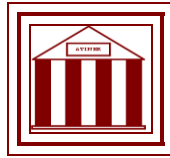


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**ATINER's Conference Paper Series
ARC2015-1641**

**The Validity of the Mudejar in Cultural
Discourses on Latin American Architecture**

**Mauricio Baros Townsend
Professor
University of Chile
Chile**

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This paper should be cited as follows:

Baros Townsend, M. (2015). "The Validity of the Mudejar in Cultural Discourses on Latin American Architecture", Athens: ATINER'S Conference Paper Series, No: ARC2015-1641.

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8 Valaoritou Street, Kolonaki, 10671 Athens, Greece
Tel: + 30 210 3634210 Fax: + 30 210 3634209 Email: info@atiner.gr URL:
www.atiner.gr
URL Conference Papers Series: www.atiner.gr/papers.htm
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ISSN: 2241-2891
13/10/2015

The Validity of the Mudejar in Cultural Discourses on Latin American Architecture

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Abstract

The so-called *mudéjar* style that emerged in the sixteenth century, from of the coexistence of the Arabic and Christian cultures after the Spanish Reconquista, turned out to be an excellent tool for the installation of the Hispanic culture in America, its versatility, the absence of fixed rules regarding its morphology and its artisanal basis allowed it to adapt easily to the different scenarios that had to be faced by the Spanish empire in America. This symbiosis produced a rich and complex architecture that ranged from Mexico to Chile, and whose value only recently seems to have been recognized.

What this paper would like to examine is the validity of “Mudéjarismo” in contemporary artistic and architectural discourses and imaginary, especially in the light of new emerging theses about Latin American cultural identity. Concepts such as “mestizaje” and hybridization are fundamental to understand the cultural products that emerged since the Spanish colonization to the present day, giving a new perspective and validity to what so far has been understood as the *mudéjar*.

Keywords: Mudéjar Pre-Columbian Islamic Hispanic architecture

Introduction

The speeches on the *mudéjar* that already exist more than one century have been divided mainly in two aspects. On the one hand are the more classic speeches (De los Rios, Lamperez) which tend to define the *mudéjar* as a proper Hispanic style, where a series of phenomena that had no place in the Gothic nor in the Spanish Renaissance and that were associated with certain permanencies and techniques typical of Islamic architecture, could be encompassed, on the other hand, we find authors who transferred the characteristics of this style to the Hispanic-American world in order to extend and expand its application to an architectural spectrum much more diverse and varied as it occurs in the Americas (Chueca Goitia, Borrás). The corpus of works carried out in the first period is undoubtedly the largest, and tends to focus on the contribution that the *mudéjar* has had mainly on the level of techniques and the certain imagination of plastic shapes that implied a level more artisanal than learned. A clear example of this, is the study of the *mudéjar* woodworking in colonial temples ranging from Mexico to Chile.

In a more contemporary meaning of the term, the *mudéjar* style can be understood as an artistic phenomenon or an aesthetic of coexistence (Diez, Henares), thus we move away from understanding only the *mudéjar* as a mere stylistic category, and it opens itself to a conception that is closer to the idea of an intercultural space, as it is intended to be understood in this research.

On the other hand the most classic works of the first stage, as well as more recent authors, have tended to prevail a division between the trends that tend to separate the *mudéjar* in their hispanic-islamic relationship on one hand; and on the hispanic-american native on the other. The first focuses on the emergence of the *mudéjar* style in the Iberian Peninsula, and the second on its appearance in Colonial America. This division hypothetically appears more as a product of an ideology that has characterizes most of the works regarding the topic, and that settles a biased orientalist accent clearly. This prevents us from seeing the phenomenon in a more integrated way, which would answer many questions about the architectural problems that arose in colonial America, in a better form.

This ideology mentioned, has its origin in the very origin of the conception of the *mudéjar*, which emerges as the need for self-definition of the Hispanic culture through the search of a style that could be considered fully Spanish (De los Rios, Chueca Goitia). In this way not only the *mudéjar* is originally categorized as purely Hispanic, but the Hispanic always appears as the dominant culture, an art and architecture than is certainly superior to its counterpart. In the understanding of the definition of orientalism as a device of cultural domination, that appears here as a biased orientalist, and is perpetuated when the phenomenon of the *mudéjar* was transferred to America. But still again the Hispanic culture appears as the dominant over the Native-American.

It is not the intention of this work to address this complex issue that exceeds the efforts of any researcher, but rather its intention is to consider that this bias has been an impediment to be able to explain phenomena that, (i.e.,

Islamic-Hispanic-American), that would give us, in a more transversal manner, a more rich and complex explanation. Methodologically this research wants to focus on a case study, which is paradigmatic for the instantiation of this problem, and that is the relationship of the Christian-temple, the civic square and the market in the Spanish colonial city.

Exchange and negotiation are favored in instances that promote the approach and where various parts come into contact soothing the conflict. In these mediations take part the spaces and spheres straight tied to the art and to the artistic process take place, like the places of work or the forums of reflection, the buildings themselves and urban landscapes that encourage the sociability, as well as other seemingly more distant, for example the commerce and the diplomacy/El intercambio y la negociación se ven favorecidos en instancias que promueven el acercamiento y donde las diversas partes entran en contacto dulcificándose el conflicto. En estas mediaciones participan aquellos espacios y esferas directamente ligadas al arte y al proceso artístico como los lugares de trabajo o los foros de reflexión, los propios edificios y espacios urbanísticos que fomentan la sociabilidad, así como otros aparentemente mas distanciados y de los que son buenos ejemplos el comercio y la diplomacia (Diez, 2001, p.19).

Commercial activity undoubtedly constituted a common denominator to these three cultures hence it allows us to understand it as a topic of coexistence and social and cultural integration.

The necessity to find a Spanish identity at the same time the *mudéjar* was being qualified makes it prevail over the other two cultures because the problem was in the Spanish and not the other cultures, which if integrated would have an articulating role more than a hierarchical one.

What we want to propose here is that after nearly two centuries, from now, today we can speak of a relationship more balanced, where it is possible to understand the role of the Hispanic as a bridge or mediator between the Islamic and Native American. Therefore it should not be forgotten that at the level of the architecture and social habits, we were closer to the Arabic culture than to Hispanic. It is enough to see the examples provided by the colonial architecture and see how much of it is closer to Arabic forms than to Hispanic ones.

On the other hand the bias of many Latin American authors, with the intent of not interacting in any way with the Muslim heritage has produced speeches that made a flagrant omission for the influence of this culture on colonial urbanism.

The Hispano-American city will eventually adopt a Renaissance in the external but stays medieval in their internal design./La ciudad hispanoamericana llegará con el tiempo a ser renacentista en lo externo habiendo sido medieval en su concepción interna (Guarda, 1965, pp.45-46).

The text of father Gabriel Guarda, a renowned expert on colonial and American architecture is talking about the Spanish Middle Ages, without mentioning the Muslim presence on the peninsula. Rather than stopping to examine the origins of this bias, we here focus on a case where the relationship among these three cultures crossed and clearly integrated in a quite remarkable way in the American urbanism and which is the case of the relationship of the square temple and market, understood as spaces of convergence and integration of the three cultures involved. We depart on a brief review of the Islamic city to then addressing ourselves to the American colonial city.

The Hispanic-Muslim City

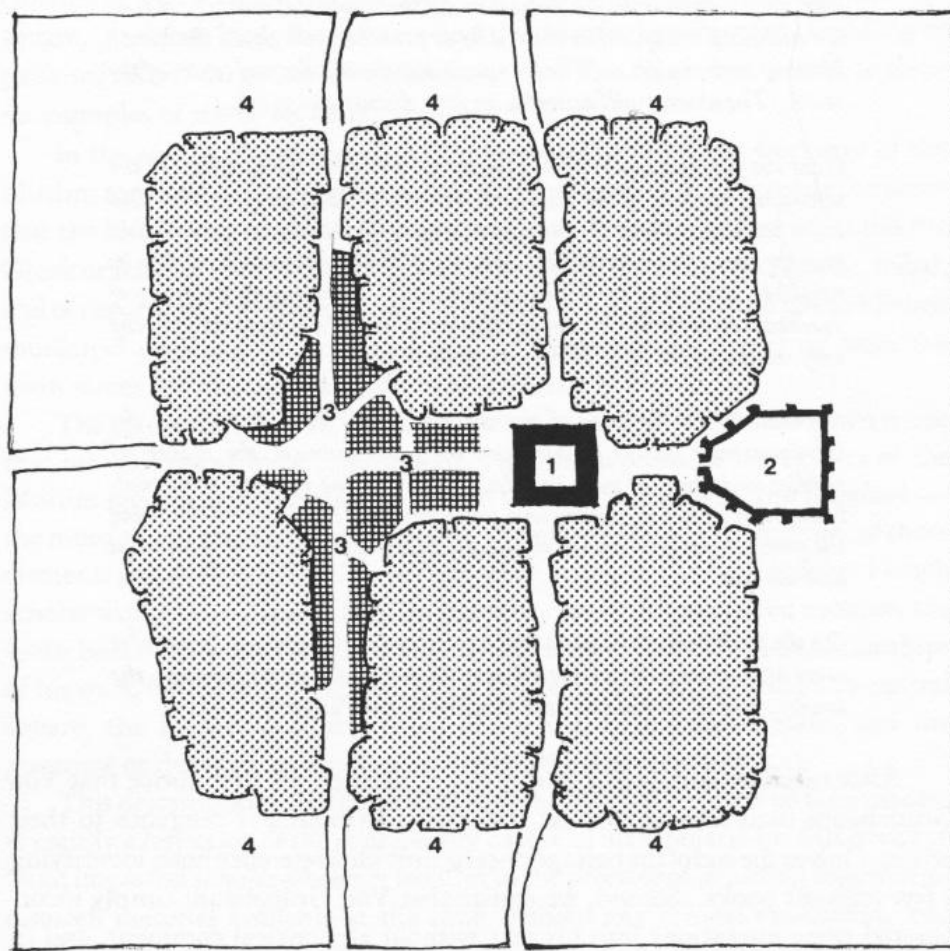
As well as the Muslim move in space and time, all that is around does the same. And this sets the line of the bazaar, which contains all the other public buildings and constitutes the centre of materials exchanges. The exterior walls delimiting the city in a way that symbolizes the cosmos, and finally the location of the door reminds us of the cardinal orientation./Así como el musulmán se mueve en el espacio y el tiempo, todo lo que hay a su alrededor lo hace también. Y así se establece la línea del bazar, lo cual contiene todos los otros edificios públicos y se constituye el centro de los intercambios materiales. Los muros exteriores delimitan la ciudad dándola una forma que simboliza el cosmos, y finalmente la ubicación de las puertas recuerda la orientación cardinal. (Youssef, 1993. p.15).

Although the interpretation of these authors is more mystical and symbolic than based on physical facts, it is suitable to summarize in a few lines that appeared to be common in the Islamic cities of the time, and that are the compactness of its urban fabric, the presence of the Friday mosque as the most important building, because of its size as, its location, and the nearby presence of the souk, organized in a more or less recurrent functional order in all this medinas as it can be shown in Figures 1 and 2.

The souq was always beside or near the main mosque, and obeyed his law of organization, first appear the libraries (because of the importance of "the pursuit of knowledge" in the Quran), then comes the suq the atarin, the perfume market, (the words of the Prophet on the importance of the perfume), then the market of tissue, feeds, etc./El suq estaba siempre al lado o muy cerca de la mezquita mayor, y obedece a su ley de organización, primero aparecen las librerías (por la importancia de "la búsqueda del conocimiento" en el Corán), después viene el suq al atarín, el mercado del perfume, (las palabras del profeta sobre la importancia del perfume), luego el mercado del tejido, de alimentaciones, etc. (Youssef, 1993. p.38).

In this way the great mosque became the main articulator of not only religious but also urban life. This, together with the lack of the equivalent of a civic square in the Muslim town, makes the mosque not only the biggest building but also its courtyard was the largest open area in these dense urban centers. Even at the present day it serves as a resting place from the busy hustle and bustle of the environment.

Figure 1. *Plan of an Ideal Islamic City with the Mosque (1) in the Center, and the Suq (3) next to the Mosque. Source: Alsayyad. Cities and Caliphs. p.19.*

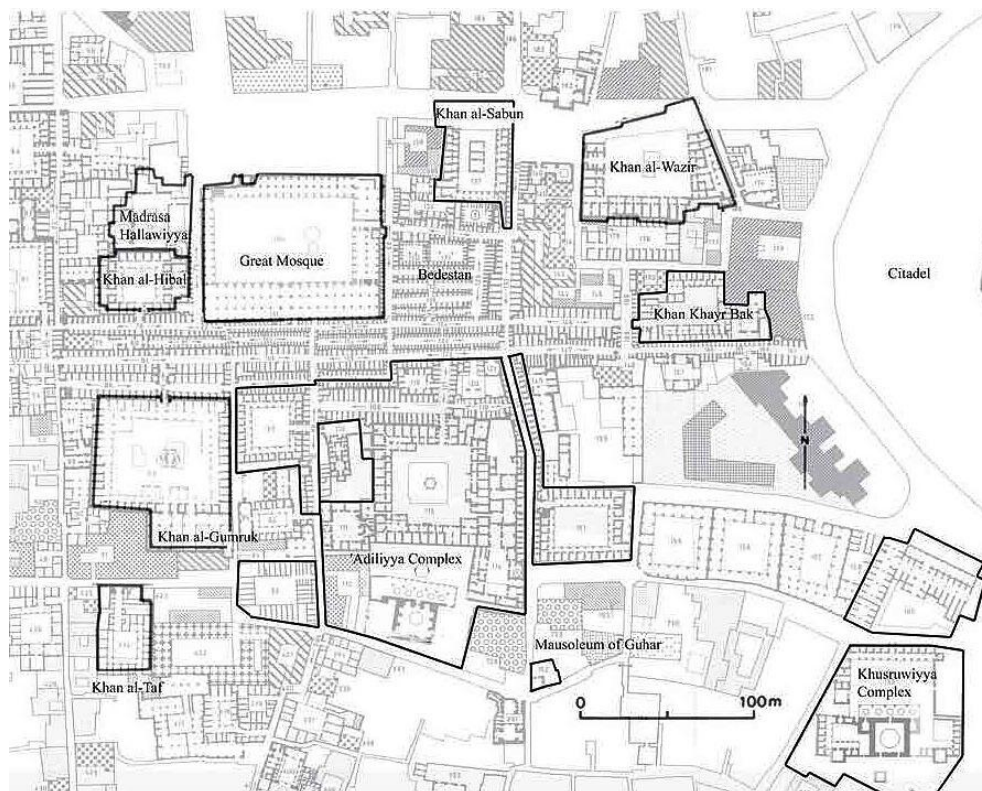


1. Friday Mosque (Transformed Church) 2. Citadel/Palace (Old Defense Post) 3. Market (Transformed Colonnade) 4. Residential quarters

The courtyards of the mosques supplemented, except in the hours of the prayer ritual, the relatively small size of the squares. The gentes were distributed throughout the streets and souks next and by the Alcaiceria, and the great mosque./Los patios de las mezquitas suplían, salvo en las horas de las oraciones rituales, el escaso tamaño de las plazas. Las gentes se repartían, además, por las calles y zocos próximos y por la alcaicería, cercana también a la mezquita mayor (Torres Balbas, 1954. p. 31).

In this way in the Islamic city the mosque-souk symbiosis was something common and usual to find. The question that arises is what happened with the typology in the Spain Post-Reconquista. Many authors (Torres Balbas, Lamperez) and others who have studied the issue have given the explanation to this question, and the answer is neither is simple nor is a unique one, because the Hispanic before becoming Islamized also had a past either roman or medieval past. However if it is possible to see that many mosques in the first period of the conquest were converted into

Figure 2. *Layout of the Aleppo Mosque and Associated Bazaars. Source: Zeitlian. The Image of and Ottoman City.p.254.*



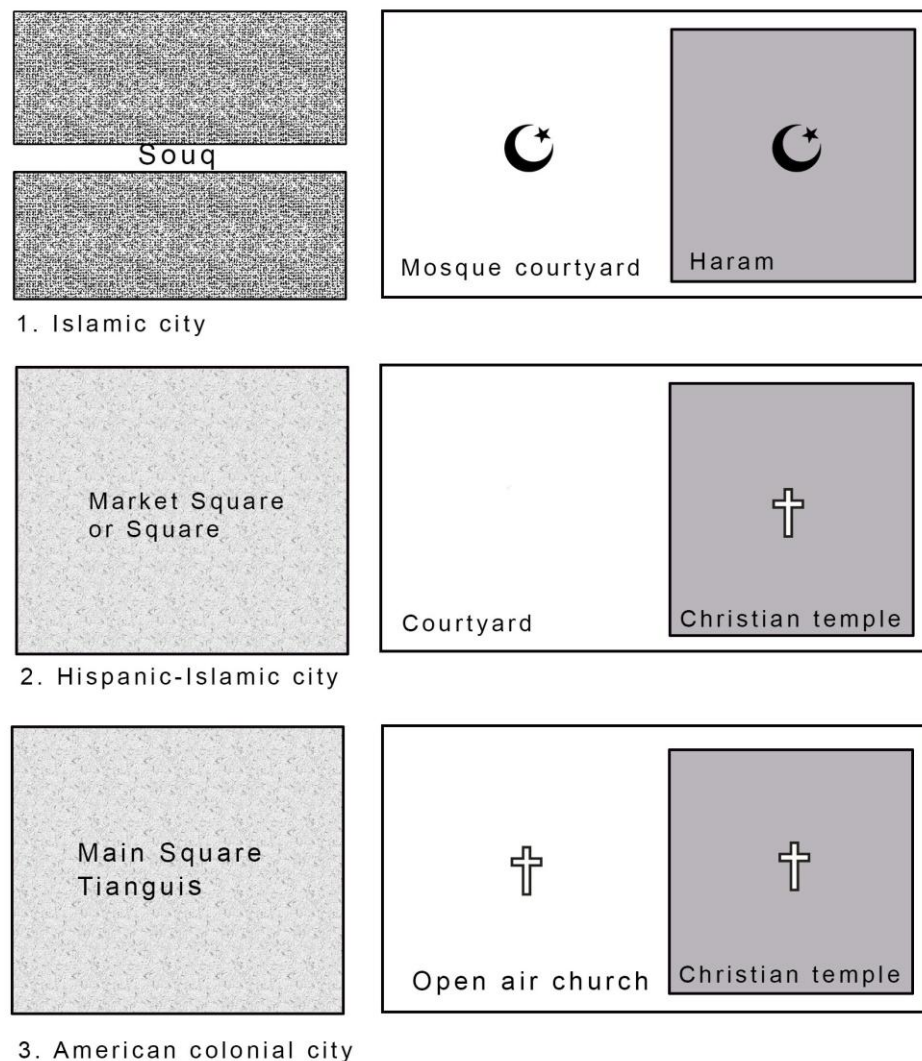
Christian churches, many of them retained either in its entirety or partially part of it islamic fabric as it is the case of Córdoba and Seville, and others were demolished entirely. The surroundings also underwent changes with the passing of the centuries to adapt to the Renaissance ideal of a more illustrated tendency that prevailed in Post-Reconquista times.

However the process of installation of the first American cities coincides with the stage at which there was still a strong coexistence between the Muslim and the Hispanic. In 1573 date when Felipe II dictates a new legislation, many of the Latin-American cities, have already been founded so the effects of these regulations were very limited.

The practical results of the legislation were scarce; It failed because it came late, after two hundred cities had already been founded and there had already been a "crystallization" of the urban grid model in American culture./Los resultados prácticos de la legislación fueron escasos; fracasó porque llegó tarde, cuando ya doscientas ciudades habían sido fundadas y se había producido una "cristalización" del modelo urbano de la cuadrícula en la cultura Americana (Nicolini, 2005. p.31).

These processes of experimentation and adaptation of the old Muslim structures to the religious needs of Catholicism precisely served as a model in the installation of religious temples in America, more than as a system than a form.

Figure 3. *The Different Positions that it is possible to find among the Temple and the Open Space that Surround it.* Source: Author

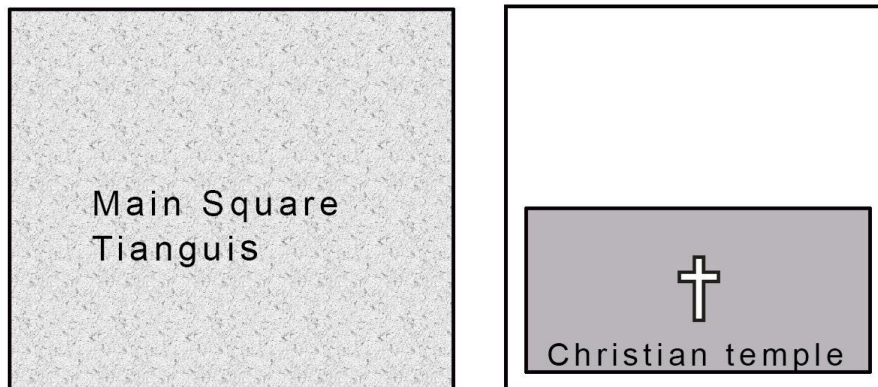


The Native American City

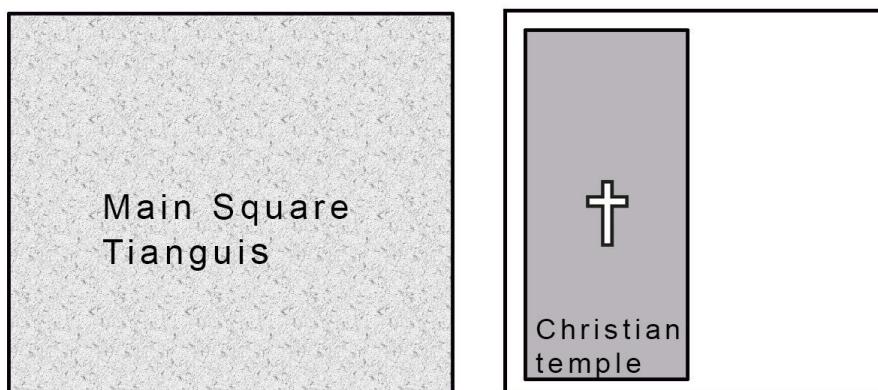
It is important to remember that although a comparison between the experience of the Christian and Islamic architecture has been repeatedly made as well as with the Christian and native culture, the process of acculturation in America was far more brutal than in the first case.

The big difference between the indigenous and the Islamic trade was obviously the first with to its condition prior to the conquest, which provided a coherent and acceptable decorative aesthetic but pre-Hispanic art if well consistent was less technical and alien psychological needs of the conquerors/ La gran diferencia entre el oficio islámico y el indígena fue, obviamente, que el primero en su condición anterior a la conquista, ofrecía una estética decorativa coherente y aceptable pero el arte prehispánico si bien coherente era inferior técnicamente y ajeno las necesidades psicológicas de los conquistadores (Kubler, 2008. p.469).

Figure 4. *The Most Usual Positions of the Christian Temples in front of the Public Square in Latinoamerican Colonial Cities.* Source: Author



4. American colonial city



5. American colonial city

It is curious, however, that because most American cities were projected ex novo, many of them brought models of the Islamic city to the new reticular urban planning, very different from the existing one in Spain. An interesting case was the relationship that occurred in many Latin American cities at the disposal of the Cathedral with respect to the civic square as it can be shown in Figure 4. In the first cities founded in Central America it was common to reproduce the polycentrism of the Spanish city, where the Temple, civic square and market were not necessarily in the same space, but rather separated. As this model does not apparently bore fruit, it tended subsequently more to a centralized model, where a single central space brought together much of the urban functions.

The heart of the economy was the market square, the place where they could report the latest laws put in force, because the people were kept abreast of the new ordinances through the proclamation public./Corazón de la economía, la plaza del mercado era el lugar donde se podían informar de las últimas leyes puestas en vigor, ya que el pueblo estaba mantenido al tanto de las nuevas ordenanzas a través del pregón public (Villegas, 2010, p.97).

Figura 5. *The San Francisco Square in Quito City, Previously the Tianguetz of the Pre-Columbian City.* Source: Author photograph.



The centralized model privileged the center of grid of it, which abstractly imposed a new rational order that sought to oppose to the so-called disorder of the native city. In fact the cities were projected into odds rows and columns so this way only one block could be the center of the grid.

However the geometry of this model was different. Regarding its use, it was similar to the centralized model of the Islamic city. Here is where is a third element that is of vital importance to the success of this type of planning over a polycentric organization is often discarded. This is the existence of the native markets or tianguis.

The Native American Markets

One of the most effective actions to stimulate the social and economic relations to the inside of the population was the installation of a public market or a "tianguiz". Already at a meeting of the Cabildo on January 2nd of 1552 there was talk of the need for a public market "so the Indians, freely and without fear, try and hire their miseries and provide each other of what they need to have"./Una de las acciones más efectivas para estimular las relaciones sociales y económicas al interior de la población fue la instalación en ella de un mercado público o "tiánguez". Ya en sesión del Cabildo de 2 de enero de 1552 se habló de la necesidad de que hubiese un mercado público "para que los indios, libremente y sin miedo, traten y contraten sus miserias y se provean unos de otros de lo que tuvieren necesidad" (De Ramon, 2000. p.31).

Although the word tianguis (from the nahuatl *tiyānquiztli* 'market') indicates the main space of the pre-Columbian trade that occur in Mesoamerica, for the conquests this term was applied indiscriminately in all Latin America regardless of whether it conformed to the reality or not, always assuming the connotation of market, and that is why we will use the term in the same way in this case.

The most important markets were undoubtedly the Mesoamericans ones, like the market of Tlatelolco, that seemed to be remarkable and outstanding by what can be drawn from its descriptions from the time:

When we arrived to the Gran Plaza, since we had not seen such a thing, we were astonished by the multitude of people and goods that was there and the great concert and organization they had ... All the goods were separated, and located and identified their places. In this sense while the term appears in the records in almost all of Latin America, in Andinoamerica apparently these kinds of spaces were not usual for the economic system that the Incas had different to the Mesoamerican./Cuando llegamos a la gran plaza, como no habíamos visto tal cosa, quedamos admirados de la multitud de gente y mercaderías que en el había y del gran concierto y regimiento que en todo tenían... Cada género de mercaderías estaban por sí, y tenían situados y señalados sus asientos. En este sentido si bien el termino aparece en los registros en casi toda Hispanoamérica, en Andinoamérica al parecer no fue usual este tipo de espacios por el sistema económico que tenían los incas diferente al mesoamericano (Diaz del Castillo, p.44).

Although there is no equivalent of Tlatelolco in the Andinoamerican world, this does not mean that the markets did not exist. The activity of bartering here seemed to be more important perhaps than the place itself and the periodicity with which was realized is important too. It was customary to make markets in different towns or near important roads to carry out the exchange activity that was part of the native economic system. The Catholic church is going to benefit from this habit, either by locating the temples near these commercial spaces or simply encouraging that these exchanges to occur in these new spaces of the centralized colonial city. This practice existed, so a new place for this activity was found, and in some cases it was modified by periodicity, so as not to coincide on Sundays.

As well as the fairs in the European cities and Mozarabic, the "tianguis" Azteca was not very far from the religious temples... The square was a place of worship, a sacred place where the trade and religion were closely linked, which facilitated the task of the Spanish priests, in their process of evangelization/Al igual que las ferias en las ciudades europeas y mozárabes, el tianguis azteca se situaba no muy lejos de los templos religiosos...La plaza era un lugar de culto, un lugar sagrado donde el comercio y la religión estaban íntimamente ligados, lo que facilitará la tarea de los sacerdotes españoles en su proceso de evangelización (Villegas, 2010.p.98).

Figures 6-7. *The Sidelong Position of the cChedrals of Quito and Cochabamba in the Main Square of Both Cities. Source: Google earth 2015.*



The interest of the clergy in this case to have a large population gathered on the market days for preaching next to the temple, but also to maintain control over the exchange that took place in these tianguis, since between the traded things there was gold and silver. This tended to propitiate that again the equation mosque-souk was replicated again in the same way in the colonial

cities but now was replaced with the Christian temple-tianguis. An interesting fact to note is the case that certain types of trade such as jewelry, saddlery or perfumes, were the most closest to the mosque. In many Latin American centers, the jewelry and business of selling saddlery until today remain next to the plaza mayor.

Distributed in streets, squares and zocos, and in the alcaicería were the most valued products. There were shops -al janat-, piling up, especially in the precincts of the biggest mosque and in the outskirts of the remaining ones, next to the public baths and the doors of the wall, which were the most crowded places of the city./Repartidas en calles, plazas y zocos, y en la alcaicería las de productos más preciados, estaban las tiendas -al-janat-, amontonándose, en las inmediaciones de la mezquita mayor, en las cercanías, junto a los baños públicos y las puertas de la cerca, por ser lugares los más concurridos de la ciudad (Torres Balbas, 1971. p.311).

The market was certainly the most important urban daily activity in the pre-Hispanic world, and therefore it was not unusual to pre-Columbian cultures to continue the same activity, but now only in a specific place. This did not excluded other types of markets or fairs in other places and with different periodicity, in fact the food items used to be separated in the markets. This practice tended to perpetuate this activity at the same place, and therefore during the Republic period the expulsion of merchants to restore civic condition of this spaces as they were originally founded was very difficult. In the case of Santiago, in 1821, O'Higgins accomplished to transfer the merchants from Plaza de Armas to a new market a few blocks away. The activity however remained in the portals until today.

The Civic Square

In a culture where there is no division between religious and political power, it is understandable that civil activities do not have an defined urban expression as in the case of the Islamic urban planning. However in the Native American planning the main squares had an important role in the social and political life of the inhabitants.

The big square, original town-planning phenomenon with regard to what was happening in Spain, focuses on the urban image in its geometric center, at the same time that the reality of the social life converges towards the big public space transforming it simultaneously or successively in plaza de armas, justice, and the procession and the festivals or of the market./La gran plaza, fenómeno urbanístico original respecto de lo que sucedía por entonces en España, focaliza la imagen urbana en su centro geométrico, al mismo tiempo que la realidad de la vida social converge hacia el gran espacio público transformándolo simultánea o sucesivamente en plaza de

armas, de la justicia, de la procesión y de las fiestas o del mercado (Nicolini, 2005, p.30).

The great square or esplanade represents the urban image, and the social life converges to this large public space. This was characteristic of the pre-Columbian society as it can be still appreciated in Figure 5. The difference is that whereas for the hispanic world the centrality is established by a geometric order for itself, insofar as it is center and capital of the new established power headquarters. That which the appeal to the native world was the aperture that it offered, because in Mesoamerica and Andinoamerica, they used to celebrate their religious celebrations in open spaces. This even motivated the creation of a new temple typology as they were the chapels of Indians. This is a notable example of the fusion of the two ways of interacting with the transcendental, the covered and protected from the Hispanic world and the open and unlimited in the native world.

The temples -pyramids stand out alone on the stage of nature, common environment of life and work, as signs of the human presence and an instrument for the possible mediation with respect to the natural forces omnipotent. On the other hand, the public and private buildings, according to the European concept, have value because they are collected in the city and formed in a human landscape that is built and compact, opposite to the field./Los templos -pirámides se destacan por sí solos en el escenario de la naturaleza, ambiente común de vida y de trabajo, como signos de la presencia humana e instrumento de una posible mediación con respecto a las fuerzas naturales omnipotentes. En cambio los edificios públicos y privados, según la concepción europea, tienen valor porque están recogidos en la ciudad y forman un paisaje humano construido y compacta, contrapuesto al del campo (Benevolo, 2014. p.79).

Figure 8. (1) *The First Location of the Cathedral of Santiago of Chile Lateral to the Main Square (S.XVI-XVIII).* (2) *The Current Position.* Source: Google earth 2015.



One of these is the European geometric and symbolic center, and the other is the central space of the native world. Now however while in the Iberian Peninsula there are well differentiated civic spaces from the commercial ones, here in America they tended to join the civic-religious spaces with the commercial activities as it can be shown in Figure 3.

From now on the main square, preserving its periodic office of the weekly market, offered goods were in the center, the arcades, and the place of trade standing in the little shops open in the background of the past. It also served as a backdrop for public shows, tournaments, games of canes, bullfighting celebration of triumphs warfare and the magnificence of the monarchy, horseback riding associations, comedies, dance, auto sacramental, executions, and, since the end of the sixteenth century autos de fe, shows that last with the culminating the apogee of the main squares./En adelante la plaza mayor, conservando su oficio periódico de mercado semanal, cuyas mercancías se ofrecían en el centro y en los soportales, y la de lugar de comercio permanente en las tiendecitas abiertas

en el fondo de los últimos, sirvió también de escenario de espectáculos públicos, torneos, juegos de cañas, lidia y rejoneo de toros, celebración de triunfos bélicos y de fastos de la monarquía, cabalgatas gremiales, comedias, danzas, autos sacramentales, ajusticiamientos, y, desde fines del siglo XVI autos de fe, espectáculos estos últimos con los que culminó el apogeo de las plazas mayores (Torres Balbas, 1954. p. 103).

The question is how in America the civil, religious and commercial manage to coexist in complete harmony even if they perpetuate its uses beyond the colonial period and in many cases until now.

Civic Square-Temple-Market

For the occurrence of this event there must have been certain conditions that made it possible because one of the three terms had to cede to the other two. This is precisely the role of the civic. The Spanish Crown had to necessarily delegated some of his power to the Catholic Church who was its symbolic representative in these lands where the Spanish Crown never put a foot. Therefore, we can understand that the control of the civic aspect, especially in relation to the feasts and its deployment was in religious hands. Then they were those who had the power to control the uses of these spaces during much of the colonial period.

We also should remember that the concept of civic space did not exist in the pre-Columbian America, but there were the esplanades of religious use and the spaces of exchange. Therefore, here again was reproduced the relationship temple-market in a similar way to what happened between the mosque and the souk. Fact which had not been oblivious to the Hispanic cities Post-Reconquista. In Muslim Spain the pair temple - civic square became a temple-market square, and although over time the mosque was transformed into a Christian temple the practice of the market persisted. Also America met a similar tradition in the use of the squares, because here the civic did not exist either. This also led to the acceptance from the colonizer medieval thought, thus the religious power is kept above the civic power, since there was no space that really represent it.

As well as the fairs in the Mozarabic and European cities, the Aztec tianguis stood not far from the religious temples... The square was a place of worship, a sacred place where trade and religion were closely linked, making it the task of Spanish priests in their process of evangelisation is easier./Al igual que las ferias en las ciudades europeas y mozárabes, el tianguis azteca se situaba no muy lejos de los templos religiosos... La plaza era un lugar de culto, un lugar sagrado donde el comercio y la religión estaban íntimamente ligados, lo que facilitará la tarea de los sacerdotes españoles en su proceso de evangelización (Villegas, 2010, p.98).

The clergy in this way, take advantage of the proximity of the main commercial urban space very well, occupying, space for evangelization and at the same time for public control.

Figure 9. *Chichicastanengo Sunday Market in the Main Square of the City.*
Source: Author Photograph.



The market square seemed to be a religious place because they were on the same day an incalculable number of people assembled suitable to listen to the catechism and wander. Their occupations were to sell and to buy./La plaza del mercado parecía un lugar indicado para los religiosos porque tenían en un mismo día un número incalculable de personas reunidas aptas para escuchar el catecismo y vagar a sus ocupaciones de vender y de comprar (Villegas, 2010, p.98).

What draws the attention is that while the tianguis in Central America had a defined physical space where they developed, in South America there is no evidence yet that something like this has ever existed, therefore the consolidation of markets in places public in South American is due to the expressed intention of bringing together people in this space with specific purposes. If you wanted to consolidate and secure trade in a defined space, certain instruments of control should be applied, and given a well delimited space frame, and a regular periodicity on time. The last was not difficult to achieve since Andinoamerican markets were established periodically. Now they only try to match with the days of religious celebration. In terms of the spatial framework the use of portals was not exclusive of the Hispanic squares but also existed in the pre-Columbian world and functioned as an excellent framework for this activity. Now they have to use the same architecture created

for the civic purposes to allow the market activity to offer a suitable, regular and attractive space to consolidate it as the official tianguis of the city. We could still appreciate until nowadays the Sunday markets in the main square of Cuzco or Chichicastenango as it can be seen in Figure 9.

This coexistence temple-market that appeared again in Latin America, brought with it another legacy of the Islamic City, the lateral arrangement of cathedrals in many colonial cities with respect to the civic square as it can be shown in Figures 6,7 and 8.

It is our opinion that the urban form of the Church's side facing the square, indeed of medieval origin, should be viewed as urban development Mudéjar, since it's a phenomenon that appeared in Spain as a result of the mixture, combination, symbiosis and integration of the research elements of Muslim origin with other Castilian or Aragonese origin. ... That provision was completely normal in Latin American practice of the 16th century for the churches of the cities, as we can see in the case of Santo Domingo, Havana, Panama, the Cortes Mexico, Puebla, Veracruz, Guadalajara, Lima of Pizarro, Arequipa, Cochabamba, Sucre, Santiago de Chile, Mendoza and Corrientes./Es nuestra opinión que la modalidad urbanística de la iglesia de lado hacia la plaza, efectivamente de origen medieval, debería entenderse como urbanismo mudéjar, puesto que se trata de un fenómeno aparecido en España como resultado de la mezcla, combinación, simbiosis o integración de elementos urbano-arquitectónicos de origen musulmán con otros de origen castellano o aragonés. ... Esa disposición fue completamente normal en la práctica hispanoamericana del siglo XVI para las iglesias mayores de las ciudades, como podemos comprobar en los casos de Santo Domingo, La Habana, Panamá, la México de Cortés, Puebla, Veracruz, Guadalajara, Lima de Pizarro, Arequipa, Cochabamba, Sucre, Santiago de Chile, Mendoza y Corrientes (Nicolini, 2005, p.33).

It is curious to note that while both the ordinances and the European models which were used for the Hispanic American temples tend to have a front location with respect to the public space before them, here a side layout of the building was very frequent, as just cited. The origin of this lateral arrangement could be the influence of the position that the courtyard of the mosque had in relation to the souk in the Andalusian cities. Usually the main entrance to the mosque was through the courtyard, as it can be seen in Figure 3. Nowadays in cities such as Seville it is still possible to find that the most usual access to the Cathedral is made by what used to be the courtyard of the mosque. This lateral disposition allowed the courtyard-haram of the Mosque of the Hispanic-Islamic cities to be converted in temple-atrium of the Mosque in Latin America.

Conclusions

Finally, the question that arises from all this, is: why whereas in Europe the model of the new renaissance town exists, in America a medieval scheme perpetuates?, i.e. the trace can be Renaissance, but the organization of the urban grain and customs are due to a more medieval use. It is a curious mix between the homogeneity of the reticular plan, as opposed to the medieval urbanism, and the need to implement a center and control over this grid.

The answer could be related to the rationality of the reticular planning. The problem of the grid without a doubt, is its regularity that tends to homogenize everything. So it is necessary the implantation of a new symbolic order that allow play the role or the theocentric of the medieval center is necessary, especially in these new barbaric lands. The new and liberal renaissance ideas were not appropriate because this intention, so it was opted to persist with the permanence and uses of the medieval Islamic city.

Therefore, because in Latin America the Church had a lot of power, it used various instruments to transform that homogeneity. For example it put a siege to the city center to cover the streets, occupy the grid with religious programs, owning large pieces of land, and above all to centralize social activities in one place. The church did all this at the expense of allowing a relationship with commercial activities which were not usual in the European world. For this to happen not only the Muslim heritage lend a hand, but also native habits, all these with the purpose of keeping the population under control. The result of this was the rich symbiosis that still remains in many Hispanic-American cities as the form of the *tianguis-atrium* that dignified and unified the spatiality of the Muslim, Native American and Hispanic city harmoniously, in a unique living space.

Hereby the economic activities had an important role in the good functioning of the colonial city. This could be achieved because the precedent of the Islamic city could be applied to the American city. The church was the principal promoter and transmitter of these influences that eventually contributed to the urban enrichment of our cities.

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