nuestra Señora de Tzccuilac (Pl. 32), there is often inscribed the name or title of the saint who happens to appear on the pendentive. Although lacking the inscription, this band was used alone above the pendentives of both the famous Rosary Chapel in Puebla and the main dome of the cathedral in Oaxaca, of all Mexico the area most closely related to the style of seventeenth century Puebla.

As in the Oaxaca Cathedral, a considerable number of the Cholula pendentives have frescoes in the triangular compositional disposition used in the sculptured examples above. San Bernardino Tlascalcingo (Pl. 47), Sant'Orun (Pl. 1) and Santa Barbara (Pl. 3) are a few examples of this type. San Matías (Pl. 11), cited above as having been recently completed, also uses this form. The dark and somber colour, typical of eighteenth century frescoes, is additional proof of the impossibility of dating this type of pendentive accurately. In several cases the frescoed area, or the painting, is smaller than the pendentive area. In these instances it is framed with a stucco border as in San Juan Cuautlancingo (Pl. 4) and the Chapel of San Bernardino Tlascalcingo (Pl. 47').

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CHAPTER VIII.

GROUND PLANS.

Originality of ground plan was not a characteristic of either Spanish or Mexican colonial architecture. Whereas in Italy the energy of the Baroque style expressed itself in the undulating floor plan of a church like San Carlo Alle Quatro Fontane, 1638-65 of Borromini, in Spain and Mexico the Baroque took the form of profuse ornament, applied to an essentially conservative ground plan. Few examples occur which violate this Spanish interpretation of the Baroque. One of these was the work of Luis Diez Navarro in the second quarter of the eighteenth century in Mexico in his designs for Santa Brigida and Santa María la Redonda.[1] These experimentations were not followed in Mexico, however, and were unique in the over all trend of the style of the Colonial period.

Aside from the three aisled plan of the cathedrals, which are essentially the product of the first half of the seventeenth century, the latin cross plan was virtually unvaried in the churches of seventeenth and eighteenth century Mexico. These began to be built in their permanent form about the middle of the seventeenth century, and continue through to the end of the colonial period.

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cross plan is the dominant one in the area. In Cholula there are also a number of smaller churches without transcepts, but in all these the dome is placed over the bay preceding the apse, what would be the transcept.

Aside from the two fortress churches and the Capilla Reale, all products of the sixteenth century, only two deviations from the latin cross plan occur in Cholula. The first is the three aisle type, all of which seem to have documentation or stylistic evidence from before 1650. The second are the chapels without transcepts. The use of multiple domes, which is one of the most original local features of Cholula, seems to be associated with the above types.

There are fifty five churches in Cholula available for analysis of plan. Twenty nine of these are of the latin cross type and eighteen are the transceptless variety. Of the remainder, two are sixteenth century fortress churches, six are three aisled or obviously derived from this type. An individual case, unique in all Mexico is the plan of the Capilla Reale, derived from the sixteenth century open chapel plan.

A. SIXTEENTH CENTURY BUILDINGS.

1. Fortress Churches. San Francisco (Pl. 26) in the center of Cholula, originally had an inscription which dated it 1549-1552. The first structure in Cholula, it was one of the earliest permanent buildings in all Mexico. It is of the usual sixteenth century plan (Pl. X-30e), it has no transcepts and a polygonal apse. The nave

cross plan is the dominant one in the area. In Cholula there are also a number of smaller churches without transepts, but in all these the dome is placed over the bay preceding the apse, what would be the transept.

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There are fifty five churches in Cholula available for analysis of plan. Twenty nine of these are of the Latin cross type and eighteen are the transeptless variety. Of the remainder, two are sixteenth century fortress churches, six are three aisled or obviously derived from this type. An individual case, unique in all Mexico is the plan of the Capilla Real, derived from the sixteenth century open chapel plan.

A. SIXTEENTH CENTURY BUILDINGS.

1. Fortress Churches. San Francisco (Pl. 26) in the center of Cholula, originally had an inscription which dated it 1549-1552. The first structure in Cholula, it was one of the earliest permanent buildings in all Mexico. It is of the usual sixteenth century plan (Pl. X-30a), it has no transepts and a polygonal apse. The nave

comprises four square bays with ribbed Gothic vaulting in the apse.

Attached to the above structure, the Capilla Reale (Pl. 24) is one of the most unique buildings in all Mexico. The Moorish quality of lack of centralization in design is its main distinction. Although the development of the plan is markedly different, the closest analogy to this structure is the Mosque at Cordoba in Spain, completed in 990. Begun in the 1570's the vaults of the Cholula building collapsed when the stagings were removed in 1585 and the rebuilding was not completed until 1608.[2] Derived from the plan of the open chapels, so often associated with the conventual buildings of sixteenth century Mexico, the Capilla Reale is the only vaulted example of its type. Of rectangular plan, it has seven aisles and each of the bays is vaulted with a dome on pendentives. The main aisle, leading from the entrance to the altar, is slightly wider than the rest and the domes here are respectively higher. Unique in Cholula as in Mexico, this chapel has no obvious influence on the remaining churches of the area.

San Andrés (Pl. 37) is the only other sixteenth century fortress church in Cholula. Though its vaulting system was originally Gothic, like San Francisco (Pl. 26), both this and the interior decoration were modified in the eighteenth century. Of the typical sixteenth century plan (Pl. X-30e), the polygonal apse still evident from the exterior has been obscured from the interior by the eighteenth

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[2] Kubler, op. cit., pp. 331-333.

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[2] Kubler, op. cit., pp. 331-333.

century reconstruction. The original foundation dates from 1557, and documents and the church archives prove that a small building not a permanent church, was standing in 1585. The vaulted church was begun somewhat later, but the sanctuary was not roofed until 1670,[3] while the splendid cut stone doorway was finished in 1630. In the eighteenth century a chapel was added to the left of the first bay of the nave (Pl. 37' & X-30j), while this member is composed of three square bays.

B. THREE AISLED CHURCHES.

The occurrence of the three aisled plan, with the one exception of the metropolitan cathedrals, was not a popular one in Mexico. Apparantly the earliest temporary structures in Mexico, built before the fortress churches, were wood roofed and three aisled in plan.[4] Initially the product of the first two decades after the conquest, churches of this type are found in the large towns of Mexico, Puebla and Oaxaca. Their use is dropped after 1540 and only rarely revived after 1555 and into the early years of the seventeenth century.[5] It is interesting to note that the resumption of this type of plan occurred only in the dioceses of Puebla and Oaxaca, closely allied architecturally, and the western provinces.[6] The most significant

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3 Ibid., p. 455.

4 Ibid., p. 293.

5 Ibid., p. 307.

6 Ibid., p. 300.

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[3] Ibid., p. 455.

[4] Ibid., p. 293.

[5] Ibid., p. 307.

[6] Ibid., p. 300.

examples of the large, three aisled, wood roofed churches occur in the district of Puebla and are generally associated with the Purist style. Excellent examples of this type are Tecali (Pl. X-31) and Zacatlan (Pl. X-32) and Quecholac (X-6)[7], whose facades are precedents for the seventeenth century ones of Cholula, and all of which were completed by 1580.[8]

Aside from San Francisco and San Andrés, five foundations are indicated on the map of 1580 (Pl. X-1). All of these, as they stand presently, appear to be derived from the three aisle plan and comprise one of the most significant aspects of the architecture of Cholula, since their names and locations correspond perfectly. These present structures are stylistically from the first half of the seventeenth century, so they could not be the originals indicated on the 1580 map. It is highly probable, however, that these present buildings must have been built on the foundations of the original sixteenth century structures, which were three aisled, or rebuilt on a similar plan to continue the tradition of the pre-existent church. Beside these five examples, only one other case of the three aisled plan occurs in Cholula, this hybrid in form and located far to the north of the area covered in the map.

1. Regular Three Aisled Churches. A good example of the three

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[7] McAndrew, John and Manuel Toussaint, "Tecali, Zacatlan and the Renascimiento Purista in Mexico", The Art Bulletin, Vol. XXIV, December, 1942, pp. 311-325.

[8] Kubler, op. cit., pp. 470, 472, 487.

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[8] Kubler, op. cit., pp. 470, 472, 587.

aisled plan, Santiago Parroquia (Pl. 17 & X-30a) is purported by local tradition to have been founded in 1578. The church is three bays long and three bays wide, although the central aisle is somewhat wider than the aisles. A square ended apse of one bays width projects beyond the main body of the church as a continuation of the central aisle. Santa María Xixitla (Pl. 35 & X-30a), which also appears by this name on the map of 1580 (Pl. X-1), is of almost identical plan. The body of the church is four rather than three bays in length and the nave and aisles are of equal width.

San Juan Calvario (Pl. 21) is the third completely three aisled example in the area and also appears by name on the map. Here the body of the church is composed of only two bays. The sidesbays, which vary considerably in width, are roofed with domical vaults. A shallow dome is placed over the first bay of the central nave, while another with a high drum occurs in the second. An apse, the same size as the first bay of the nave projects beyond.

The old portion of San Pablo Tecama (Pl. 36) can be discussed only in terms of its exterior since it was impossible to inspect the inside of the church. Another of the churches cited on the 1580 map (Pl. X-1), the exterior indication is strong for a three aisled plan. The new church, of the typical eighteenth century latin cross plan, has been built with its apse contiguous with the facade of the earlier structure. A view of the two churches from the front is suggestive. The tower of the old church which, like the new, is to the right of the facade, protrudes by almost its entire width beyond the extreme

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of the new tower. A view from the side, showing the joint of the two buildings, indicates a whole extra section of the old facade between the inner edge of the tower and the nave wall of the new church.

2. Hybrid Three Aisle Plans. The last church mentioned on the 1580 map (Pl. X-1) likewise has a strong connection with the three aisled plan, although it is a hybrid, unique in Cholula. San Miguel Tecpan (Pl. 27 & X-30i) has, stylistically, one of the earliest facades in the area which, though an anomaly, is directly derived from the 1630 facade of San Andrés (Pl. 37). Like its precedent, it is almost certainly from the seventeenth century. The plan today is a single aisle three bays in length, while the first bay is three bays wide. These lateral sections could certainly not be intended as a transcept, nor is it conceivable that this plan is derived from the Latin cross type (Pl. X-30b). A more likely explanation is that the original church on this spot was three aisled. The present facade, obviously very early, was retained in its entirety, when the eighteenth century remodelling of the interior and the upper facade took place. This church is located in the most populous section of Cholula. The consequent lack of room in the eighteenth century, or perhaps lack of funds, may have necessitated the omission of the last two bays of the aisles and thus the present deviation from the original three aisle plan. If this is the case, and both facade and 1580 map bear out the possibility, the plan is explicable in terms of a three aisle tradition.

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Located far to the north of the area covered in the 1580 map, San Cosme (Pl. 8) has no documentation from the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries although in all probability it has an early door. Its plan has embryonic side aisles about six feet deep to either side of its nave. As in the previous examples the apse, square ended, projects on center from the central nave. The nave is three bays in length, all of equal size.

The construction of barrio churches in the seventeenth century, combined with the disposition of their plans, makes this group of Cholula churches most significant. The number of these in such a constricted area are an indication of the heavy population of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, since only in the larger cities were barrio churches usual in this period. The continued use of the early three aisled churches and their reconstruction and redecoration in the eighteenth century are further evidence of the continued prosperity and dense population of Cholula from the conquest straight through to 1820.

C. LATIN CROSS PLANS.

The great majority, twenty nine out of the fifty five examples, of the Cholula churches fall into this classification, though there are a few minor variations. Of the twenty nine, twenty are three bays long, contain a transcept one bay deep preceding the square ended apse and employ a single dome at the crossing. Not only in Cholula but in all Mexico, this is by far the most common plan for parish

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C. LATIN CROSS PLANS.

The great majority, twenty nine out of the fifty five examples of the Cholula churches fall into this classification, though there are a few minor variations. Of the twenty nine, twenty are three bays long, contain a transept one bay deep preceding the square ended apse and employ a single dome at the crossing. Not only in Cholula but in all Mexico, this is by far the most common plan for parish

churches (Pl. X-30b). The eighteen churches not included in this category are transceptless and primarily are the smaller rural examples.

In general the bays are rectangular rather than square and are almost uniformly vaulted with modified groin vaults. Only nine of those interiors available for analysis use square bays,[9] while domical vaulting with no evident divisions occurs only in Santa Barbara (Pl. 3), Santiago (Pl. 38) and the last bay of San Juan (Pl. 40). In nearly all the churches the apse bay is the same depth as the first bay of the nave.

In three cases the first bay is shortened in relation to the others[10]. Usually a deviation from the equal bay scheme results from the use of additional domes, though the crossing is apt to be square to accomodate the main dome in most cases.

The transcepts of this form of plan are in no case deeper than the longitudinal length of the rectangular bays of the nave. These transcepts are always vaulted in the same manner as the nave bays, usually a modified groin vault, slightly extended at the crown. In the transcepts the vaulting is placed parallel rather than perpendicular to the axis of the nave. In about half the group the apse

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[9] Jesus Nazareno (Pl. 14), La Magdalena (Pl. 33), Nuestra Señora de Tzocuilac (Pl. 32), San Diego Gallyotitla (Pl. 49), San Gabriel Ometoxtla (Pl. 6), Santa Barbara (Pl. 3), Santiago (Pl. 38), Mexicalcingo (Pl. 42), San Pedrito (Pl. 30).

[10] San Bernardino Tlascalcingo (Pl. 47), San Diego Gallyotitla (Pl. 49), Santa María Tequanitla (Pl. 48).

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[9] Jesus Nazareno (Pl. 11), La Magdalena (Pl. 33), Nuestra Señora de Tecouitlac (Pl. 32), San Diego Galiyotitla (Pl. 49), San Gabriel Cuextotitla (Pl. 6), Santa Barbara (Pl. 3), Santiago (Pl. 38), Mexicalzingo (Pl. 42), San Pedrito (Pl. 30).

[10] San Bernardino Tlaxcalancingo (Pl. 47), San Diego Galiyotitla (Pl. 49), Santa Maria Tequantitla (Pl. 48).

and transcept are of equal depth. In the other half the transcept decreases until, as in the Jerusalen (Pl. 22), it is only a matter of three or four feet deep. In two known cases, where the transcept has become so shallow as to be almost vestigial, a barrell vault, perpendicular to the nave axis is used to cover the transcept area. No real correlation occurs between the depth of the transcept and the stylistic date of the church, since the development of this feature is fairly arbitrary. In most cases, however, the floor of the transcept is raised, as is that of the apse, and altars are placed in each. In three cases, San Cosme (Pl. 8), San Miguel on the Hill (Pl. 18) and San Juan Cuautlancingo (Pl. 4), the raised level of the apse continues out under the dome rather than confining itself strictly to the apse area. In two of the aisleless churches, San Pedro Acatepec (Pl. 58) and San Juan Tlautla (Pl. 9), this feature is also evident although it is not a characteristic of the area.

Santa María Cuaco (Pl. 43 & X-30d), whose wooden door is dated 1681, is the one church in the area deviating from the standard latin cross plan. In this case the entire church is composed of four bays. The transcept, with its dome at the crossing, instead of being located at the third bay just preceding the apse, is at the second bay of the nave. An intervening bay occurs, therefore, between transcept and apse, a plan unique in Cholula. Here it is plain that were the entrance and apse reversed, a good Latin cross would result.

Of the remaining churches of this type, two have a single bay, the crossing and the apse. The smallness of the transcepts of these

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Of the remaining churches of this type, two have a single bay, the crossing and the apse. The smallness of the transepts of these

do not enable them to be classified as Greek crosses in plan. Seven more churches have two bays and one has four, clearly evidencing the dominance of the three bay type.[11]

D. TRANSCEPTLESS CHURCHES.

Nearly all of small size, the remaining eighteen churches have no transcept whatsoever. These, widely spaced, may be the enlargements of original hacienda chapels.[12] They occur primarily in the southern area which, due to its population distribution, shows indications of being a non-urbanized hacienda district rather than a series of crown sponsored communities as those in the north. Only six of this number are large scale, comparable to those of the latin cross type, and conform to this similarity in every respect but the transcepts. Although the use of multiple domes seems to be a characteristic of these transceptless churches (Pl. X-30g, h, 1), only two of the larger ones above have multiple domes or vary the size of the bays.

Due to the frequent use of multiple domes, it was obviously necessary to vary the length of the nave bays to accomodate the domes of varying diameter and height. This must account for the

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[11] Ecce Homo (Pl. 29), San Miguel on the Hill (Pl. 18),/Jesus Nazareno (Pl. 14), Trinidad Cuatengo (Pl. 2),Chapel of the Third Order (Pl. 25), Magdalena (Pl. 33), Nuestra Señora de Tzocuilac (Pl. 32), San Bernardino Tlascalcingo (Pl. 47), San Pedrito (Pl. 36),/San Pedro Parroquia (Pl. 23).

[12] Propounded by a guide in Mexico City, the community organization of southern Cholula substantiates this theory.

greater lack of uniformity in the nave division of the transceptless group. As in the latin cross variety, the usual plan is to place the dome over the bay preceding the apse. Were there a transcept here, this would be the crossing bay; eight of the eighteenth examples use this plan. Three churches are composed of three bays, including the apse, nine are four bays, four are five bays and one is six bays long. The Carmen (Pl. 12 & X-30f) is the only case of a nave composed on two bays, from exterior evidence.

The raising of the apse and the use of modified groin vaults as in the latin cross type continues. San Dieguito (Pl. 56) and Santo Niño (Pl. 41) are the only cases in which a domical type of vault is used, in both this is located in the apse.

The hybrid plan of the Carmen (Pl. 12 & X-30f) is unique in the area. The plan of the church is single aisle and without a transcept, two bays long. The odd feature of the design is an unroofed, atrium, formed by the extension of the nave walls to form an open bay in front of the church. The two side thirds of this are enclosed as chambers whose doors of entry open from the central, unroofed third. From the side of this chapel it is evident that the materials of the forecourt are different from those of the body of the church. It seems probable for this reason that this area is a later addition, though the reasons and precedent for the design are unknown.

One other anomaly in plan occurs in the apses of San Diego Gallyotitla (Pl. 49) and Santa María Tonantzintla (Pl. 54). The first of these is the only case of a polygonal (pentagonal) apse,

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where the usual form, except in the two fortress churches, is rectangular. Santa María Tonantzintla has a trapezoidal, splayed apse which is also unique in Cholula.

E. SIDE CHAPELS.

Since most of the churches in Cholula are comparatively small and their spacing is dense, the need for attached chapels could not have been urgent. It was impossible, in the limited time available for the field work of this study, to investigate thoroughly the side rooms and chapels in every church. There are eight cases, however, of known side chapels and it is certain that more do exist. Three general plans emerge among these eight. The first, and most elaborate, which occurs only in the larger and more ornate churches is a chapel of the latin cross plan opening from the left of the first bay of the nave. San Andrés (Pl. 37' & X-30j) is the most obvious example of this type and San Antonio Acatepec (Pl. 59), judging from exterior evidence alone, seems to follow this pattern. The San Andrés Chapel is a small latin cross like the other separate churches of this type. Composed of two square bays, it is vaulted with the usual groin vaults. A choir loft occupied half of the first bay, as in nearly all the other churches and an octagonal dome occurs at the crossing. Very shallow, the transcepts are perhaps six feet deep and are vaulted with modified groin vaults placed parallel to the axis of the nave. The apse is square, a full bay in depth.

The chapel of San Bernardino Tlascalcingo (Pl. 47' & X-30k)

The chapel of San Bernardino Tlascalchingo (Pl. 47' & X-30k)

is in the same relation to the church proper, though the plan has been somewhat modified by the use of multiple domes. In this case they occur in each transcept as well as at the crossing. The nave is composed of two bays, the second twice the depth of the first, the crossing and the apse, a full bay in depth. The transcept design is unique among all the churches of Cholula as it is the only case where each arm is two bays deep. A low bay has been interposed between the crossing and the end bays of each arm and a dome placed in the extreme members throws a flood of light at each end of the transcept. Although these secondary domes are much smaller, both they and that at the crossing are octagonal.

Four more churches have side chapels, though these are in every case much smaller and are composed of but a single square section. All open out under the left side of the crossing or, in the two transceptless examples, from beneath the dome. Nuestra Señora de los Remedios (Pl. 31) and San Diego Tlautla (Pl. 10) both have this feature. The chapel of the first is roofed with a small dome and that of the second is the same, Although it has no transcept, from which the chapel opens, San Juan Tlautla (Pl. 9) possesses the same feature in the same place. Here the chapel has no dome. In San Mateo Cuanalà (Pl. 5), a large domed chapel, now in the process of construction, opens out from directly under the main dome. Its actual plan, however, was not evident from the exterior.

Another one of the large churches, San Juan Cuautlancingo (Pl.

4) has the unique feature of twin chapels opening to either side of the first bay of the nave. These are composed of a single square section and are roofed with the usual modified groin vaults. Santa Barbara (Pl. 3), one of the largest churches in Cholula, has a domed chapel to the right of the transcept and the same feature, undomed, occurs in the nearby Sant'Orun (Pl. 1).

As a rule, attached to the churches are some form of low lying outbuildings to one side or the other which possibly served as sacristies since no priests are resident in most of the churches. Whether more chapels are to be found in these was impossible to establish at this time.

The use of camarines, small rooms to the rear of the apse used to house the wardrobe of the sacred image of the church, do appear on some of the larger churches, though this feature is infrequent. Nuestra Señora de los Remedios (Pl. 31) and San Mateo Cuanalà (Pl. 5) both have this feature, a small, square, domed room. The domes in both cases are only half present and are placed flat up against the rear wall of the apse. A common feature in Mexico this cannot be said of Cholula, possibly because of the small size of most of the churches.

F. DOME PLACEMENT.

One of the most original and unique features of Cholula, the placement of multiple domes occurs in what seems to be an arbitrary manner in many of the churches. Of the fifty four churches available

b) has the unique feature of twin chapels opening to either side of the first bay of the nave. These are composed of a single square section and are roofed with the usual modified groin vaults. Santa Barbara (Pl. 3), one of the largest churches in Cholula, has a domed chapel to the right of the transept and the same feature, undomed, occurs in the nearby Santo Cruz (Pl. 1).

As a rule, attached to the churches are some form of low lying outbuildings to one side or the other which possibly served as sacristies since no priests are resident in most of the churches. Whether more chapels are to be found in these was impossible to establish at this time.

The use of camarines, small rooms to the rear of the apse used to house the wardrobe of the sacred image of the church, do appear on some of the larger churches, though this feature is infrequent. Nuestra Señora de los Remedios (Pl. 2) and San Mateo Ozumalá (Pl. 5) both have this feature, a small, square, domed room. The domes in both cases are only half present and are placed flat up against the rear wall of the apse. A common feature in Mexico this cannot be said of Cholula, possibly because of the small size of most of the churches.

F. DOME PLACEMENT.

One of the most original and unique features of Cholula, the placement of multiple domes occurs in what seems to be an arbitrary manner in many of the churches. Of the fifty four churches available

for analysis on this point, at least ten use two or more domes in the church proper, excluding those of subordinate chapels and camarines. Six further examples indicate strongly from exterior appearance the presence of more than one dome. Considering only the verified examples of a complex dome placement, it is evident that about one fifth of the churches possess it. A rare feature in the rest of Mexico, the use of multiple domes is one of the important salient local characteristics of Cholula.

Not confined to any one type of facade or any styistic date, several observations are possible about these domes. Only four out of the twenty nine latin cross churches have this feature. Two other churches have a bulging profile in the nave wall from the exterior, indicating the possible presence of a second dome. Thus only about one seventh of these fall into this type. Of the eighteen small transceptless chapels, four have two or more domes while four others indicate extra domes from the exterior. This would be over one fourth of the group. Of the three aisled examples, which are more closely related to the transceptless plan, two have multiple domes. Thus it must be concluded that this characteristic is associated most closely to the transceptless churches.

Only two large scale churches possess this feature; San Bernardino Tlascalcingo (Pl. 47) and San Juan Acquiahuac (Pl. 28), while all the others are smaller chapels. In terms of geographic location, half of the entire group occurs in the southern area of Cholula around San Bernardino Tlascalcingo and Santa María Tonantzintla (Pl. X-1).

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Five more are also south around San Andres, while two more are in central Cholula (Pl. X-1). Only one, San Cosme (Pl. 8), which is three aisled, is to the north. Thus the use of multiple domes is almost exclusively a feature of the southern area, originally the haciendas.

Although the domes of this group are place arbitrarily, a general tendency tends to make them higher and more ornate as they approach the apse. In all cases one of the domes occurs at the crossing, or the bay immediately preceding the apse. All but three of the multiple dome group have only two domes (Pl. X-30g, h), and fall into two types. In the first the domes are contiguous (Pl. X-30g), while in the second they are separated by an intervening bay (Pl. X-30h).

1. Two Contiguous Domes. Prime example of this type, San Bernardino Tlascalcingo (Pl. 47) has a two bay nave, crossing and apse where the first nave bay and apse are of the same size, vaulted with the usual modified groin vaults. In the second bay is placed a low dome, saucer shaped and sparsely ornamented. The third bay carries the main dome, profusely ornamented and on a high drum. These two bays are twice the size of the vaulted ones; thus a fairly coherent effect is achieved as the eye is drawn to the altar. The interior of the church is dated 1782, putting it virtually at the end of the Baroque period. The multidomed side chapel, though unique in Cholula, is probably related to the use of extra domes in the main church.

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Though it does not actually have a dome proper at the second bay of its four bay nave, the design of the vaulting in San Juan (Pl. 40) must be closely related to that of the previous church as the same aesthetic effect is achieved. All four bays are square and the first and fourth are vaulted with groin vaults. As would be expected, the third bay carries the main dome. In contrast to the first and fourth, the second bay has a domical cover, unusual in Cholula, which functions as a second shallow dome.

Likewise possessing a four bay nave, Santa María Xinachtla (Pl. 50) has a second shallow dome evident from the exterior as well as the main dome over the third bay. Like San Juan it is transceptless. San Andrecito (Pl. 39) and the Carmen (Pl. 12) both have a polygonal cornice line at the second bay of the nave. Since it was impossible to enter these two churches, it can only be suggested that they fall into this group since a similar exterior form occurs in San Juan Acquiahuac, known to have secondary domes (Pl. 28). The main dome of San Andrecito occurs just before the apse of its three bay nave, while that of the Carmen is over the apse itself.

San Juan Calvario (Pl. 21 & X-30a) is of three aisle plan, its central nave being three bays in length including the apse. The main dome occurs just in front of the apse while the second is in the first bay, over the choir loft. As is usual, the main dome has a high drum and the second is low and unornamented. San Rafael Comac (Pl. 46), like the examples above has two contiguous domes. These, however, occur at the crossing and over the apse itself. As might

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be expected, the main dome of the crossing is higher than that of the apse, but from the interior, the order of increasing ornament toward the altar produces the more elaborate stucco decoration in the apse. The main dome is here octagonal while the other is round. This distinction of shape between the domes is frequent.

2. Two Domes Separated by One Bay. Both latin crosses with a four bay nave and apse, San Diego Gallyotitla (Pl. 49) and Santiago Xicocingo (Pl. 52) have a main dome at the crossing plus a second at the second bay of the nave. These differ from the previous type due to the interposition of a groin vaulted bay between the domes. Both bays carrying domes are square and the others are rectangular making the sequence 1:2:1:2:1. In the first church the round dome is at the second bay and the octagonal one at the crossing, while the other church maintains the distinction in shape but reverses the positions of the domes.

The small chapel of San Miguel Tonantzintla (Pl. 55), like San Juan Calvario (Pl. 21), is only three bays in its entire length. The positions of the two domes, however, follow the pattern of this second group in being separated by a groin vaulted bay. Thus, as in San Juan Calvario, the smaller dome occurs over the choir loft, while the major one in this case is over the apse; this church has no transcepts.

It was impossible to observe the interior of San Antonio Acatepec (Pl. 59) but both a five bay nave and the crossing dome are clearly evident from outside the church. The swelling quality of the nave

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walls and the fact that so many of the secondary domes are invisible from the exterior[13], combined with the location of the church far to the south, strongly suggest the presence of a second dome.

Also observable only from the exterior, San Pedro Colomoxco (Pl. 44) seems to have a minor dome over the first or choir bay, while the main dome is over the apse. Since the placement of the main dome over the apse is unknown, except in the multidomed churches, and this plan is transceptless, further support is added to the supposition of a second dome.

3. Churches with Three or More Domes. Two churches in Cholula have three domes in the nave, while one has four. San Juan Acquiahuac (Pl. 28) and San Pedro Acatepec (Pl. 58) are identical in plan. Transceptless and of about the same size, both are four bays in length. The apses are roofed with groin vaults and the other three bays are domed in sequence of mounting size and height toward the apse (Pl. X-301). In each case the first two domes are oval rather than round, while the bays carrying them are rectangular, the second slightly deeper than the first. A square bay, carrying the main dome precedes the apse. Thus the length of the bays increase with the height and ornamentation of the domes mounting to the apse. The result in both cases is unified and aesthetically very successful.

San Cosme (Pl. 8), whose plan has two very narrow side aisles,

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[13] San Miguel Tonantzintla (Pl. 55), San Juan Acquiahuac (Pl. 28), San Bernardino Tlascalcingo (Pl. 47).

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is the only case of a church with four domes, one at each bay of the nave. The side aisles are roofed with barrell vaults placed parallel to the axis of the nave. The domes increase in size to the main dome and then decline again as in San Rafael Comac (Pl. 46). The first dome is oval, the second low and square in plan, and clipped at the corners. Both domes have an oculus at the crown, each is on a drum, the main one slightly higher, and each nas four windows.

4. Single Domes and Domeless Churches. Invariably every church that has a dome, carries it at the crossing just before the apse if there is but one dome. This, of course, is typical of the latin cross type.

Only three cases of domeless churches occur in Cholula. Niño Perdido (Pl. 13) and Cuamilco Jesus (Pl. 15), identical in plan, are the two most impoverished examples in the area. Both are three bays longs, roofed with the usual modified groin vaults. Simple painting with no stucco or gold leaf is used in both whichare the products of the early nineteenth century in style. Neither have domes. From this same period, though belonging to the Classical Reaction facade type, considerably more ornate and larger, San Sebastian Tepalcatepec is constructed on a five bay plan without transcept or dome. In terms of floor plan alone, each of these bays is so narrow that no dome could have been originally projected, although the unfinished state of the facade and the modern interior stucco indicate that the building campaign was interrupted by the wars of independence around 1820. It is a scheme unique in the area.

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CHAPTER IX

TOWN PLANNING AND ATRIUM GATEWAYS

A. Town Planning.

Of the fifty five separate church structures in Cholula, thirty four have walled in atriums, each laid out in a regular plan with a stone walk leading up to the church and some landscaping in this area. The larger of these are frequently used as graveyards, while in the smaller ones the area is plain. In most cases there is an architectonic handling of the atrium wall and some type of gateway at the main entrance. Twenty one churches have no real atriums constructed in this manner. Of these only twelve have enough room in front of the church for an atrium and the remaining nine are built directly on the street. Thus a courtyard of some sort was definitely a feature of the planning of the churches of Cholula.

Of the twenty one churches without atriums, all in the north, three are the centers of densely populated villages; San Sebastian Tepalcatepec (Pl. 7). San Diego Tlautla (Pl. 10) and Jesus Nazareno (Pl. 14). In no case are the village centers laid out with a plaza in the usual sixteenth century fashion.[1] If the urban section of central Cholula be counted as one unit as it must be, in the entire area covered only fifteen local "village centers" occur. All are laid out in blocks and built up in a dense concentration of homes.

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In each of these the church is the focal center of the community. Of the fifteen centers, only nine are constructed complete with a plaza on which the church faces and in each of these the church has a definite atrium.

The character of the population distribution, in terms of urbanization, differs markedly in the northern and southern areas. The population to the north is much more concentrated in small distinct units, while that in the south is spread out in more rural fashion and more evenly over the area. Of the fifteen urban centers cited above, three are in the central urban section of the city of Cholula. Only three are located in the whole southern area and the eleven remaining are all to the north. The village centers laid out with the church facing on a plaza number nine in the entire area. Two of these are in the urban Cholula area and the other seven are to the north. In no case is there a village set up on a plaza, with a church and strium adjoining, in the south. Even the biggest and most ornate churches to the south, Santa María Tonantzintla (Pl. 54), San Bernardino Tlascalcingo (Pl. 47), San Antonio Acatepec (Pl. 59) and San Francisco Acatepec (Pl. 53), although among the finest architectural examples in the entire area, have a relatively scant number of homes and defined blocks of buildings around. For practical purposes these churches are off by themselves (Pl. X-1). In the north nearly all of these churches are surrounded by some type of urban center, although it may not be a plaza in the strict sense. The smaller

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chapels to the south are virtually out in the country with nothing around, while this type of setting is unknown in the north. This infers a division of the southern area originally in terms of hacienda foundations rather than crown sponsored communities. We do know that the original jurisdiction of Cholula lay to the south as far as Atlixco, while settlements like San Juan Cuautlancingo, a relatively short distance to the north, were separate city centers as early as the sixteenth century.[2]

San Francisco in the center of Cholula proper (Pl. 26) is the one example of an entire sixteenth century conventual establishment in the area. The plaza, by far the largest, adjoins the church and like Huejotzingo and Tlascala, the atrium has four posas. These square, roofed structures with two doors on adjacent sides, are placed in the corners of the atrium. This opens out on the plaza of the town. Set out with the usual arcaded governmental buildings, this plaza lies to the west of the church while the cloisters and other conventual buildings are to the east.

San Andrés (Pl. 37), the other fortress church in the area, faces on a plaza and has the usual atrium. Cloisters lie to the east of the church but the atrium, though large, has no posas, and there are no remaining evidences of an open chapel. The wall of the atrium has been remodelled in a series of concave side portions which meet in points crowned with remates. This form is seen at both Ocotlan

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[2] Penafiel, op. cit., p. 9.

(Pl. X-11) and Santa Prica Tasco (Pl. X-10), obviously a mid-eighteenth century device. The lack of posas in the atrium, a deviation from the usual form, may have been lost in this remodelling. On the other hand the change may have resulted from the fact that San Andrés was set up toward the end of the sixteenth century for the purpose of caring for the large indian population which could not be handled completely through the main center of San Francisco. No governmental or other administrative buildings were needed surrounding the plaza, since the secular administration of the area must have been still carried on from nearby San Francisco. The posas may have been omitted also because of the secondary character of the establishment.

B. Atrium Gateways.

1. Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Gates. The most common scheme for sixteenth century atrium gates was a three arched, flat topped construction with remates or adornos at the ends and a cross or triangular structure on center.[3] The gate of San Francisco in Cholula (Pl. 26) is of only two arches but the design is the same. As in Tezontepec, no archivolt or other architectonic decoration occurs around the arches themselves and two concave side portions flank the composition. The remates, raised on blocks, mark the corners as at Huejotzingo and there is likewise the usual central cross. Although the gate of San Francisco is the only one in Cholula from this early date, the essential design of the atrium gate in

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the area follows this basic plan even up through the end of the colonial period. The decorative additions and the plastic quality of the design varies with the influence of the Baroque and Classical Reaction styles, but the one storey gate with round arched opening and central emphasis remains. The wall of the atrium in Cholula, with its adornos, is also typical of the sixteenth century since the same form decorates the gate and wall of Huejotzingo. This scheme is likewise continued through the colonial period with variations.

Although the wall and the upper portions of the gate of San Andrés (Pl. 37) are obviously from the late eighteenth century, the same general date as the remodelling of the facade and towers, the essential scheme of the three arched opening of the gate itself may be from the early seventeenth century. If this is not the case, the tradition of the size and scheme of the original gate must have been influential. The same observations can be made of the gate of Santiago Parroquia (Pl. 17), whose plan shows evidence of the late sixteenth century and which we know was founded by 1580 (Pl. X-1). The upper sections of the form are stylistically from the eighteenth century but the frieze and the remates, the general proportions of the three arched opening and its restrained treatment could be earlier. The concave sections of wall to the sides of the niche above the gate echo the general composition of the examples cited above. It is almost impossible to date the gate which exists today in front of the atrium of San Matías (Pl. 11). The door of the church itself is of cut stone and may very likely be from the seventeenth century. The

the area follows this basic plan even up through the end of the colonial period. The decorative additions and the plastic quality of the design varies with the influence of the Baroque and Classical Reaction styles, but the one storey gate with round arched opening and central emphasis remains. The wall of the atrium in Oaxaca, with its adornos, is also typical of the sixteenth century since the same form decorates the gate and wall of Huejotzingo. This scheme is likewise continued through the colonial period with variations.

Although the wall and the upper portions of the gate of San Andrés (Pl. 37) are obviously from the late eighteenth century, the same general date as the remodelling of the façade and towers, the essential scheme of the three arched opening of the gate itself may be from the early seventeenth century. If this is not the case, the tradition of the size and scheme of the original gate must have been influential. The same observations can be made of the gate of Santiago Parroquia (Pl. 17), whose plan shows evidence of the late sixteenth century and which we knew was founded by 1580 (Pl. X-1). The upper sections of the form are stylistically from the eighteenth century but the friezes and the remates, the general proportions of the three arched opening and its rectangled treatment could be earlier. The concave sections of wall to the sides of the niche above the gate echo the general composition of the examples cited above. It is almost impossible to date the gate which exists today in front of the atrium of San Matías (Pl. 11). The door of the church itself is of cut stone and may very likely be from the seventeenth century. The

later parts of the facade and the tower composition are in most probability from the 1760's. The gate itself is of plaster and brick. Its design, however, is almost identical to that of the sixteenth century examples. The concave side walls reflect the influence of San Francisco (Pl. 26), although this gate is three arches in width. The wall is about the same height as the earlier church, but has no adornos or decoration of any sort. The round perforations in the side sections would indicate that it comes from the eighteenth century, but the general plan finds its source from San Francisco. The upper section of the composition is missing.

The atrium wall of Santa María Tonantzintla (Pl. 54) is identical to that of San Francisco. It is of about the same height and decorated with the familiar adornos. Of different material, the gate is two arches wide and constructed of brick and plaster. Although the basic parts are the same, it has a larger and more developed top section. The concave flanks of the gate now have become undulating scrolls and the same is true of the flanks of the niche, though the adornos remain the same. This central niche design is close to that of the niche type facades. The gate as a whole is not markedly plastic and is fairly restrained; this suggests an early date for its original design. The basic parts are derived from the same plan as Santiago Parroquia, although the gate here is two rather than three arches wide. Somewhat more provincial in design, but of comparable plan are the two arched side gates of Santiago Parroquia (Pl. 17) and Santiago (Pl. 38) which, being to the sides of the atrium,

are naturally much smaller in scale than the principle gates. In Santiago the central top section under the niche has been raised and an extra set of adornos have been added at the edges of this member. The niche is more vestigial than actual since it is merely a round perforation through the flat section between the usual concave flanks discussed above. The scrolls to the sides of the gate itself remain and are even more undulating and unarchitectonic in profile than those of Santa María Tonantzintla (Pl. 54). A swelling elliptical form, much like the trilobed type of facades, is the most distinctive feature of this gate. The whole structure is fairly thick and plastic in terms of jutting moldings and other forms. Thus its date must be from the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. Although the sides of the double arched gate drop off almost vertically instead of through a concave flank, the same plan is evident in the side gate of Santiago Parroquia. The essential components of the top area of the gate are like the other in this group. The adornos are used for decoration and there is a somewhat higher central niche with slightly altered flanks. The scrolls of these have been continued and circular forms, separated from the length of the scrolls, crown the flanks. It is a provincial edition of the theme.

2. Mixtelinear Gates. In the second type of atrium gates several distinct traits are observable. In general a greater plasticity of forms occurs where scrolls and shell topped niches are used more profusely. A straight or mixtelinear shape is given to the flanks while the adornos are either lower and triangular or in urn form.

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2. Mixtelinear Gates. In the second type of atrium gates several distinct traits are observable. In general a greater plasticity of forms occurs where scrolls and small topped niches are used more profusely. A straight or mixtelinear shape is given to the flanks while the adornos are either lower and triangular or in urn form.

All but one of the examples of this style have a single opening and all have a fully developed niche above the arched upper section. This design may have begun in the late seventeenth century, but most of the examples in Cholula are stylistically datable from after the middle of the eighteenth century. Some examples from the Classical Reaction period follow the same plan as the earlier examples of this style. The gate to the tiny atrium of San Pedrito (Pl. 30) seems stylistically the earliest of the group. In material it is identical to the facade of the church, which also has a seventeenth century cut stone doorway and window. The gate, a single arched opening, has heavy pilasters framing the arch. Instead of being strongly concave, as the other examples, the flanks of the gate are now almost straight. The wall of the atrium is of the usual height and has no ornamentation. A top section is formed over the arched portion with its thick, heavy cornice. This, pierced by a quatrefoil also like the motif appearing in the trilobed facades, is essentially elliptical with a taller rectangular peak crowned with a remate. This top is a very simple example of a mixtelinear outline used extensively in the more elaborate examples of the group.

Thought slightly altered, the gate of San Gabriel Ometoxtla (Pl. 6) follows the same design. The sides of the gate rise vertically from the wall to meet the flanks of the top section, which are straight with tiny scrolls at the ends similar to those of San Pedrito. The opening of the gate is trilobed, the only instance of this form in Cholula gateways. This opening is framed with heavy doubled pilasters

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Through slightly altered, the gate of San Gabriel Dos Santos (Pl. 6) follows the same design. The sides of the gate rise vertically from the wall to meet the flanks of the top section, which are straight with tiny scrolls at the ends similar to those of San Pedrito. The opening of the gate is trilobed, the only instance of this form in Cholula gateways. This opening is framed with heavy doubled pilasters

and a large cornice. Above this is a trilobed niche, flanked also by pilasters and crowned with a broken pediment which ends in fanciful scrolls to either side of a central remate. This pediment continues the line of the flanks of the gate. Two oculi pierce these flanks just to the outside of the pilasters of the upper section; another link to the gate of San Pedrito, dating probably from 1725.

The two arched gateway of San Bernardino Tlascalcingo (Pl. 47) is the only one of its kind in this group. It may well be that the lower portion of the gate is from an earlier date in terms of its flatness and lack of Baroque decoration. It stands up very well against known earlier gates. The central niche and concave flanks of the upper portion and the central broken pediment is closer to the main gate of Santiago Parroquia (Pl. 17) than to any other in Cholula. There may well have been an earlier church on this site though no documentary evidence supports this premise. The church is dated 1782 and its tile facade seems to support this as correct. The Herreran style of the doorway suggest, however, that the skin decoration may have been added to a seventeenth century base. The main portions of the gate may be earlier, or they may have been influenced for some unknown reason by the earlier rather than the current style in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The side flanks of the gate are definitely related to this second group, the scrolled and niched gates, in terms of their style. They have an exaggerated convex-concave scroll and then step down vertically; a remate marks the end of the scroll. It appears that this portion

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of the gate is a later addition to a plain rectangular step between gate and wall. If this is correct it is another factor to support the possible date of an earlier church on this site for the early date for this type of gate would be from the seventeenth century.

Certainly from around 1750 are the closely related gateways of San Miguel Tonantzintla (Pl. 55) and the side gate of San Bernardino Tlascalcingo (Pl. 47). Both have heavily architectonic pilasters and cornice and large, heavy remates. A central niche, rising to a peak and flanked by convex elliptical scrolls, forms the upper section of the composition. The lower flanking portions are formed by wildly fanciful mixtelinear scrolls, punctuated with remates and these form the transitional members from the gate to the low wall. The similarity of this side gate of San Bernardino Tlascalcingo to the later portions of the main gate may be evidence that these were added at the time of the tile coating of the present facade.

The gate of San Miguel on the Hill (Pl. 18) is the only case of estipites appearing on an atrium gate just as the tower of this church is one of the three in the area which have fully developed estipites, since this form was rare in Cholula. The gate is essentially on the same plan as the above, being a single arched opening with niche above and constructed in a highly plastic fashion. The main distinction here is that the pilasters to the sides of the opening of the gate have been doubled so that one occurs at each end of the transitional flanking members. Just barely concave, this flank, as that of San Pedrito, ends in tiny scrolls. The upper niche

of the gate is a later addition to a plain rectangular step between gate and wall. If this is correct it is another factor to support the possible date of an earlier church on this site for the early date for this type of gate would be from the seventeenth century.

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The gate of San Miguel on the Hill (Pl. 18) is the only case of cestipites appearing on an atrium gate just as the tower of this church is one of the three in the area which have fully developed cestipites, since this form was rare in Cholula. The gate is sectionally on the same plan as the above, being a single arched opening with niche above and constructed in a highly plastic fashion. The main distinction here is that the pilasters to the sides of the opening of the gate have been doubled so that one occurs at each end of the transitional flanking members. Just barely concave, this flank, as that of San Pedrito, ends in tiny scrolls. The upper niche

is complex in terms of pilasters and remates and presents a very mixtelinear outline. The pilasters to either side of the opening of the gate have here become fully developed estipites of the most sophisticated type. The use of the estipite enables us to date this from 1760-1790. Almost identical to this is the gate of San Antonio Acatepec (Pl. 59). No estipites occur here and the outer set of pilasters on the lower section have been placed next to the first. The straight scrolled flanks end weakly, without aesthetic support, just above the wall. Theflanks of the niche at the top of the gate are decorated with moldings and applied stucco. These, as well as the similarity of the design to San Miguel Tonantzintla, would suggest a date of around 1770-1790. The gate of Santiago Momoxpa (Pl. 16), though somewhat modified, is definitely part of this group. The sides of the lower portion of the gate here drop down vertically to the wall . The niche at the top center is covered with an elliptical section, which ends in two remates and flows down into a slightly cancave flank. Under the remate to either side of the niche are lambrequin forms, closely associated with the estipite and equally as rare in this region. This, as well as the late facade of the church, must date in the 1790-1800 period.

3. Fluid Outline Gates. The main gate of Santiago (Pl. 38) is characterized by a change from a crisp mixtelinear outline to a weak fluid undulation, though the gate itself is constructed on the same principle, with round opening and niche above. In this, and all the examples of the type, the substance of the structure is very thin

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and the niche has become a mere perforation or second opening at the top. In all the three examples of this type the archivolt of the lower opening is interrupted by the flanking vertical members of the gate. In both Mexicalcingo (Pl. 42) and Santa María Cuaco (Pl. 43), although the latter has no pilasters to the sides of the arched opening, the same scheme is followed. The tall, thin and insubstantial quality of all three examples, the urns which appear on both Santiago and Santa María Cuaco and the guiloche pilasters by the top niche of Santiago, would indicate that the dates of all three are 1790-1800.

4. Nineteenth Century Gates. The last group of gates, four in number, are all from the nineteenth century. The large three arched entry to Santa María Xixitla (Pl. 35) is one of the loveliest in Cholula. The similarity in the design of the lower gate to the sixteenth century models proves the continued development of a given and successful theme. Very restrained in style and similar to the sixteenth century examples, particularly San Andrés Chiautla, this gate may be more than accident since the church is one of the three aisled examples appearing on the map of 1580. The present church may be a continuation of the atrium of the earlier structure. The upper, and more elaborate, sections of the gate are without doubt from around 1810 when the Classical Reaction was in full bloom in Cholula. The three round circles, of striated proportions and topped with Classical Reaction urns, could not be from an earlier date. This same style is echoed in the arched gate of San Mateo Cuanalà (Pl. 5). Here the entire composition looks like the Classical Reaction. The central arch is considerably higher

and the niche has become a mere perforation or second opening at the top. In all the three examples of this type the architrave of the lower opening is interrupted by the flanking vertical members of the gate. In both Mexicalzingo (Pl. 42) and Santa María Ozoco (Pl. 43), although the latter has no pilasters to the sides of the arched opening, the same scheme is followed. The tall, thin and inconsequential quality of all three examples, the urns which appear on both Santiago and Santa María Ozoco and the grotesque pilasters by the top niche of Santiago, would indicate that the dates of all three are 1730-1800.

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than the sides and over the latter are the same circles found in Santa María Xixitla. Added to these are the slender, flattened proportions of the whole and the quantities of garlands, leaves and wreaths and other sculpture of the Classical Vocabulary. This applied ornamentation is typical of the provincial desire to elaborate on a basic theme. The flanks of the lower section are treated with concave side sections while the top has scrolls like the earlier gates discussed. These, which flank a striated, slender, circular member, a duplicate of those of Santa María Xixitla, are also treated with Classical Reaction sculpture.

Chronologically the latest gate in the area is that of Santa Barbara (Pl. 3). It was probably constructed at the same time as the late tower to the left of the facade. It is heavy and ponderous and of stronger Classic proportions than the delicate products of 1810. It incorporates the expected features of garlands and wreaths but its heavier quality and pomposity would indicate a date around 1910.

Several atriums in the area are walled but have no architectural structure to form the gate. Often these have an arrangement similar to that of the Guadalupe (Pl. 19) or la Magdalena (Pl. 33) with two heavy fluted posts at the entrance. In other cases there is nothing but an iron gate.

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CHAPTER X

CONCLUSION

An inordinate number for a town of six thousand, the sixty churches of central Cholula represent nearly all styles of Mexican colonial architecture. It was the aim of this study to analyze and catalogue the churches stylistically and chronologically and to isolate any local motifs characteristic of the area. Because of the extended building and remodelling periods, evident in most of the churches, each major component of every church in its present form is treated by subject rather than in terms of the individual monument.

The Cholula facades fall into five large stylistic groupings. Within these are incorporated some twenty odd cut stone doorways, probably from the seventeenth century. The most coherent group of facades is from the first decades of the nineteenth century.

The towers of Cholula, primarily of two stages, fall into four large groups. Although diverse in style, most of these are from the last half of the eighteenth century. The largest uniform group, as in the facades, dates 1800-1820. A great remodelling of interiors occurred in this same period of the Classical Reaction. With a very few exceptions even the oldest churches were redecorated. Interior decoration is the most uniform stylistic feature of Cholula.

Predominant in Cholula, as in Mexico, is the latin cross plan, although there is a large group of small, transceptless chapels.

CHAPTER X

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Two major discoveries of this study are related to plan. The first is the existence of five three aisled churches, a rare form in Mexico, and one hybrid of this type. All these are documented as sixteenth century foundations, though the present edifices are from the seventeenth century merely continuing the three aisled tradition. Another unusual feature is the use of multiple domes on about one fourth of the Cholula churches. Rarer than even the three aisled plan, this motif seems distinctive in the Cholula region.

The geographical distribution of the churches falls into a distinct pattern. The southern area is rural and widespread, with almost no evidence of sixteenth century town planning and was probably a hacienda area until relatively recently. The northern region is divided into densely populated urban communities, most of which show evidence of town planning with the church on the east side of a plaza in the center of town.

Almost no documentary information is available on the Cholula churches except that which exists undoubtedly in the local archives. Though an attempt was made, it was not possible in the time available for this study to do the extensive archival research necessary before a definitive chronological documentation of the monuments can ba made. The suggested chronology which appears in this study is consequently a relative one based on the few dated monuments and the known general stylistic development of Mexican architecture.

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The present density of churches in small Cholula indicates a great depopulation since the sixteenth century. The stylistic information provided by the monuments themselves evidences a tremendous boom period in Cholula at the very end of the colonial epoch, since the major style of the region is that of the Classical Reaction, 1800-1820.

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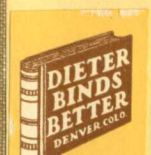
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