A Visual Catalog of the Building Complexes of the Male Religious Orders in Mexico's Colonial Cities

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Cambridge
Scholars
Publishing

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This book first published 2024

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Lady Stephenson Library, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2PA, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN (10): 1-0364-0676-8
ISBN (13): 978-1-0364-0676-9

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INTRODUCTION

Following the Spanish conquest of Tenochtitlan in 1521 and the establishment of Mexico City, members of male missionary orders arrived in Nueva España to evangelize indigenous peoples in the Iberian Catholic faith. The most important missionary orders, the Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, and Jesuits, directed the construction of *doctrina* (mission) complexes in what today is central Mexico and on the frontiers of Nueva España. The doctrinas and frontier missions survive today in different states of preservation, and constitute an important architectural and historical patrimony.[1] The male missionary orders also established a

[1] There are many studies of the doctrina architectural patrimony in colonial Mexico. Examples include George Kubler, *Mexican Architecture of the Sixteenth Century,* 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948); Laura Ledesma Gallegos, *Génesis de la arquitectura mendicante del siglo xvi en el Plan de las Amilpas y las Cañadas de Morelos* (México, D. F.: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2012); John McAndrew, *The Open-Air Churches of Sixteenth-Century Mexico: Atrios, Posas, Open Chapels, and Other Studies* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965); Juan B. Artigas, *Capillas abiertas aisladas de México* (México, D. F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1992); Mario Córdova Tello, *El convento de San Miguel de Huejotzingo, Puebla* (México, D. F.: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1992); Laura Ledesma Gallegos, *La vicaría de Oxolotán, Tabasco* (México, D. F.: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1992); Leonardo Meraz Quintana, *Urbanismo indígena y español en el siglo xvi: el caso de Calpan* (México, D. F.: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, 2012); Leonardo Meraz Quintana, *Fundaciones monásticas en la Sierra Nevada: historia y medio ambiente* (México, D. F.: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, 2017), among others. There is also a literatura on early paleo-Christian structures built during the first stages of evangelization. See, for example, See, for example, Jordi Gussinyer I Alfonso, "Sincretismo, religión, y arquitectura en Mesoamérica (1521-1571)," *Boletín americanista* 46 (1996), 187-241; Jordi Gussinyer I Alfonso, "La Arquitectura Paleocristiana de Mesoamérica (1ª parte)," *Boletín Americanista* 47 (1997), 143-163; Jordi Gussinyer I Alfonso, "La arquitectura paleocristiana de mesoamérica. (2ª. Parte)," *Boletín americanista* 48 (1998), 47-80; Jordi Gussinyer I Alfonso, "La arquitectura paleocristiana de mesoamérica (3º y última parte)," *Boletín americanista* 49-51 (1999), 135-173; Jordi Gussinyer I Alfonso, "El espacio en la arquitectura monacal Mesoamericana del siglo XVI,". *Boletín americanista* 50 (2000), 153-187; Juan García Targa, "Análisis histórico y arqueológico del

presence in the cities of Nueva España, and had large complexes built that served as administrative centers for their activities including missionary activities, and to attend to the spiritual and educational needs of city-folk.

Mexico became independent in 1821, and for some three decades conservative and liberal politicians debated and fought over the future of the country, and how to define what type of society Mexico would have. In the late 1850s, liberal minded politicians had control of the government, and passed reform legislation that sought the desamortization or liquidation of Church wealth that they believed retarded Mexican economic development, and to de-cloister the members of the male and female religious orders including the male missionary orders. The liberals triumphed in a civil war known as the war of the Reforms (1858-1861), and took their anti-clerical policy one step further and confiscated Church wealth. In one sense it was a form of payback for the Church`s support of the conservatives who lost the war. The liberals moved forward with the anti-clerical reforms and confiscation of religious complexes, and in some cases ordered the demolition of some urban churches and/or religious complexes. This happened, for example, in Mexico City, which was the seat of government power and thus received more scrutiny.[2] During the civil war Veracruz City became the temporary seat of power for the liberal government, and they implemented de-cloistering of the religious orders. In other cities the urban complexes of the male missionary orders have survived in different states of preservation.

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asentamiento colonial de Tecoh (Estado de Yucatán, México), Siglo XV," *Ancient Mesoamerica* 11:2 (2000), 231-243; Juan García Targa and, Jordi Gussinyer I Alfonso, "Los primeros templos cristianos en el área maya: Yucatán y Belice, 1545-1585," *Estudios de cultura maya* 25 (2004), 95-119; Juan García Targa, "Paleochristian Architecture and Urban Planning in the Maya Area: Distribution and Use of the New Religious Spaces,". *FAMSI (http://www.famsi.org/reports/03101/57garcia targa/57garcia targa)* 2004; Juan García Targa, "Arquitectura colonial temprana en el área maya: registro material y documentación escrito,". *Estudios de cultura maya* 28 (2006), 101-120.

[2] A book published in 1861 documented the history of suppressed convents in Mexico City, and the demolition of several. See Manuel Ramírez Aparicio, *Los Conventos Suprimidos de Méjico: Estudios Biográficos, Históricos, y Arqueológicos* (México, D.F.: Imprenta y Librería de J.M. Aguilar y Compañía, 1861). More recent studies have documented the fate of convents in Mexico City, and the loss of elements of thew architectural patrimony. See Lauro Rosell, *Iglesias y conventos coloniales de México,* 2nd edition (México, D.F.: Editorial Patria, 1961); Guillermo Tovar de Teresa, *Ciudad de Palacios: Crónica de un patrimonio perdido,* 2 vols. (México, D.F.: Editorial Vuelta, 1990).

The purpose of this book is to present a visual record of the current status and historical background of the churches and convent complexes of the male missionary orders in selected but representative Mexican colonial cities. Six male religious orders are the subject of this book. They are the Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, Jesuits, Mercedarians, and Carmelites. This book follows a format similar to a series of previously published visual catalogs of sixteenth-century central Mexican doctrinas, and frontier missions.[3] It provides a brief historical background to the complexes, and photographs of their current state of preservation. Where available, historical images, diagrams, and maps provide additional information on the complexes, and their urban context. The book is divided into six chapters that examine the architectural patrimony of different cities. Chapter 1 documents the complexes in Mexico City. Chapter 2 those in Puebla de los Ángeles, which was the second most important city in Nueva España. Chapter 3 documents two cities in western Mexico that still preserve considerable architectural patrimony. They are Pátzcuaro and Valladolid (Morelia), both located in Michoacán. Chapter 4 focuses on Santiago de Querétaro, which is one of Mexico`s colonial cities on the UNESCO World Patrimony list. Chapter 5 discusses a group of northern mining centers that are Zacatecas, San Luis Potosi, Sombrerete (Zacatecas), Durango, and Guanajuato. Chapter 6 explores cities in southern Mexico including Veracruz, Orizaba, Antequera (Oaxaca), Campeche, Mérida, and Ciudad Real (San Cristóbal de las Casas). But first, this introduction offers a brief overview to the religious orders, and their presence in Nueva España.

The Franciscans

San Francisco de Asis founded the Order of the Friars Minor in Italy in 1209. The main body of Franciscans are known as Observants, and most

[3] See Robert H. Jackson, and and Fernando Esparragoza Amador, *A Visual Catalog of Sixteenth Century Central Mexican Doctrinas* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016); Robert H. Jackson, *A Visual Catalog of Spanish Frontier Missions, Sixteenth to Nineteenth Centuries.* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2018); Arturo Vergara Hernández and Robert H. Jackson, *Las doctrinas franciscanas de México a fines del siglo XVI en las descripciones de Antonio de Ciudad Real (O.F.M.) y su situación actual* (Pachuca: Universidad Autónoma Estado de Hidalgo); Robert H. Jackson and Juan Antonio Siller Camacho, *A Visual Catalog of Jesuit Missions in Spanish America* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2021); Robert H. Jackson and Juan Antonio Siller Camacho, *The Jesuits in Spanish America in 1767* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2023).

of the missionaries in Nueva España were members of this group. There were also two reformed Franciscan groups in Nueva España. The first group was the "discalced" or "Alcantarines" reformed Franciscans who followed a stricter rule of austere poverty than the Observants, and followed the example of the sixteenth-century Spanish Franciscan Pedro de Alcantara (c. 1499-1562). The discalced Franciscans established a presence in Nueva España at the end of the sixteenth-century, and established the Province of San Diego in the 1590s. The second group was that of the Capuchins founded in Italy in 1528 to follow a life of extreme austerity. There were also Capuchin nuns. Pedro de Gante and two companions arrived in Nueva España in 1523, and in the following year the first group of twelve Observant Franciscans known as the "12 Apostles" led by Martín de Valencia initiated a campaign of evangelization.

Within the Friars Minor there were three orders. The First Order is that of the Franciscans themselves. The Second Order is that of contemplative nuns founded in 1212 by San Francisco and Santa Clara de Asis. The Franciscan nuns established convents in a number of cities in Nueva España, including Mexico City and Puebla. The Third Order is a lay Franciscan organization for people who wanted to grow in Holiness in their lives. San Francisco established the Third Order in 1221, and it played an important role in Nueva España. Many of the Franciscan urban convents and doctrinas included Chapels of the Third Order.

The Dominicans

The Spaniard Santo Domingo de Guzman established the order of Preachers in 1215 based on the rule of Saint Augustine. By the 1220s, women had formed cloistered Dominican communities. Prior to establishing the Order of Preachers, Santo Domingo had been involved in preaching to members of the Cathar (Albigensian) movement in Languedoc in southern France. The Cathars were a neo-gnostic movement that believed that matter was evil and only the spirit was good. Pope Innocent III launched a twenty-year military campaign (1209-1229) known as the Albigensian Crusade to suppress the heretical movement. Santo Domingo believed that persuasion rather than force should be used to bring the Cathars back into the Catholic fold.

The first Dominicans arrived in Nueva España in 1526, and played a dual role. They administered the Holy Office (Inquisition). For example, the Inquisition complex in Mexico City is located across the street from the Dominican church and convent. In 1766, a Mercedarian friar in Nueva

Veracruz went to the Dominican convent in the city to file a complaint about the satirical song and dance the Chuchumbé. The Holy Office investigated and banned the song and dance. The Dominicans also engaged in the evangelization of indigenous peoples. The Dominicans assumed primary responsibility for evangelization in Oaxaca and Chiapas, but also established doctrinas in what today are the states of Morelos and Puebla, and in the 1680s established missions in the Sierra Gorda region of Querétaro. In 1774, a group of Dominicans took over the administration of the Baja California missions.

The Augustinians

The Order of Saint Augustine was founded in 1244 through the merger of several eremitic groups in Tuscany in Italy that followed the Rule of Saint Augustine. In 1255, Pope Alexander IV issued a Papal Bull for other groups to merge with the Augustinians. The first group of seven Augustinians arrived in Nueva España in 1533. The Franciscans and Dominicans had already established a presence in different parts of Nueva España, so the Augustinians began to evangelize in areas where the other orders had not established doctrinas. Initially, they entered the area of what today is Morelos, and established two missions in Michoacán and the Sierra Alta of Hidalgo in communities such as Metztitlán.

Ther Augustinians then assumed responsibility for two important mission fields. The first was the so-called "tierra caliente," or the Pacific Coast of Nueva España in areas such as what today is Guerrero State. They also established doctrinas in strategic sites on the main routes to the coastal region, such as Malinalco in what today is the Estado de México. The second area was along the porous frontier between sedentary and non-sedentary indigenous peoples known in the sixteenth-century as the Chichimeca frontier. Chichimeca was a generic term used to identify non-sedentary peoples. As the Spanish advanced northward and discovered silver deposits in places such as Zacatecas, the non-sedentary indigenous peoples began to resist leading to a prolonged frontier war that lasted from 1550 to 1600. The Augustinians assumed responsibility for evangelizing along the Chichimeca frontier in the northern part of what today is Michoacán and southern Guanajuato, and in the Mezquital Valley of Hidalgo. They also ventured beyond the Chichimeca frontier and established missions in the Sierra Gorda region of Querétaro expanding from their doctrinas in the Sierra Alta, and sites in modern Guanajuato.

The Society of Jesus

The Society of Jesus came into existence in 1540 in the crucible of the Protestant Reformation and the Catholic Counter-Reformation, and, unlike the members of the other older orders, the members of the Society swore an oath of loyalty directly to the Pope. They played two different but important roles after arriving in Nueva España in 1572. The first was as missionaries on the frontiers of Nueva España, and particularly on the far northern frontier. Gonzalo de Tapia, S.J., established the first mission in 1590 at San Luis de la Paz as part of the pacification campaign of the non-sedentary indigenous peoples known as Chichimecas. They later established missions in Sinaloa, Sonora, California, and in the western cordillera of the Sierra Madre Mountains in the jurisdiction of Nueva Vizcaya (modern Durango, Chihuahua, and Coahuila).

The Jesuits also had an important role in the cities of Nueva España. They educated the children of the urban elites, offered higher education, and staffed and administered Tridentine Seminaries. Urban leaders sought to have members of the Society of Jesus establish colegios for their educational mission. The Jesuits also tended to the spiritual needs of urban-folk, and maintained facilities called *casas de ejercicios* where people could study the Ignatian spiritual exercises. Members of the Society of Jesus, as well as Franciscans, conducted what were called "Popular Missions" to ensure that Catholics knew basic doctrine, and to root out possible heresy. The "Popular Missions" often found doctrinal errors that they sought to correct.

The Mercedarians

Peter Nolasco established the Mercedarians, La Orden Real y Militar de Nuestra Señora de la Merced y la Redención de los Cautivos, in Barcelona in 1218. The initial mission of the order was to redeem captive Christians held by Muslim states, and particularly in Iberia. The order received formal Papal recognition in 1236. The first constitution of the order dates to 1272. In the fifteenth-century the Mercedarians adopted the rule of Saint Augustine. They follow that rule today. The Mercedarians did not play a role as missionaries in the evangelization of indigenous peoples in Nueva España, but did so in other regions of Spanish America such as Peru. For this reason they are included in this study, and also for their status as a mendicant order. They had a presence in a number of cities in Nueva

España, where they were involved in charitable works. They arrived in Mexico City in the mid-1590s.

Carmelites

The Order of the Brothers of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mount Carmel came into existence in the early thirteenth-century in the Holy Land as hermits who lived on Mount Carmel, following the example of the Old Testament prophet Elijah. The Mamelukes massacred the Mount Carmel eremitic community in 1291. However, some Carmelites returned to Europe as early as 1236, and returning crusaders such as St. Louis, King of France, brought others with them. In the middle thirteenth-century those in Europe had to convert from an eremitic to mendicant way of life, and Papal Bulls of 1247 officially named the order and modified the rule the Carmelites followed to more closely conform to the mendicant life.

In 1562, San Juan de la Cruz and Teresa de Avila founded the discalced Carmelites, with a goal of a more austere life-style dictates of the Council of Trent. The new reformed group encountered hostility from observant Carmelites, and only received official recognition in the 1580s. Discalced Carmelites first came to Nueva España in 1585, and established a presence in Mexico City and other urban centers such as Puebla, Celaya, Valladolid, Guadalajara, and Querétaro. They initially thought to engage in missionary evangelization, but then shifted to an emphasis to an urban apostolate in the early seventeenth-century. In 1586, one year after arriving in Mexico City, the Carmelites assumed responsibility for the indigenous parish of San Sebastian, which was an indigenous barrio on the edge of the Spanish city located several blocks behind the site of the Jesuit Colegio Máximo de San Pedro y San Pablo. The Carmelites administered the parish until 1607, when the Augustinians took it over. Their presence in Nueva España was mostly in the colonial cities, although they also had several rural complexes.

Final Thoughts

UNESCO has recognized the historical importance of the architectural and historical patrimony of Mexico´s colonial cities. Seven cities, all profiled here, have been included on the World Patrimony list. They are Mexico City, Puebla, Querétaro, Zacatecas, Antequera (Oaxaca), Valladolid (Morelia), and the fortified port city of Campeche. However, this is a patrimony that is in danger because of government neglect and public disinterest. The government neglect can be seen in the response to

damages caused by two powerful earthquakes in September of 2017. Mexico, and particularly the Pacific Coast region, is a seismically active zone, and the country has a long history of having to deal with earthquake damage.

September 19, 2017 marked the 32nd anniversary of the lethal 8.1 on the Richter scale 1985 earthquake that killed thousands in Mexico City and other parts of Mexico. The practice has been to stage earthquake drills to commemorate the date, and one was staged at 11 a.m. on September 19, 2017. People casually and peacefully evacuated buildings when the earthquake alarm sounded. Three hours later at 1:14 p.m., an earthquake that measured 7.1 on the Richter scale struck Mexico City and surrounding areas, and caused wide-scale panic in the city. The official death rate eventually reached 369, with the majority in Mexico City. Most died in collapsed buildings in zones of former lake bed that were more unstable during the earthquake. A number of new buildings collapsed, including a private school where several score children and adults died. Despite the imposition of stronger building codes following the 1985 earthquake, extensive corruption by regulators enabled contractors to ignore the codes.

More than 1,800 historic structures suffered various degrees of damage in a September 7, 2017 and the September 19, 2017 earthquakes in Oaxaca, Chiapas, Guerrero, Morelos, Puebla, Tlaxcala, the Estado de Mexico, and in Mexico City. This represented an unprecedented crisis for Mexico's unique architectural and historical patrimony, and six years following the two earthquakes many historic structures still have not been restored and remain closed. This includes historic structures in the cities profiled below. A large part of the problem is the attitude of the current president who took power a year after the earthquakes. Andrés Manuel López Obrador slashed the Budget for the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, the Federal government agency responsible for administering and protecting historic structures in the country. There are also hints of corruption in the letting-out of contracts for restoration projects that were funded. Companies with little or no experience in historic preservation and restoration reportedly received contracts because of their political connections.

A second problem is public disinterest in Mexico´s historic patrimony. This is not to say that there aren´t people interested in these historic structures. There certainly are, and this interest is reflected in the different groups on social media, and particularly Facebook, dedicated to the historic and religious architectural and artistic patrimony. At the same

time, there are examples of neglect and public disinterest, such as the painting of graffiti that alters the visual appearance of buildings. I present here one example from Mexico City, of the Alhondiga where officials of the Metropolitan Cathedral stored and sold grain collected from the *diezmo* or tithe. Construction of the complex was completed in 1711. Offices of the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia currently occupy the structure. The façade shows clear signs of water damage that has not been corrected. Moreover, graffiti covers the lower sections of the façade (see Figure **I**1). I have photographed the Alhondiga on several occasions during my walks in the Historic Center of Mexico City, and the building has been covered with graffiti on all of my visits. Enough said.

Figure **I**1: The façade of the Alhondiga in the historic center of Mexico City showing graffiti. Photograph in the collection of the author.

The following chapters, then, profile the status of the churches and building complexes of the male orders. The next chapter deals with the Historic Center of Mexico City.

CHAPTER 1

THE CONVENT COMPLEXES OF THE MALE MISSIONARY ORDERS IN MEXICO CITY

After the defeat of the Culhua-Mexica in 1521, the Spanish initiated the conversion of the twin cities of Tenochtitlán-Tlatelolco into their own urban centers. Tlatelolco continued as a largely indigenous urban center, whereas Mexico-Tenochtitlan evolved as a Spanish political and administrative center with a continued indigenous presence. This pattern of evolution can be visualized in the Uppsala Map, which was one of the first cartographic representations of the post-conquest cities. The Franciscan doctrina complex, the Colegio de Santa Cruz, the market, and tecpán (seat of indigenous government) dominated the urban space of Tlatelolco (see Figure 1). The houses of the indigenous population occupy the rest of the urban space. The depiction of Mexico-Tenochtitlán documented a very different urban space (see Figure 2). Spanish civil-religious structures dominated the center of the city including the primitive cathedral and viceregal palace, but also the tecpán of the indigenous government. The Codex Osuna drafted in 1569 included a more detailed representation of the Mexico-Tenochtitlán tecpán (see Figure 3) that no longer exists.[4]

A recent study analyzed the development of the urban plan of the city in the formative period 1521-1535, based, in part, on *cabildo* (town council) records of grants of house lots. It was in these years that the spatial organization of the city evolved, and four of the missionary orders established a presence. The Franciscans arrived first, and initially established their convent adjoining the main square. They later relocated to a new site on the edge of the city with more room to build a larger complex. The Dominicans and Augustinians had arrived by 1535, and began the construction of complexes they would occupy for some four

[4] For a detailed analysis of the Uppsala Map see Miguel León-Portilla and Carmen Aguilera, *Mapa de México-Tenochtitlán y sus contornos hacia 1550* (México, D.F.: Ediciones Era, 2016).

Figure 1: Tlatelolco in the Uppsala Map.

hundred years.[5] The Jesuits arrived in 1572, the reformed Carmelites in 1585, and Mercedarians (1595).[6]

[5] Lucia Mier y Terán Rocha, *La primera traza de la ciudad de México, 1521-1535,* 2 vols. (México, D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2005). The Mercedarians (Orden Real y Militar de Nuestra Señora de la Merced y la Redención de los Cautivos) was a Spanish religious order established in Barcelona in 1218, and was dedicated to rescuing Christians held by Muslims.

Figure 2: Mexico-Tenochtitlán in the Uppsala Map.

[6] Jessica Ramírez Méndez, *Los carmelitas descalzos en la Nueva España: Del activismo misional al apostolado urbano* (México, D.F.: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2015), 13. The order of Nuestra Señora del Monte Carmelo came into existence in the crusader states in the Holy Land in the twelfth century. The reformed discalced Carmelites came into existence in Spain in 1562.

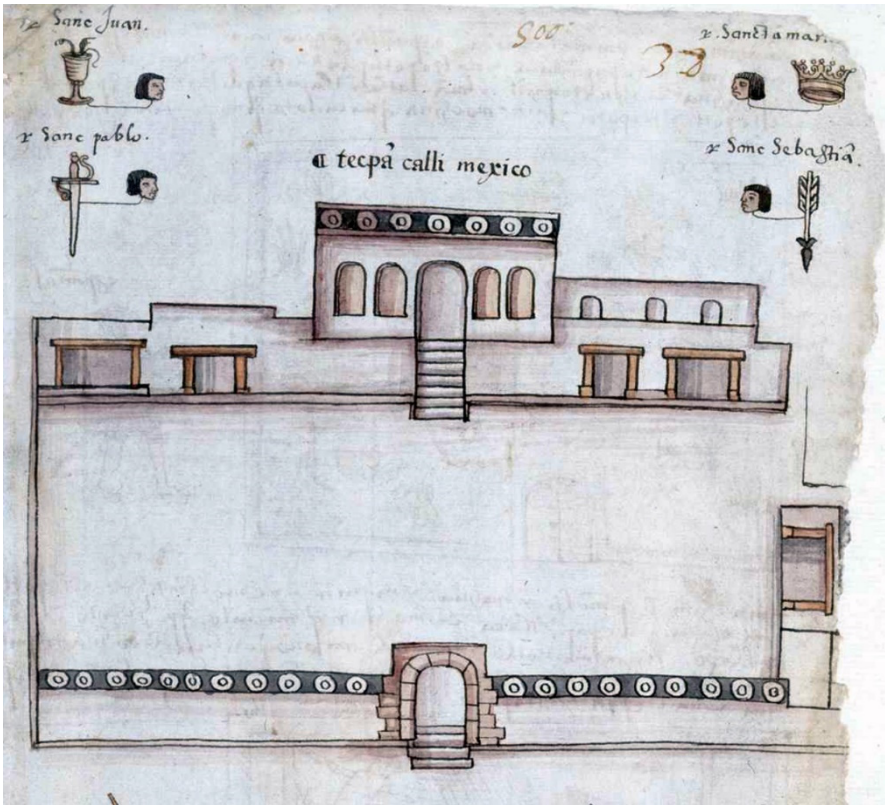

Figure 3: The tecpán of Mexico-Tenochtitlán from the 1569 Codex Osuna.

The end of the male religious orders came in 1767 with the expulsion of the Jesuits from all Spanish territories, and in 1861, following the conclusion of the three-year civil war known as the "Guerra de las Reformas" (1858-1861). The reformist liberal regime of Benito Juarez confiscated the assets of the Catholic Church in Mexico, that had sided with the conservative faction during the recently concluded civil war. Among other assets the government confiscated the convent complexes of the male missionary orders the Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, and in the cases of the Franciscan and Dominican complexes proceeded to divide the convents into lots for sale and demolished most of the non-church buildings. A detailed book published in 1861 documented the history of the suppressed convents in the city that included both male and

female institutions, and the initiation of the process of demolition.[7] The book also published lithographs showing the complexes and the process of demolition. The cloister of the former Jesuit *casa profesa* was also confiscated and demolished.

The Franciscans (1523/1524), Dominicans (1526), Augustinians (1533), and Jesuits (1572) were important participants in the attempted evangelization of the indigenous populations of Mexico. The Mercedarians (end of the sixteenth century) and reformed Carmelites (1585) were involved in an urban ministry. The Franciscans were the most important missionary order, and staffed missions in central Mexico and on the frontiers. The Dominicans also staffed missions in central Mexico, in the Sierra Gorda region, and after 1774 in Baja California. The Augustinians limited their missionary activity to central Mexico and the Sierra Gorda. The Jesuits rivaled the importance of the Franciscans in the staffing of frontier missions. The Mexico City complexes of all four orders were important as administrative centers.

What survives of the large colonial-era convent complexes in Mexico City? This chapter briefly summarizes details of the development of the convent complexes, and documents what remains. The complexes are the Franciscan convent of San Francisco and the apostolic college of San Fernando, the Dominican and Augustinian convents, and the Jesuit Colegio Máximo de San Pedro y San Pablo and casa profesa. Where available, historic images are used to provide an idea of the size of the complexes, and what remains. The 1861 demolitions did not destroy all architectural elements of the Franciscan and Dominican complexes, and several examples of what remains are presented. This chapter first discusses the Franciscan complexes in Mexico City.

El Convento Grande de San Francisco

The first Franciscans arrived in Mexico in 1523, and in the following year the so-called "twelve apostles" came and initiated the evangelization of the indigenous populations. The Franciscans established the convent of San Francisco in Mexico City in 1524, and it was one of the first four *doctrinas* or missions. The others were in Tezcoco, Tlaxcala, and

[7] Manuel Ramírez Aparicio, *Los Conventos Suprimidos de Méjico: Estudios Biográficos, Históricos, y Arqueológicos* (México, D.F.: Imprenta y Librería de J.M. Aguilar y Compañía, 1861).

Huejotzingo.[8] The first site of the Franciscan complex was just off of the main square about where the national palace is today, and later relocated to the current site on the edge of the city where there was more space. The church and convent were built in the late seventeenth and eighteenth century. The church, for example, was dedicated in 1716, and the Capilla de Balvanera was one of the last additions and was constructed between 1763 And 1766. The convent covered an area of some 22,000 square meters.[9] Images from the 1850s show the church and convent before the demolition in 1861.

Figure 1: An 1875 diagram of the convent of San Francisco as it was before its demolition.

[8] Lauro Rosell, *Iglesias y conventos coloniales de México,* 2nd edition (México, D.F.: Editorial Patria, 1961), 178.
[9] Ibid, 178; Guillermo Tovar de Teresa, *Ciudad de Palacios: Crónica de un patrimonio perdido* (México, D.F.: Editorial Vuelta, 1990), vol. 2, 16.

Figure 2: Detail of the Uppsala map showing the Franciscan complex as it was around 1550.

Figure 3: The Franciscan complex on a seventeenth-century *biombo* or folding screen.

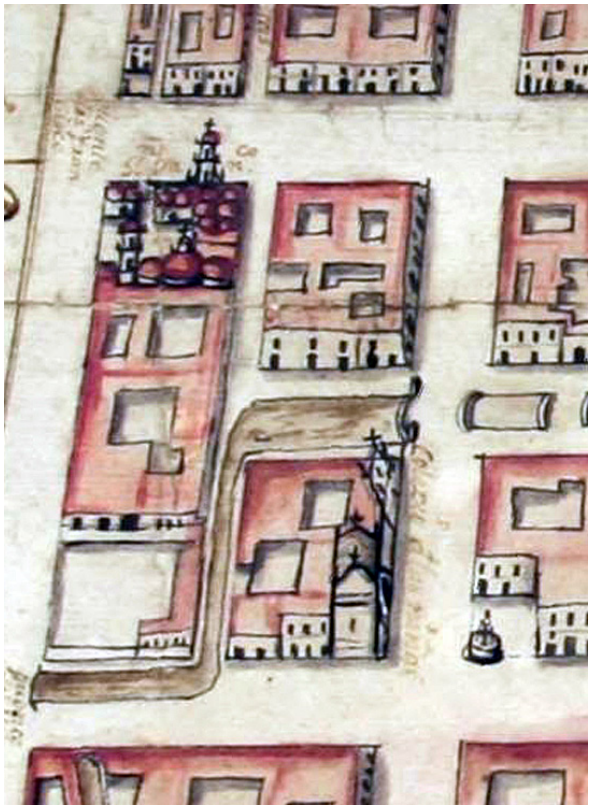

Figure 4: The complex from a 1720 map of the city.

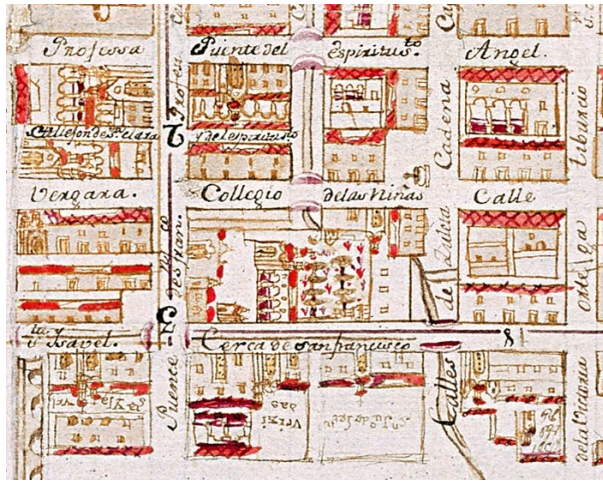

Figure 5: The Franciscan complex from the 1750 map.

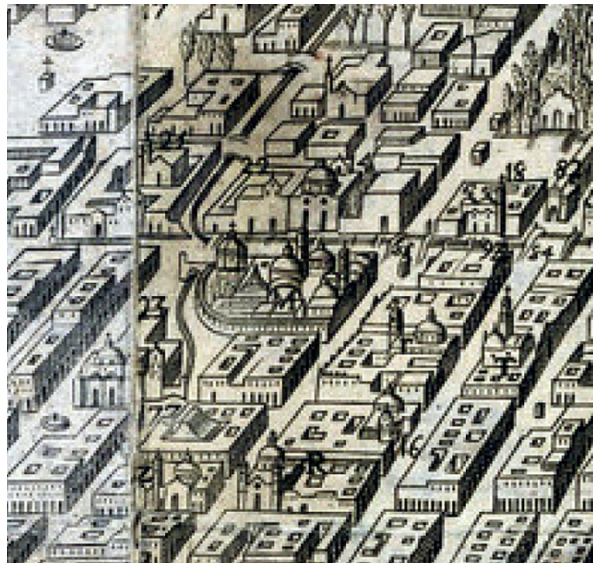

Figure 6: The Franciscan complex from the 1760 map marked as “M”.

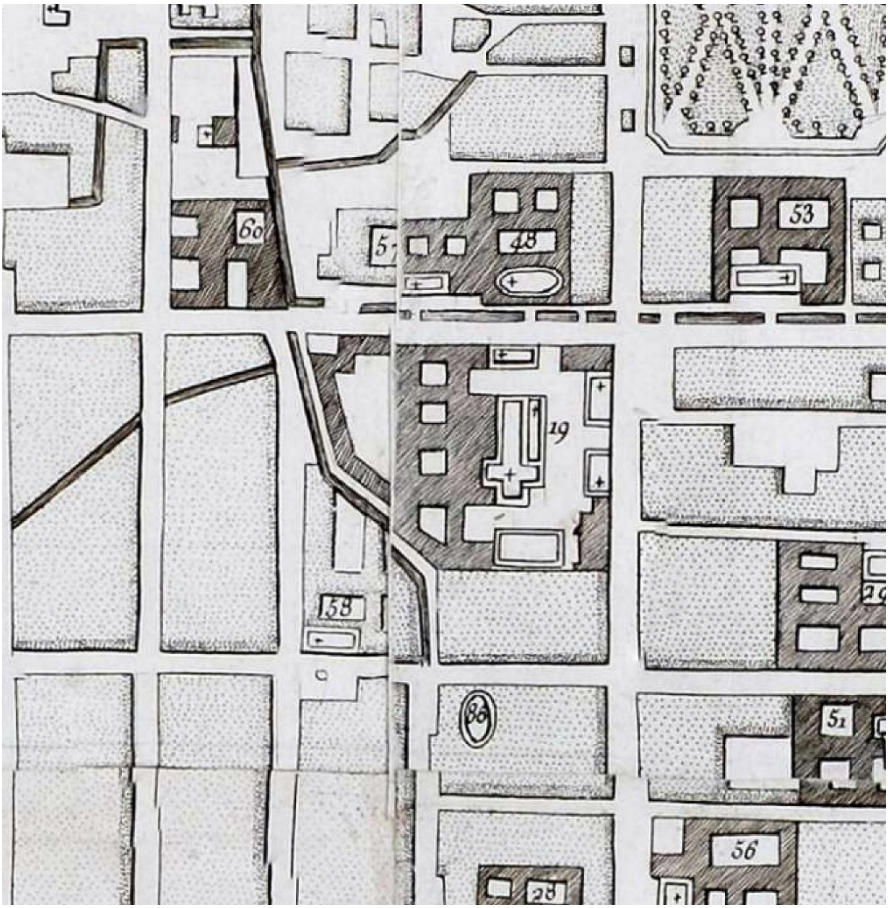

Figure 7: The Franciscan complex from the 1785 map.

Figure 8: A nineteenth-century lithograph of the San Francisco church.

Figure 9: An 1855 painting by Eugenio Landesio of the Franciscan convent.