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Whatever Happened to the Jesuit Church of Old Havana?

Stephen Werry

**A Thesis
in
The Department
of
Art History**

**Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts (Art History) at
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ABSTRACT

Whatever Happened to the Jesuit Church of Old Havana?

Stephen Werry

This thesis examines the architectural and historical evolution of the Jesuit Church that was located in Havana (Cuba). It is a “hands on” study that deals with the building and the available archival material. Construction on the church started in 1749 and it was halted with the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Spanish overseas dominions in 1767. The unfinished building was given over in 1772 for use as the Parish Church of the city and work on the fabric of the building was resumed. Work was completed in 1777 and in 1793 the building was formally raised to the rank of Cathedral. The thesis then follows the development of the structure through the nineteenth century, on into the late 1940s when it underwent a major process of repair and restoration, and through to the end of the millennium.

The thesis also deals with the urbanistic interrelationships of the *Plaza de la Catedral* on which the Collegiate Church was located and with the empowered residences that surrounded the old square. It looks, as well, at the evolution of the Jesuit College (of which the church was an integral component) from its founding in 1727 through to the present. Comments have also been included on the precedence of the design and the architect of the original structure. The paper concludes with several suggestions for the conservation of the available archival material and to function as a guide to help further any future investigations. A timeline is also provided that links all of the available archival material into a chronological relationship of events.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The theme and context of this thesis evolved over a period of some three years which included several trips to Cuba that were directed at photographing and collecting a quantity of background material on the monuments of the island. These journeys, and the intervening periods of study, provided me with a different vision of Havana, one that departed from the norm of various guide books and did not rely on the "golden trio" of so-called "Cuban Baroque" glories. The view for me absorbed a whole range of colonial structures and it projected a special ambiance of the walled city.

At the core of my interest was curiosity as to just what the Padres (and their architect) had in mind when they embarked on the project of their great church. A preliminary search revealed little information and the effort was complicated by the lack of documentation and by the scholarship surrounding the event. My most recent visit to Havana was necessary to photograph specific elements of the Cathedral, to look further into the background of the Seminary and the *casonas* that surrounded the Plaza, and to examine as much of the archival material as was available.

This project represents the first time that material surrounding the building has been put into a single urban context. The work to date has been completed using published literature and archival extracts from the past minutes of the Havana *cabildo*. Disappointing was the lack of access to the archives of the Cathedral and the Seminary, and to the wealth of information held by the City Historian. Virtually nothing was available from these sources nor from the Jesuit archives in Rome. The picture is therefore far from being complete and therefore far from error. Any problems with the factual content or with the assumptions should be looked at simply as a brave beginning.

These should be further developed by the Cuban academic community with new documentation and a wider range of experience.

My appreciation is expressed to the good people that I met in Cuba and especially to my friends Julio, who made sure I got to my designated appointments, and to Guilda, who helped with translations and research. My thanks to Daniel Taboada for his information on the *Capilla de Loreto*, to Professor Pedro Herrera who filled in some of the background, and to Srs. Rodriguez and Hernandez and the staff at the Archivo Nacional de Cuba who helped with documents and photos. I was pleased with the assistance received from the Diocese and Rectors offices which helped me with the administration associated with a visit to the precincts of the Cathedral and the Seminary, and to Arturio from the Cathedral and Hector from the Seminary who showed me their respective areas. Much appreciated were the attentive efforts of Niunka who made sure that I was well turned out for my daily forays into the Old City. Lastly, to the sidewalk thief who mugged me and stole my camera, I hope you got something worthwhile from your effort.

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INTRODUCTION

The sailing vessel carrying the first contingent of Jesuit missionaries entered the harbor channel and the placid waters of the Bay of Havana in mid-August 1566¹. For these padres, life was primitive and difficult, their religious structures and accommodations were crudely built, and they quickly became immersed in their teaching vocation.² The new circumstances of these aspiring 'bearers of the faith' were unlike anything they had known from their European past.³

The Havana scene of the mid-seventeenth century had changed from that of a backwater seaport to a city embodying the tastes and prerogatives of its established links to Europe. By the end of the century things got somewhat better for the Jesuits had obtained privileged status, considerable wealth and even political power. They subsequently took on an unenviable load of criticism.

It is at this time that this story begins, with the era of the Baroque showering its benevolence upon the cultured of Europe. The preachers, teachers and evangelists of the Society of Jesus paid considerable attention to architecture (and to the arts) which were used in the battle to gain the hearts and minds of the people, and as an aid in the keeping

¹ The picture of the Jesuit involvement in Cuba is somewhat incomplete as most Western attention has been directed towards the settlements in Northern Mexico and especially at those in *El Paraguay*.

² The Jesuits worked hard, and it is recorded that that within a period of forty years, fifty-six of their number had died before their time. Havana was their administrative base, and all accounts were attributed to that location, including those which involved their work with the Caribs in St. Vincent. At this point there was no rural (mission) population in Cuba for the Jesuits to look after, as the Indians had died off from disease and exploitation. They were also heavily involved in the Florida missions, which were part of the Crown's strategy of conquest by settlement.

³ The Jesuits ran a missionary school in Spain that helped to prepare the young padres for their journey and their life in the New World.

of the divine direction. Most importantly, the Jesuits responded to the continuing need of the wealthier population for an intense and well-organized classical education.⁴

18th Century Havana

Havana in the early part of the eighteenth century had achieved an enviable level of prosperity. The city had taken over as the center of the administration of the Viceroyalty from Santo Domingo, and functioned as one of the main conduits to the New World. Her prime location allowed her to easily direct and administer the conquest of Mexico, and to cater for the needs of the gold fleet as it awaited the annual run to Spain. Money flowed in as a result of her trading and support activities and Havana became one of the powerhouses of the Americas.

The work on the stone walls (Slide # 001) in the late 1600s firmly fixed the boundaries of the city. These walls and the (Slide # 002) surrounding fortifications provided a sense of security and wellbeing that manifested itself in a desire to build for the future. The dictates of construction saw the establishment of a small cadre of competent military engineers along with the forerunners of the talented group of architects, master builders and skilled tradesmen. These ‘peninsulars’⁵ were later to remain as permanent residents and their work would take them throughout the Spanish Caribbean.

Towards the end of the first half of the 18th century the great stage of Havana was psychologically and technically set to undertake the gracious religious, governmental and

⁴ This term generally includes the merchants, bureaucrats, military officers and the estate owners.

⁵ The ‘peninsulars’ were government employed Spaniards who returned to Spain after their overseas term. The ‘creoles’ were the native born who rarely received any of the Crown appointed positions.

private constructions that would soon make the city one of the leading centres of the New World. The mercantilist policies of the Crown encouraged smuggling and fortunes continued to be made by her citizens. Exports of sugar, tobacco, cotton and coffee and slave trafficking fueled the island's economy. This wealth found a living expression in the architecture of the city, in its stately homes and churches, as well as in her public plazas that provided space for the daily spectacle of urban life. The merchant (Slide # 003) princes made very sure that their Havana displayed a picture of power that the Crown could not ignore, and undoubtedly the Jesuits, with their construction of their new church, were determined to solidify their own position.

1762 saw the dawn of a new era, brought on by the British attack on the 'Key to the New World'. Havana was captured and occupied. At the conclusion of hostilities, the city was returned to the Spanish Crown and a new round (Slide # 004) of fortifications was begun.

The following years involved the expulsion in 1767, of the Jesuits from Cuba (hereafter the Expulsion)⁶. The next decade (1770's) saw a greater liberalization of trade,

⁶ In 1767 a decree was issued by the Spanish monarch Carlos III ordering the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain and from her overseas dominions. Peremptory orders were issued to navy and key colonial authorities. Those to the government officials were received in Havana by the postmaster on 14 May, 1767. The Captain General, Antonio Maria Bucarely y Ursua, received the packet with an attached personal letter that instructed him not to remove the seal or read the contents until a given date. On that day the orders were opened and he proceeded to carry them out. Late the same night soldiers were sent to guard the approaches to the Jesuit College. The Captain General then entered the premises and summoned the Rector Andres de la Fuente into his presence.

This marked the beginning of the forcible departure of the Jesuits, and the confiscation of their papers and property. The value of the property seized amounted to five hundred thousand pesos and it included a sugar mill and a large farm. It took years for the government officials and their departments to both complete the consolidation and sort out the ongoing administration of the functioning entities. Sanchez et al. A History of the Cuban Nation vol. 2. Havana: Editorial Historia de la Nacion Cubana, 1958. 68-69.

as well as a program (Slide # 005) of public works and government buildings that were aimed at providing a more visible level of Crown involvement in urban affairs, and an improvement in the aesthetics and functioning of the city.

By the end of the century the walled city was bulging at the seams. Havana had become a lusty, dynamic and yet inward looking entity who was now a fairly civilized but rough contender in the Hispano-American hierarchy of cities. She had achieved an irrepressible momentum of her own and her buildings and fortifications projected an aura of inherent wealth and raw power. Havana could scarcely contain the forces created by the generalized free trade being conducted between Europe and the eastern seaboard of North America.

The Aim and the Approach of the Thesis

The concern of this thesis is to look at what happened to the Collegiate Church of the Jesuits that was begun in Havana in 1749. This study was undertaken as the author considers that the parameters of the building are of significant importance to the history of architecture in the Latin colonial context and in the general overview of Western Baroque church buildings. Sufficient wealth existed in Havana to 'do it right' and one could assume that this church was meant to be grander than any other in the city. Indeed it may have been meant to be the flagship of the Society in this region of the Americas.

The approach that is taken in this thesis involves an urbanistic view of the relationship of the church to its parent college and to the square on which it stood. It presents a detailed description of the fabric and the history of the now standing building from its Jesuit origins, on to its functioning as the Parish Church and then to its role as the

Cathedral of Havana. The work incorporates a studied and disciplined probe that is aimed at revealing the essence of the building. Included is a discussion of the various construction campaigns and the problems that have surfaced over the two and one-half centuries of the building's existence. Some suggestions are offered on the unknowns relating to the precedence and the architect.

The picture is complicated by the fact that for various reasons there is no available documentation on the Jesuit design. There is no descriptive commentary that would permit one to attempt to discern or else would disclose the architect's intentions, nor is there any clear pattern that would tell us just what had been completed by the time of the departure of the Jesuits.

The method employed in my approach to this topic involved a visual examination of the structure (that has been documented with a series of 35mm slides), and an archival and architectonic analysis of the various interventions. The vehicle of the campaign and its associated problems was selected as a clear means of portraying both the essence of the original structure over the years of its existence, and the establishment of the church within the evolving context of the city, the square and the college.

The Problem of the Documentation

The lack of information on the activities of the Jesuits in New Spain stems from the confusion that surrounded the edict of expulsion levied in 1767 against the Society. The problem was furthered by the confiscation and redirection of the Jesuit holdings in Cuba, and by the disruption of the central office in Rome. When the Jesuits were sent off from Havana, their records (concerning the church) were lost in the surrounding

confusion. An additional blow came in 1796 when a torrential rainstorm flooded the archive of the Cathedral and ruined the archival holdings that remained from the Jesuit era, as well as those that pertained to the intervening period. The last major difficulty occurred as a result of the restoration and rebuilding work undertaken from 1946-49. The problems of the original construction are no longer in view and there seems to be little documentation on their background. These constraints place a formidable obstacle in the way of any dedicated examination.

An additional difficulty surrounds the historical writings of the past. These only touch on the architectural aspects of the building. Fortunately in 1931, Professor J. Weiss of the University of Havana published a learned and well-illustrated study that was historically and architecturally directed at the Cathedral.⁷ He also wrote on 18th century Cuban architecture and published several photographs of the interior of the Cathedral.⁸ His descriptions and opinions are an invaluable aid to any critical review of the building. The work of Weiss is complemented by the later writings of Dr. Roig de Leuchsenring who provided extracts of archival documentation⁹ and a solid background on the history of Havana¹⁰.

⁷ Joaquin Weiss. "La Catedral de la Habana". Revista de la Sociedad Cubana de Ingenieros. vol XXIII no 6, Nov/Dec 1931. 331-356.

⁸ Joaquin Weiss. La Arquitectura Colonial Cubana. vol II. (Havana: Editorial de Arte y Literatura, 1972 and Editorial Pueblo y Educacion, 1985) 70-77 and figs.

⁹ Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring. Los Monumentos Nacionales de la Republica de Cuba. vol II. (Havana: Publicaciones de la Junta Nacional de Arqueologia y Etnologia, 1959).

¹⁰ Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring. La Habana Apuntes Historicos. 3 vols. (Havana: Oficina del Historiador de la Ciudad de la Habana, 1963).

The Urban Grouping

It is not adequate to look only at the details directly pertaining to the Jesuit Church. We also must examine what was implied in the overall (Slide # 006) urban context. This includes the nature of the square, the *Plazuela de la Ciénaga* (hereafter the *Plazuela*) on which the church was located, the context of the surrounding *casonas* and their influential owners, and the prestigious college of which the church was an integral and essential component. The view necessarily takes in the later times when the secular educators and the parishioners became the inheritors of the Jesuit labors, and it ends with the *Plazuela* being renamed to reflect the church's continuance as a Cathedral.

THE PLAZA

The *Plazuela* (now the *Plaza de la Catedral*, hereafter the Plaza) (Slide # 007) is situated to the north of the main square of the walled city, near the shipping channel that leads to the Port of Havana. It is laid out in a rectangle (Slide # 008) of some fifty by thirty meters which has remained unchanged over the years. *Calle San Ignacio* and *Calle Empedrado* provide direct access to the public space from its three open corners. The square is bounded by the Cathedral that dominates the north side and by the restored *casonas* of the merchant aristocrats on the other three sides. In its current context the plaza is sedate yet lively and respectful of the church that denotes its heritage.

The Early Years

The area surrounding the Plaza from about the mid 1500s was known as *la Ciénaga* (of the Mire) and was a meeting and market place for the local fishermen. The swampy and low-lying area drained into the Bay of Havana and was often inundated by torrents of rainwater that occasionally flowed through from the other areas of the *villa*. The first notation concerning the Jesuits and the *Ciénaga* was recorded in 1576. It was linked to the donation of a small piece of land by a wealthy parishioner on which the padres (Slide # 009) raised a *bohio* type of one-roomed hut that likely functioned as a chapel.¹¹

That part of Havana had always been an important part of the commercial life of the city. It adjoined the Royal fortress (*El Castillo de la Real Fuerza*) (Slide # 010) and

¹¹ There are no specifics, the donation could have been granted anywhere in the neighborhood (Leul 9).

the urban center of the (then) town¹². It gave direct access to the harbor and it facilitated the maintenance and resupply activities connected with the naval and merchant ships that were lying at anchor. A cistern had been constructed at the entrance to what is now the *Calléjon del Chorro* to hold the abundant outflow of a nearby spring that served the local residents and supplied the ships in the Bay. In 1587, the alley held the terminus of the Royal aqueduct (*El Chorro* fountain) which served the city for the next two hundred and fifty years. In 1935 (Slide # 011), the site was marked with a commemorative plaque.¹³

The swampy portion was drained in the early 1600s and *bohio* type houses (built of sticks and mud with a roof of palm thatch) began to be built around the edge of the open area. The square began to be defined by streets and alleyways and in 1623 the *Plazuela* nomenclature was first noted on the correspondence of the Havana *cabildo*. Havana was crowded, space had always been at a premium and the *Plazuela* developed rapidly. The square came into prominence during the 1630s when a few of the wealthy merchants began to acquire property and build substantial residences on its perimeter. Evidently there was some pressure on the available land as the *cabildo* found it necessary in 1632 to reiterate a Crown regulation (to the homeowners) that no part of a public place could be taken over without Royal consent. Over the next half century, the area became a fashionable and integral part of the city. An urbanistic difference lay in the fact that no Crown or municipal buildings were associated with the square.¹⁴

¹² The *villa* of Havana was awarded its City Charter by the Crown in 1591.

¹³ The Royal aqueduct, *La Zanja Real* was an important element in the life of the town. It was built during the timeframe of 1548-66-92, with the main work being undertaken in the late period. (Fer 89 & Leul 9-10 & Leul 123-24)

¹⁴ The urban norm for a plaza would see a church, or a Crown or municipal building, dominating the scene.

The 18th Century

The Jesuits in 1700 acquired a plot of land for 10.000 pesos on the north side of the *plazuela*. It was large enough for the college that was planned for the city. The property bordered one side of the square and it lay in an area previously occupied by the huts of the fishermen 'on the ear of the sea'. There the padres built (Slide # 012) a humble (*bohio* type) *ermita* and dedicated it to *San Ignacio de Loyola*.

Four years later (in 1704) the Jesuits petitioned the *cabildo* to found a college in accordance with 'a grand design' on their *Ciénaga* property. The *cabildo* was concerned about the prestige that the area would take on with respect to the remainder of the city, they were afraid that the Jesuits would attempt to take over part of the *plazuela* for the college, and they were unhappy about the dislocation to public life that the construction would occasion. The request created a furor amongst the residents of the neighborhood. They complained about the loss of the only available open space in that part of the city; they did not want anything to impede the runoff of the floods of rainwater that inundated their area; they did not want any loss of the space that was needed for fiestas, plays and for military training and parade rehearsals; and most importantly there could be no interruption of the *plazuela's* function of a neighborhood market and that of a service area and water point for the ships in the harbor.

Over the years, the *cabildo* had opposed any request that would take land away from the *plazuela*. This stance brought them into conflict with the Jesuits (and the other residents) who nibbled on the principle at every turn. The *cabildo* was obliged to formally disallow the *Ciénaga* location to the Order, and directed them to look at another location at the far end of the city.

The Jesuits were not to be put off. With the appointment of a new group of council members in 1705, the Jesuits renewed their efforts and pressured the *cabildo* to repeal the earlier decision. The council held firm and they reiterated the directive of the Crown (of 1632) that stated that public land and especially *la Ciénaga* could not be touched. In an effort to resolve the situation, they offered the Jesuits the choice of available public land anywhere else in the city. The Jesuits, because of their commitment to the *Ciénaga* property and the established *ermita*, maintained their stance.

By the end of the second decade there had developed an interest in the urbanistic character of the *plazuela* which involved several considerations. First there was the consolidation of blocks of property by the five wealthy merchant aristocrats that more or less turned the square into a private space, that had an aristocratic emphasis.¹⁵ Then there was a level of civic controversy both for and against the establishment of the complex so near to the city center. Lastly, there was the continuing discourse over the possible encroachment by the Jesuits of a portion of the *plazuela*.

In 1721, a Royal license was given to the Jesuits to found their college but unfortunately the location was not specified. The project was held back by the *cabildo* who applied various inconveniences relating to the use of the *Ciénaga* property. Apart from the previously noted objections there was now a new element of opposition. A plot had developed between some of the prominent citizens, the other monastic Orders and the *cabildo*. They wanted to assign the Jesuit institution to a *barrio* at the far end of the city, where the Society could best serve the needs of a distant population. The greatest

¹⁵ Visitors to the *plazuela* would have had few doubts as to just where the power lay.

pressure came from the well established Orders who preferred that the new college be situated as far as possible away from their centrally located convents. As expected the Jesuits were very active in countering the objections, and they stressed the spiritual comfort that their church would bring to the residents of the surrounding neighborhood.

The discussions over the location went on for several years and the *cabildo* continued to withhold the *Ciénaga* permission. They even referred the matter to the Council of the Indies (in Spain). Finally in 1726, the religious and other objections were put aside and the location was accepted by all.¹⁶ The site was confirmed by the Crown in 1727. At that point the Jesuits replaced the *ermita* by a larger building that was described as being little more than a *bohio*. It had its 'doors directly on the edge of the square', and was to function there in an interim mode until the construction on the Collegiate Church was begun.

In 1748 and after considerable difficulty, the Jesuits received permission from the *cabildo* to acquire a portion of the square for the forward elements of their great church. Their success with the council was undoubtedly assisted by the merchant aristocrats that lived on the perimeter of the *plazuela* and had earlier on played with this theme of encroachment.

From this point onwards there are few references to the square. The college had been completed, and the ever-busy *casona* owners had been hard at work improving the lot of their residences. Construction on the great church had been started in 1749 and then left unfinished with the Decree of Expulsion.

¹⁶ Records do not provide any details of these proceedings, however a recognition of the Crown's impatience with the matter was likely the driving force behind the agreement.

The *Casonas*

The *Plazuela* projects a particular and tightly constrained ambiance unlike any other in the New World. Its definition owes as much to the merchant *casonas* as it does to the Cathedral and (Slide # 013) these buildings need to be examined in a little more detail. By 1748, the wealthy and influential owners had all managed (one way or another) to get the needed permission to add arcaded porches (*soportals*) onto the rather blockish fronts of their houses that faced onto the square. These, they claimed, would add to the prestige of the neighborhood.

Turning to the individual residences, the *Casa del Condes de Bayona* (Slide # 014) is the oldest of the homes on the square and it faces directly onto the Cathedral.¹⁷ It presents a two-story picture of old-fashioned symmetry with its facade and general appearance being drawn from the seventeenth century. The building was completely rebuilt with a more modern interior in 1719/20 by Don Jose Bayona y Chacon who was the chief justice and the military governor of the *Villa* of Santa Maria del Rosario.¹⁸ The property was significantly enlarged (Slide # 015) by an acquisition that was made into a *traspatio*. An arcaded porch was approved for the residence in 1754 but it was never built. The roughly laid masonry (Slide # 016) combined with the tiled roof and the simplistic facade gives the building a sense of colonial elegance, and ironwork balconies were installed in place of the conventional wooden forms.

¹⁷ Leul 111-15 & JW1 48-50.

¹⁸ Leul 95-100 & JW1 43-44. The nomenclature of this and the other *casas* follows the popularly accepted convention established by the Havana academics and is used throughout, i.e. the Chacon, Chacon/Bayona, Bayona residence is termed *Casa Bayona*.

The restoration that took place in 1934 (Slide # 017) introduced some inappropriate changes, that involved the removal of an intermediate cornice and the addition of a pair of quatrefoil lights and a street-corner niche on the upper level (which were later removed). There was also a general reworking of the window frames and the balcony bases to bring them more into stylistic conformity with those of the other *casonas*, and the (Slide # 018) main entrance was given a sense of the Baroque.¹⁹ The restorative process went a little too far and it introduced some forms which were later removed. The current facade (Slide # 019) closely depicts the building's early form. The (Slide # 020) interior was taken back to the eighteenth century and tastefully decorated with later period furnishings. *Casa Bayona* (Slide # 021) is a true merchant-aristocrat's house of the mid-colonial timeframe with shops below and living quarters above.

The *Casa del Marques de Arcos* (Slide # 022) belonged to a Doctor Teneza who used a portion of the ground floor as an infirmary.²⁰ The Doctor, in special recognition of his outstanding service to the residents of the city, received permission from the *cabildo* in 1707 to add an arcaded porch onto the *plazuela* facade of his residence. In 1724, he asked that he be ceded (so as to relieve the interior space problem) the adjoining alleyway that functioned as the entrance to the infirmary, but this request was refused.

The house was later acquired by the head of the Royal treasury, Don Diego de Penalver y Angulo. In 1741, he received special permission from the Captain-General to reconstruct his residence into a two-storied unit and to add an arcaded stone porch that

¹⁹ This building must have been one of the first to be restored. Note that the window in Casa Arcos has not been modified.

²⁰ Leul 103-07 & JW1 45-46.

extended out onto the *plazuela*. There is (Slide # 023, note that the upper story was not built at this time) a noted absence of quoins, and masonry infills were employed to strengthen the ends of the arcade. The (Slide # 024) parameters of the (Slide # 025) arches and those of the portal flowed from the early 1730s design of the *Casa Juranco* situated in the *Plaza Nueva*, another residential square near the center of the city.²¹ Penalver also managed to obtain permission to (Slide # 026) block off the alleyway and link up with an adjoining property that he had previously acquired.

Years later, his son took over the title and in 1792 he initiated some additional changes. The stairway entrance (Slide # 027) was reworked with a heavily molded framing that followed directly from that of the College, the second story was completed and windows (Slide # 028) with heavy overhead moldings (like those of their neighbor) were installed on the *plazuela* facade. During the last half of the century the *soportals* were developed with second story additions and windows that followed the rhythm of the arcade below. This perfectly proportioned building is representative of the *casonas* of this epoch, and the arches, balcony, layout etc. make it a key work of the era.

The *casa* suffered heavily with the passage of time. The restoration (Slide # 029) of 1934 brought out the essence of the stonework, it refurbished the sculptured iron balcony that had been placed in lieu of the earlier wooden version, and (Slide # 030) it changed the upper story windows to a form that was popularized at the end of the 18th century. A major process of restoration was begun in 1997 that essentially (Slide # 31)

²¹ This *Plaza* was developed in the late 1500's. It quickly became the preeminent residential area of the city.

involved the street-front portal on *Calle Mercaderes*, a (Slide # 032) rebuilding of the court and (Slide # 033) the interior, and (Slide # 034) repairs to the block across the alley.

The *Casa de Lombillo* (Slide # 035) was rebuilt in its present form in 1737 by Count Jose Pederoso y Florencia Lombillo. It covered over half a block. At that time the Count applied to the *cabildo* for permission to add a porch onto the *plazuela* front and he claimed that it would improve the appearance of the square by hiding the defects of the older home. The petition was refused as it went against the Royal proclamation of 1632.

In 1746 the petition was again presented. This time it was accepted and the porch (Slide # 036, note that the upper story was not built at this time) was added that adjoined the *soportal* of the *Casa Arcos*. Interestingly the (Slide # 037) arcade stood too high to offer the needed shade during the heat of the afternoon. The porch (as were those of the other *casonas*) with its ornamented portal bore no spatial relation to the building behind; it was simply emplaced for status. As with the other residences, it was not (Slide # 038) until the second floor was added to the *soportal* (during the last quarter of the century) that the real potential of the form was realized. It was coupled (Slide # 039) with a formalized patio to present a modern, prestigious and utilitarian touch to the building. The strength of the combined arcades and the development of the windows give the two story facade a commendable rhythm.

The *Casa del Marques de Aguas Claras* (Slide # 040) was bought by the Marquis who completed the work started by the previous owner Don Sebastian Penalver y Angulo.²² In 1748 (Slide # 041) permission was received to build a *soportal* out onto the

²² Leu1 119-20 & JW1 47.

plazuela. The lengthy arcade is attractively centered by a widened arch that amplifies the essence of the entryway. It stands in contrast with the uniformity of the arches of the older buildings across the square. The intervention (Slide # 042) is highlighted by a cutout at the corner that delineates the original line of the *plazuela*. It respected the urbanistic integrity of the square and it allowed the (later) balconies to hold a commanding view of the street-scene below. The current appearance of the *casona*, (Slide # 043) with the heavily molded Baroque-styled portal, its (Slide # 044) stately acaded patio and its second (Slide # 045) story windows probably date from around 1772, when the house was purchased by the Calvo de la Puerta family.

The *casa* at the corner of the *Callejón de Chorro* (Slide # 046) started off as the cistern building of the terminus of the Royal aqueduct.²³ In 1835, a contamination problem closed the *Chorro* fountain and the building was converted to function as the *Casa de Banos de la Catedral*. The bathhouse remained until 1890, when it was shut down and it became a private residence. The current and completely rebuilt Neo-Baroque structure (Slide # 047) carries a less distinguished air than the other residences that line the borders of the square.

The Later Years

The Plaza maintained (Slide # 048) its surrounding structure in a generally unchanged and unpaved state until (about) the end of the nineteenth century.²⁴ With the advent of the Cathedral, it was only a question of time before the old name of *Cienaga*

²³ Leu1 123-24 & Leu2 229.

²⁴ The drawings of 1854 Leu1 appear to present an unpaved, dirt based square.

was replaced by that of *Catedral* and the *Plazuela* was raised to the status of a *Plaza*. The change occurred in 1890 and it reflected the reality of the times and the developed aspirations of the now very wealthy, powerful and titled families that inhabited the *casonas*. The area now rivaled the *Plaza de Armas* (the 'governing' square of the city) with the splendor of its surroundings and the level of its social and political interaction.

Around the turn of the century, the plaza (Slide # 049) was paved with stone blocks and a gas-lit streetlight and (horse) fountain were added. The square maintained its dignity until the 1920s, when with the decay of the urban core of the city, it began its inevitable decline.

During the 1934-35 period (Slide # 050) the plaza and its surrounds underwent a process of restoration (by architect Luis B. Sevilla). Some aspects of the work subverted the original colonial forms and became an interpretation of their own. The square was repaved (Slide # 051) and given an oval pattern with a centrally placed cross. The *casonas* (Slide # 052) were cleaned up, repaired and rebuilt (in two instances their facades were elaborately changed) and the street level spaces were turned into shops and restaurants. The area was indelibly 'touristized' and given a festive air.

With the renovation of the Cathedral (1946-49), the whole of the area took on a new and progressive perspective. The visit of Pope John II in 1998 sparked a revival of government interest, the Plaza was cleaned up and the tourist market was removed to *Calle Tacon* in front of the Seminary.

THE SEMINARY

The former Jesuit College was located (Slide # 053) to the north of the *Plaza* on a large triangular block of land bounded by *Calles San Telmo* (that earlier on was a section of the city wall), *San Ignacio* and *Empedrado*.²⁵ The Seminary was founded as the *Colegio de San Jose* (hereafter the College) and later became the *Seminario Conciliar de San Carlos y San Ambrosio* (hereafter the Seminary). Two distinct and separate groups have occupied its halls; the first were the Jesuits from 1727 to 1767 and then the secular clergy who took over the property and operated it to the present time.

As educational institutions, both the College and the Seminary have failed to receive their due share of historical and architectural recognition. These have contributed immeasurably to the educational background of the Cuban nation, and presented the City with an outstanding example of an eighteenth century Spanish monument.

The Premises

The premises of the Seminary (Slide # 054) are crammed with blocks of tile roofed buildings, one seeming to run into another. These include the old quadrangle and its garden that were built by the Jesuits in the 1730s and 40s, and additional dormitory and administrative blocks that enclose two small patios. It is likely that during the 1770s some work was undertaken to add new facilities,²⁶ and in the early 1800s, additional tiers of

²⁵ A corner is cut off from the property that early on was part of the Bay, and later as it was filled in it provided additional space for the fishermen. Eventually, the corner was built up, gained a degree of respectability and now holds a housing block, shops and a restaurant.

²⁶ The work likely would have included additional offices, classrooms, living quarters and other administrative facilities and possibly a larger kitchen. These opened onto the two lesser courts, and were needed to handle the increased population.

students quarters were added to the existing blocks (Slide # 055). Little else was done to the fabric of the institution until 1946.

The convent contains the expected administrative and other facilities (Slide # 056) which include legal and secretarial offices, a reception hall, a chapel, a library, a small museum, teaching rooms, living quarters, kitchens, storage rooms and other facilities which mostly have a functional presentation. Two of the areas bear a closer look; these are the quadrangle and old main entrance of the Jesuit College.²⁷

The two story quadrangle (Slide # 057) projects out from the main building and runs hard into the north end of the Cathedral. Its levels are proportionately scaled to the rising perspective. The Gothic styled arcades (Slide # 058) and ornamentation (and construction) are done with thoroughness and good taste. The stonework throughout is of a consistent quality, indicating a well-practiced hand.

On the lower level (Slide # 059) the arcaded openings with their simple Doric columns allow light and air into the cloister and the associated rooms. The (Slide # 060) strength of the gallery is diminished by the corner-turning that is weakly handled by a single column. On the (Slide # 061) upper level, the smaller arcades and couplet columns help shade the walkway from the intensity of the sun and they give a greater degree of presence. The cloister (Slide # 062) surrounds the garden patio that is landscaped with trees and plants. Its gentleness is secured by the silent rhythm of the surrounding arcades. The garden once held one or more fountains that have since been removed (Slide # 063) and the walks are paved with stone slabs.

²⁷ The Cathedral is not included in the context of the Seminary.

Of special interest is the emphasis that the Jesuits placed on the entrance area of the College. Access (Slide # 064) from the cloister walkway to the street lies through a hallway that pierces the west block of the quadrangle. It is (Slide # 065) announced by a heavily molded architrave that reflects the form of the exterior portal. Ahead a wide (Slide # 066) couplet-columned, quatrefoil headed arch leads onto the quadrangle garden. A turn (Slide # 067) down the cloister gallery brings the visitor to an adjacent high standing archway that is similar to the first, and a short stairway (Slide # 068) that physically and optically recedes to meet a first landing. Just beyond the stairway lies (Slide # 069) the door to the Rector's quarters and the simply furnished (Slide # 070) vaulted chamber that provides a picture of the original cells of the convent.

From the first landing, (Slide # 071) the beautifully balustraded staircase opens and turns on itself to reach a second story landing (Slide # 072), that leads to the gallery through a fan-headed wooden grill. Additional light is provided by a rectangular window with a wood screen, and the stairwell is topped by a barrel vault that is decorated with a painted frieze. The flat headed and heavily molded entryway arches are quite out of tune with the quiet incised lines of the quadrangle arcade.

An original element (Slide # 073) which appears to bear directly on the design of the Jesuit Church is that of the ornate exterior portal facing onto the *Calle San Ignacio*. Work on it was likely undertaken in the late 1730s. The college's neatly (Slide # 074) foreshortened portal incorporates a distinct verticalization and a subtle blend of niches, columns and linear forms. It is composed in the form of a retable that tended towards the

Churrigueresque influences of the Spanish court.²⁸ The portal is a monumental work that places it well within the context of the Early Baroque style in Havana.

The portal can be viewed in three parts. The weight of the lower (Slide # 075) section is focused on the main door that is highlighted by cleanly molded pilaster jambs and topped by a cornered architrave. The surrounds are flanked by pairs of hexagonal engaged Doric pilasters on tall pedestals. The entablature projects forward over the columns. Attached to each end (Slide # 076) are small, pronounced niches that carry statues of saints. The center panel is overlain by a heavy molding, and it displays three carved crests. One belongs (Slide # 077) to Bishop Compostela and was likely placed there in commemoration of his efforts to help found the College.

The second part (Slide # 078) involves the showpiece window that takes the form of a processional balcony. It stands on the hood of the crested panel and is protected by a wooden balustrade. The form is ornamented by a pilastered architrave and columned capitals. The entablature is divided by a simple string course and a heavily molded cornice tops the ensemble.

The upper part (Slide # 079) regains the dynamic of the lower. It begins with a protruding niche that breaks through a concave-shouldered cornice. Stubby stone finial bases sit behind the edge and visually anchor the unit in place. Above rises a cresting that is flanked by short pilasters. Its capitals are linked by a string course. The upper portion of the work is pierced by a quatrefoil window with a molded border and the trapezoidal cresting is lined by a heavily molded cornice. A metal cross sits on the top of the portal.

²⁸ For instance, the chapel of the University of Salamanca or the Dean's residence of the University of Valladolid.

The Early Years

From the mid 1600s, there were concerted measures by members of the wealthier population to establish a higher level of learning in the city. They had the 'real world' need to prepare their sons for careers and to get away from the costly, lengthy and hazardous ocean voyages that had to be undertaken in sending their young men to colleges in Spain.²⁹

Some grammar schools were founded by private patrons but most were run by the religious Orders (including the Jesuits). The Franciscans and the Dominicans worked from their convents, they were well established on the teaching scene and they offered an advanced level of instruction. The Jesuits (in 1645) wanted to 'get in on the business' and establish a college in the city. The *cabildo* approved the concept and a license was requested from the Crown.

The years went by and additional pressures and requests to found a college were sent to the Spanish court. Various initiatives were undertaken by the citizens and the *cabildo* to lobby for and collect the needed money. An (Slide # 080) interesting document dating from 1687 relates to a plan of a Jesuit college for the city. It presented a large, well-developed convent that highlighted the teaching and living facilities. The implementation of this plan would likely have required a lot covering about half of a standard city block.³⁰

²⁹ There were efforts in other cities such as Santiago de Cuba and Santo Domingo, to resolve the education problem. The young needed an education so that they could compete (at court, in the army, in business, in the bureaucracy, and in the church) with their counterparts in Spain.

³⁰ The plan of the convent and church bore no relation to the *Cienaga* site.

The Jesuit College of San Jose

Bishop Compostela (1687-1704) was a progressive educator. He founded the “modest” *Colegio de San Ambrosio* (actually a primary school) in Havana in 1689 for the children of the parish.³¹ It was located (Slide # 081) in a residence beside the Bishop’s palace on *Calle Oficios* near the *Plaza de Armas*. The school was endowed with twelve scholarships for students of the priesthood and it later received its Royal sanction.

The Bishop supported the Jesuits’ acquisition (in 1700) of the plot of land bordering the *plazuela*. It appears that the Bishop brought in some Padres from Mexico [from the Jesuit University of *San Pablo* in Mexico City established 1572] to assist with the attempt to found the needed college. The effort lost its patron and its momentum with the Bishop’s death in 1704, and the group returned to Mexico.

A *cabildo* minute of the same year showed that the Jesuits had settled on the *plazuela* as the most convenient location for their planned institution and that it was there that they intended to build their college. We have seen that there was considerable public opposition to the project and that the Jesuits had maintained their stance. There was, however, considerable public demand for the institution with some 40,000 pesos in estate income being collected between 1713 and 1716 to help with its financing. The College and its Collegiate Church would be as grandly built as the community could afford.

Finally, in 1721 the Royal license was received for the Jesuits to found a college in the city but for several years the project was held back. It was not until 1727 that the Crown confirmed that the institution was to be located on the *San Ignacio* site, and it was

³¹ Meaning the church choirboys and the sons of other wealthy parishioners.

to come under the supervision of the Bishop.³² The new college was named the *Colegio de San Jose*, in honor of the patron saint of one of its main benefactors.³³ It was to be a large educational center that could grant a bachelor's diploma. The curriculum was directed towards the study of the humanities and philosophy, as well as religion. The Bishop supported the founding by transferring the twelve scholarships of the *San Ambrosio* school to the new institution.

By the late 1740s, the main entrance to the College had been established on *Calle San Ignacio*, the cloister buildings were finished (likely well before 1748) and additional classrooms had been completed. The padres had long since replaced the humble *ermita* with a larger building that looked after the religious needs of the Jesuit community. At one point during the construction of the college the Jesuits acquired an additional piece of Crown land (adjoining the city walls) on which additional classrooms were built.

Work on the Collegiate Church began in 1749 after the problem of the site had been resolved. By the time of the Expulsion, the College was completed and functioning, and the church building, although unfinished, was being used for services.

The Chartered Seminary of San Carlos and San Ambrosio

With the Expulsion, the College ceased to function. Bishop Don Santiago de Hechavarria immediately authorized the move of the lesser-known *Colegio de San Ambrosio* to the vacated precincts of the abandoned Jesuit College. He added in 1768 the

³² At this time, the Bishop exercised his authority from the Cathedral located in Santiago de Cuba, at the other end of the Island.

³³ Author Unknown. Album Conmemorativo del Colegio de Belen. (Havana: Imprenta Avisador Comercial, 1904) 23.

appellation of *San Carlos*, in honor of the reigning Spanish monarch Carlos III, and changed the name of the institution to *Colegio de San Carlos y San Ambrosio*.

A Royal proclamation of 1772 raised the amalgamated and retitled institution to the category of a *Real Colegio* (Royal College) or *Seminario Conciliar* (a Chartered Seminary) and the property (including that of the unfinished building) was given over to be administered by secular officials.

The Seminary now had the same academic prerogatives held by similar institutions in Spain.³⁴ Its role (as a Royal College) was to teach the young. Its studies were not (like those of a seminary) specifically directed at the priestly profession. It carried an advanced curriculum for the times, one that was drawn from the leading institutions of Europe. A 1797 report indicated that the Seminary had become more complex and university oriented. Student textbooks included experimental material on the principles of electricity and fluid mechanics. The *Seminario Conciliar de San Carlos y San Ambrosio* was one of the important educational establishments of the island (and of the Antilles), and it rivaled the nearby Royal University that was run by the Dominicans.

The revolutionary activities of the early 1840s left their imprint on the Seminary. The Law of Public Instruction of 1842 forbade any radical teachings and it was rigorously applied to the curriculum. All texts dealing with modernistic ideas of experimentalism and

³⁴ The 1768 Crown letter titles the College as *Colegio Real ad instar de los seminarios* and not the *Seminario Conciliar*. The programme of studies of the College was well above the normal seminary standard. Institutions in the Americas took a long time to put in place, and once established they tended to cater to the general needs of their region. A Royal College was just an academic step below a public or Royal University, and just above the locally sponsored colleges that had a rather basic curriculum. Seminary studies were directed at religion and Latin, whereas this College dealt with grammar and rhetoric, logic, mathematics, physics, law and theology (Leu1 86-87).

free thought were banned and only religious studies were allowed. After about ten years the Seminary was able to return to a somewhat more liberal mode of instruction and since then it has functioned at what appears to be a lesser, 'real world' level.

The Later Years

The main building (Slide # 082) (the old ecclesiastical palace) had evolved from the end block of the old quadrangle that looked out onto the harbor channel.³⁵ With the demolition of the city walls in the nineteenth century and the subsequent urbanization of the waterfront, the rather bland, now three story, stone building added nothing to the progressive aspects of the waterfront scene.

In 1945 the Seminary was renamed the *Seminario del Buen Pastor* (Good Shepherd). Its work was directed at preparing the youth of Cuba (and of some other countries of the Caribbean basin) for a vocation within the Church.

During the restoration work that was undertaken on the Cathedral from 1946-49, it was decided to update the layout and the facilities of the Seminary. The *San Ignacio* entrance was shut down and the orientation of the Seminary was changed. A splendid Neo-Baroque facade (Slide # 083) was applied to what was the rear face of the main building of the convent. It now had a new focus of attention overlooking the *Calle Tacon*, the reclaimed parkland, the channel and the heights of *La Cabaña*.

The ornamental program of the facade (Slide # 084) with its projecting columns, deep niches and wavelike moldings was mainly based on the design of the center block of

³⁵ Also noted as the old ecclesiastical palace (*cortina de Valdes*). There are no further references.

the Cathedral. Continuity was maintained by using multi-story divisions and the forms from the Palace of the Captains-General (1776) and from that of the Deputy Governor (1770). The work was modern in its concept and even included a sophisticated drive-in entrance. The solid termination (Slide # 085) of each of the end bays was punctuated by the quatrefoil form derived from the Cathedral. Inside a monumental Neo-Baroque staircase (Slide # 086) was built into one corner of the quadrangle. It displayed converging flights of marble steps that were lined with solidly set marble balusters.

THE STANDING BUILDING

The Cathedral of Havana has projected its graceful image onto (Slide # 087) the *Plaza de la Catedral* for more than two hundred and fifty years. The West side of the building is bordered by the *Calle San Ignacio* and on the East by an alleyway and a narrow court. The Seminary lies across its North end.

The Diagrammatic Views of the Building

The building is laid out (Slide # 088) as a rectangle of about 36 m. in width and 51 m. in depth. Its core takes on the plan of a Latin Cross, with the intervening spaces being filled by the sacristy chambers and the side aisles. Asymmetric square towers lie on either flank of the facade and the *atrio* projects out some five meters into the plaza.

The four bays of the nave are delineated by an arcaded line of columns and a sequence of two-module blocks.³⁶ The areas of the crossing and the chancel are each based on a four-module block. The transepts reflect the two-module form of the bays of the nave and they include two end-linked half-module blocks that define the area of the altar. Space flows freely between all of these areas. The side aisles follow the rhythm of the nave. The area allotted to each bay includes a module for the aisle and one-third of one for the deeply set chapel.³⁷

The elevation (Slide # 089) presents little problem in interpretation. The arcade and the clerestory define a verticalized block of space which is repeated in the transepts and the chancel. The height to the roofline approximates 20 m. with the shallow dome

³⁶ The module measures out at 6.55 meters on the side, taken to the edge of the piers.

³⁷ There does not seem to be any modular relationship in either of the cross sections of the towers.

projecting another 6 m. above, and the towers rise some 32 m. above the platform. The traverse section (Slide # 090) shows the spatial relationship between the transept, the nave and the side aisles, and it shows the relative height of the vaults.

The Fabric of the Building

A visual description fills in the details where the diagrams and the general view have left off. We will look at the exterior starting with the facade and the towers, proceed to the *San Ignacio* side, cross to the opposite side and then move on to view the rear of the structure. The interior study starts at the main entry, pauses in the vestibule, moves down the aisle to the crossing and on into the chancel and the two sacristy rooms; it then looks at the transepts and proceeds back up the side aisles. A view of the flooring and comments on the stonework conclude the examination.

The building (Slide # 091) provides a gracious backdrop to the groupings of tourists who are enjoying the ambiance of the square or relaxing at a nearby cafe. It sits on a rectangular platform that rises a little more than a meter above the level of the street.

The striking feature of the Cathedral is its twin towered and heavily molded Baroque styled facade that is made up of two flanking towers, a columned center block and adjoining lateral wings, and neatly underlined by the *atrio*. Simply put, it is an exciting and highly intellectualized work that has no equal in the architectural art of the Americas. The general impression is one of dynamic, asymmetric work that is constantly in motion. It projects a strength of presence in the movement and firmness of the lines of the lower story, a weakened spirit in the level above, and a cresting that fails in the overall scheme. The composition is pulled by the weight of the larger tower away from the

congestion of the street corner. Here, the architect applied (Slide # 092) a degree of urbanistic sensitivity and designed a lesser tower that better suited the urban intricacies of the site.

The *atrio* platform (Slide # 093) juts out like an intruder into the space of the plaza and stands about a meter above the level of the square. A low metal fence joins the stone posts that articulate its front. Access is gained by three sets of steps that mount to the upper surface, one from each side of the angled flank and the third from the centerline.

Each lateral wing (Slide # 094) with its weakly defined volute fills the two story gap between its adjoining tower and the center block. A pair of projecting columns support a heavily molded broken pediment. An unidentified escutcheon in high relief and a quatrefoil window lie below the break. Below (Slide # 095) lies the linteled doorway leading to the side aisles. Its ornamentation is lightly stated by an inverted keystone and inset jambs. A (Slide # 096) vase-like finial on a square base stands on the ridgeline of the pediment and a stylish (Slide # 097) stone balustrade links the wing with the tower.

The center block (Slide # 098) is more strongly presented in the lower of the two levels. Its (Slide # 099) columns and undulations protrude well forward into the space of the *atrio*. The dividing line (Slide # 100) with the upper level involves a dynamic free flowing movement that originates in the center and moves simultaneously to the limit defined by the pediments of the wings.

The gigantic square-headed portal (Slide # 101) lies between shouldered jambs and splayed columns. The entablature is ornamented with laterally moving thickly extruded lines laid one upon another in a hierarchical manner. It cradles an ornamented vase-like finial in the break of the cresting that (Slide # 102) presses well up into the cleft of the

heavily molded center-piece. The upward thrust is captured and disseminated in a wave-like, outward flowing motion to the cornice. The center-piece protrudes about half a meter from the line of the facade. It is held in place by the vase-like leitmotifs that sit on its flank and assist in pressing the cornice around the base of the second story columns.

The Tuscan derived columns on either side of the portal are splayed inwards at about a thirty degree angle. Their capitals flow onto a plain ashlar band that presents a definable beginning to the base of the second story. The adjoining wall (Slide # 103) surface has deeply cut niches with heavy moldings and extended semi-circular bases. They are capable of handling life-sized statuary. The corbelled platform above was probably meant to carry a finial. Two additional columns (Slide # 104) lie to the outer side of the center block; one is splayed in at forty-five degrees and the other stands head-on about two meters out from the base line of the facade. These columns function as a hidden buttress. The splays and protrusions enhance the three dimensional look of the center block, which is framed by the forward positioning of the two towers.

Moving to the tactfully foreshortened upper level (Slide # 105) we encounter a degree of austere difference which is emphasized by the simplicity of the wings and the starkness of the cresting. The center panel (Slide # 106) retains the elegance of the work below. A scalloped topped niche sits on a protruding half round base and is topped with a broken pediment. It is carried on the elevated wave of the first story along with two square pedestaled (as most are) finials. The jambs of the niche (like those below) have a heavily molded square cut shoulder that tucks under the pediment. Above, the wall (Slide # 107) is punctuated by an octagonal, quatrefoil, stained glass window. It sports an

encircling heavy molding, elongated half circle curves and a patterned lead web that emphasizes the exterior form. The flanking columns accentuate the vertical accent.

The wall panels (Slide # 108) on either side each hold a niche similar to the one in the center and three finials are carried on the pediment. The form of the panel generally follows that of the lower story. It has a heavily molded cornice that stands well out from the contour of the facade and ends in a cap over the volutes of the wing. The columns (Slide # 109) also follow the configuration of those underneath and stand well out from the surface.

The upper works (Slide # 110) of the second level cap the center block, presenting a quiet disregard for the dynamics of the underlying forms. The heavy moldings break after the turn and weakly follow the line of the roof. These end in a flat cap that is surmounted by a metal cross standing on a square base. Below a plainly set strap drops to meet the quatrefoil window. A vase-shaped ornament in low relief stands on a shallow corbel on the upper portion of the strap. The (Slide # 111) upper corner of the facade (at the clerestory wall) is ornamented with a different vase-shaped form.

The towers (Slide # 112) present identical faces on their four sides. The left (the lesser) tower stands unobtrusively on the street corner and adjoins the *atrio*. Its chamfered edges ease the flow of the passers-by. Three stories rise from the base to an attic roof. The first is solidly adjoined to the lateral wing, providing almost no breathing space to the associated columns and surmounting pediment. A small oculus opens out onto the plaza about three meters off the platform and a small rectangular light slit sits another two meters above. Both have lightly molded borders.

A projecting string-course provides a transition to the second story. Its grouping of round headed rectangular window-like openings are contained within arched and pilastered borders. The openings of both towers present the same characteristics and are capable of carrying bells, but none are present. Another lightly worked string-course lies above. It leads to a heavily lined cornice that provides the foundation for the next story.

The attic story (Slide # 113) is highlighted by slim windowed openings and again a lightly worked string-course leads to a heavily defined cornice. Ball topped ornaments are placed at each of its cambered corners and the round-headed gables follow the lines of the windows below. The roofline flows inwards to a square cap that is emphasized by a string-course and topped by a truncated pyramid that stands on a square base. A small plain cross sits on top facing out onto the plaza.

The larger tower (Slide # 114) on the other side of the facade follows the form of its slimmer sister, but it is broader in the dimensions of its plan. Some differences include (Slide # 115) the considerably enlarged and higher openings of the belfry and the additional light slits on the base story. From the alleyway rises a stone stepped circular stairwell (Slide # 116) to the main platform and a wood staircase leads to a higher level. Some of the bells (Slide # 117) from the old Parish Church still remain in service.

The *San Ignacio* side (Slide # 118) of the Cathedral lies directly on the street and is punctuated by two ornamented entrances and the beveled edge of the platform. The clerestory wall is out of view from the street. The side-wall incorporates a (Slide # 119) portal to the nave and (Slide # 120) three heavily molded oval windows. The surrounds of the entryway include columned jambs and a panel-like entablature (which could have carried an inscription). It (Slide # 121) is topped with a weakly presented, broken

pediment. A gusset (Slide # 122) provides the transition between the side aisle wall and that of the transept, and (Slide # 123) a stone-filled corner strengthens the other side that adjoins the *Capilla de Loreto* (hereafter the Chapel).

The facade of the chapel (Slide # 124) presents a high-standing portal that boldly uses its ornament in an atypical manner. The whole is set upon an *espadaña*-like background that sits against its street-front wall. It is an interesting undertaking, giving both prestige and utility to the building. The doorway follows the same rectilinear form as the later built entrance to the church and its windowed balcony gives it a regal tone in the processional environment. The portal provides a general reflection of the forms presented by the Jesuit College and by the Calvo de la Puerta residence (of 1686).

The lower part (Slide # 125) of the ensemble begins with a five stepped entry to the square framed doorway that is accented by the adjoining pilasters. A console styled keystone is centered on the lintel panel and a sunburst in heavy relief (the center of which is carved with initials) stands directly above. On either side are engaged columns with inset pilasters that rise from a pedestaled base to a layered capital. The entablature is delineated by a light string course and topped by an overhanging cornice. A sun and stars motif (found in Mexico and Peru)³⁸ decorates the line of the entablature and likely reflects the influence of the padres from Mexico. Pinnacles terminate the upward movement of the columns.

The centrally positioned upper section (Slide # 126) sits well back from the plane of the lower. The metal grilled balcony projects out from a plain stone face. The full-

³⁸ Leu1 photo caption Chapel portal.

length, flat-headed balcony window is framed by pilasters carrying heavily molded capitals and pyramidal finials. Its entablature is topped with a curved pediment that is broken by an initialed crest. An intermediate spacer wall lies behind. It is topped with sloping lines that are ornamented with four pyramidal styled finials. The lines are linked by a plain half-round cresting. The inside wall of the chapel lies directly against the spacer wall. It appears that the stonework of the ornamented portal (and the spacer wall) was added onto the building at a later date.

Other sections of the (Slide # 127) building are generally blocked from view except for the dome and parts of the roof. The opposite side (Slide # 128) of the Cathedral is accessed by a blind alleyway that runs in from the plaza. A small door leads to the belfry staircase and two recesses for memorial plaques (now removed) are cut into the wall at eye height. Beyond (Slide # 129), a plain entrance opens to the nave and the wall is enlivened by three heavily molded oval windows like those on the opposite side. At the end of the alley the doorway with a molded surround leads into a small chapel.

The clerestory wall (Slide # 130) clearly delineates the four bays of the nave. It is pierced by two narrow ventilating slits and topped by a cornice incorporating a drip-ledge. Three tile capped buttresses support the wall and hold a downward running (rain) slot. Each wall bay is opened by (Slide # 131) segmental headed windows (all are of the same form) whose sills rise just above the join of the side aisle roof. The window surrounds (Slide # 132) show signs of reworking and the stonework of the walls is of a roughish cut when compared to that of the transept wall.

The roof plan (Slide # 133) depicts the main divisions of the building and it provides a sense of the massing of the components that make up its structure. The vaults

(Slide # 134) of the nave, transepts and the chancel are protected by a wood framed roof that is covered with tiles. Ventilating dormers (Slide # 135) placed close to the eaves help cool the building during the heat of the summer. The roof (Slide # 136) of the nave carries an inwards slope to the line of the facade as do (Slide # 137) the other sections in respect to the base of the dome. A gable terminates the ends of the transept arms and the chancel. The tiles on these (Slide # 138) roofs (including those of the chapel) are curved.

The truncated and unpretentious dome (Slide # 139) incorporates eight windows and it alludes to an external drum. It carries (Slide # 140) heavy rectangular ribs and blind dormers that accentuate the underlying windows. A small octagonal lantern with blind lights acts as an ornamental motif, and is topped by a cross.³⁹ Flat rectangular tiles are cemented onto the curve of the dome.

The flat roof (Slide # 141) of the side-aisle section is laid on two levels. The higher encloses the base of the buttresses where they merge with the side-aisle vaults and the long narrow strip of the lower level sits over the vault of the chapels. The height of the (interior) entablature ensured that the roof did not interfere with the size and placement of the windows. (Slide # 142) It is protected by a covering of rectangular tiles. A shed-like construction (Slide # 143) with a narrow entrance is attached to the forward part of the wall and it allows access to the choir gallery.

A small triangular court (Slide # 144) borders the east end of the building and a wing of the convent. The wall of the transept (Slide # 145) (like those of its opposite number) is broken by two upper windows on each side and a small ventilator under the

³⁹ One of the blind lights is a service entrance.

gable. A gusset with an undulating shape (Slide # 146) joins the transept to the side-aisle wall, and the later built chapel runs off its lower end.

The sacristy (Slide # 147) lies between the transept and the chancel, and a plainly dressed doorway gives access to the court. Its wall stands at about the same level as the sill of the transept windows. The flat roof is tile covered (Slide # 148) and it carries a simply-lined oval shaped lantern.

The rear walls (Slide # 149) of the Cathedral chancel and those of the adjoining sacristy and chapel lie up against the gallery wall of the convent. Only the upper reaches are visible. Two blind windows (Slide # 150) with alabaster panes open onto the upper gallery of the quadrangle.

The entrance area (Slide # 151) of the Cathedral maintains a somber tone. The main door opens onto a vaulted vestibule. Overhead, a flattened blind arch lies against the front wall and a groin-vaulted ceiling carries the choir gallery. The church organ is located to the rear of the gallery. The loft is illuminated (Slide # 152) by the light from the stained glass quatrefoil window and from (Slide # 153) a clerestory dormer that also functions as a doorway to the side aisle roof. The join (Slide # 154) of the gallery to the entablature of the nave arcade is awkwardly made.

The vestibule's (Slide # 155) two forward columns are joined by a flattened (three centered) arch, and the opening marks the beginning of the center aisle. The visual effect (Slide # 156) of the interior of the nave from the threshold of the vestibule is one of an independent block of space that is defined by the walls of the arcade. It is terminated by the abruptness of the crossing piers and (Slide # 157) capped by a strongly presented

cornice that defines the base of the vaulted region above. Throughout the church, the strength of the cornice forcibly divides the interior space into earthly and heavenly realms.

The piers of the arcade have bases (Slide # 158) that have been painted to imitate marble and these appear to be dissociated from the Tuscan Order pilasters that stand above. Pilasters (Slide # 159) front the structure of the squarish pier and they carry a complex bow-fronted undulation. The arches spring in a layered form with their underside taking the same bow-shaped contour. The pilasters rise and break through the developed imposts of the piers to form capitals at the base of the plainly presented entablature. They continue upwards to under-run the line of the cornice. The depth of the entablature is de-emphasized by a light string-course and a layered form that lies above the pilaster capitals. The heavily protruding cornice stands about a meter out from the wall and is carried on square-ended wooden cubic corbels.

The vault of the nave (Slide # 160) is a ribbed barrel vault with one panel lying over each of the four bays of the arcade. The ribs take on the same bow-shaped form as the underlying pilasters and (Slide # 161) and they spring from a base that stands on the cornice. Each bay is punctuated (Slide # 162) by groined and pointed dormers that have molded borders. The dormer windows (as do the others in the building) have heavily incised and shouldered jambs and a finial-centered ornament that reflects the tone of the facade. The wave-like overhead is carved in high relief.

The space of the unspectacular crossing (Slide # 163), unlike that of the nave, rises uninterrupted from the floor and is weakly guided by the barren pendentives into the cap of the stone dome. The articulated crossing piers were developed from the cornering of the arcade and the sacristy walls with those of the transepts. These are topped by the

uninterrupted line of the cornice. From these piers the great arches rise to form an octagonal base that is ornamented with a simple string cornice. Above (Slide # 164) sits the dome with its ornamented dormers that cut into the half-round curve of the vault.

Moving on to the chancel (Slide # 165), we find that its windowless space flows from the floor to the cross-vaulted ceiling. The heavy cornice on the three sides emphasizes the greater importance of the scene below. The presbytery (Slide # 166) sits on an elevated platform. Above (Slide # 167) the cornice stand lunettes that are decorated with frescoes depicting biblical scenes.

The back wall is featureless, except for the centrally mounted (Slide # 168) tapestry revering the Lady of the Immaculate Conception and two lesser hangings that cover the alabaster windows. Broad expanses of walls (Slide # 169) rise on either side, that are pierced by low-lying flattened arches with jambs that are similar to those of the main arcade. These open into the sacristy chambers and they are now blocked with liturgical furniture. A carved stone (Slide # 170) escutcheon lies above each opening. A (Slide # 171) brass plaque and a carved stone wreath are seen on the left wall that mark the place of the repository that once held the remains of Admiral Christopher Columbus. Beautifully carved wood stalls done in the Neo-classical style (Slide # 172) line the three walls. Centrally located is a throne chair that is backed by a crowning pediment. A low Neo-classical altar table (Slide # 173) is placed well forward on the carpeted presbytery platform and two (Slide # 174) low standing marbled pulpits look out onto the crossing.

The sacristy chambers (Slide # 175) are situated on either side of the chancel. The one on the right (Slide # 176) is entered from the arms of the crossing through decorated portals carrying splayed jambs and a finely carved screen. It contains (Slide # 177) the

treasures of the Cathedral in its various lockups and a (Slide # 178) beautifully decorated Archbishop's throne, again in the Neo-classical form, stands at one end. A simple string-course divides the surface of the plainly walled room and a (Slide # 179) small door leads to the Seminary court. The vault that was installed in 1858 was (Slide # 180) made of thin tiles (about five cm thick with two hollows in each⁴⁰). It springs to a rectangular ceiling panel that is opened by an oval-shaped lantern (with eight windows) that is carried on the flat, wood beamed roof.

The chamber on the left (Slide # 181) functions as the *Capilla de Nuestra Señora de Loreto*. It was one of the first elements to be raised by the Jesuits. It most likely provided for the religious needs of the College and the surrounding neighborhood after the interim building was taken down. The Chapel comprises a single room that fills the space between the arm of the crossing, the presbytery and the wall of the quadrangle. When construction on the chapel was begun, the wall that adjoined the College likely determined the height parameter of the chamber. The other walls were predetermined by the positioning of the foundations and the line of the street.

Like the sacristy the Chapel is entered from the transept through a (Slide # 182) splayed portal that is secured by a carved wood screen. Access to the street (Slide # 183) is through an undecorated doorway, and a small side door leads to the old College. A narrow wood balcony and an exterior window stand overhead. The (Slide # 184) current gabled and wood beamed roof is strictly utilitarian and it is overlaid with tile. There is no

⁴⁰ As reported by Prof. Herrera.

evidence of any *Mudéjar* carving on the existing woodwork. All of the wall surfaces (Slide # 185) are plainly presented. Wall stains high up depict the line of an earlier roof.

Today's view of the Chapel is due to the excellence of the restorative work of Cuban architect Daniel Taboada. His task was carried out in 1984. The lanterned roof collapsed and severely damaged the vault which like that of the sacristy was also put in place in 1858. The Chapel had also (Slide # 186) been plastered and painted in a rather eclectic Neo-classical style and the altar to *Loreto* had been 'modernized'. Taboada stripped out all the vaulting and the decorative work. He brought the form of the interior and the *Loreto* altar back to (or close to) its original mid-eighteenth century configuration, where the aura of simplicity was the essence of its spiritualization. Against the rear wall of the Chapel stand a small altar (Slide # 187) and a painting that are dedicated to the *Señora*. Above (Slide # 188) are traces of color depicting the (incomplete) outline of a lunette.

From a view of the forms that were covered by the vault, it is evident that the chapel in its earliest time (Slide # 189) had a simple gable-type roof. The place of the lanterned vault is indicated by the deep-seated cut that once housed the springing elements. The unpainted plaster patch (about 40 cm in height) encircles the room, just above the string-course. Late additions to the Chapel include Bishop Espada's baldachino that once stood in the chancel. It was repositioned (in 1997) and now sits on an elevated platform on the marbled floor against the stalls. At some point [in the early 1900's] a shallow niche (Slide # 190) was cut into the other wall to frame a commemorative monument.

The arms of the crossing (Slide # 191) are essentially mirror images of each other, with their spaces being well lit by highly placed windows that stand above the line of the cornice. When viewed from the nave (Slide # 192) the sacristy chamber wall turns neatly at the pilastered crossing pier. It then moves (Slide # 193) along to a grand Neo-Baroque portal that opens to the chapel. The portal comprises engaged columns that carry a gigantic broken and curved pediment. A pilaster on the other side balances the scene. The wall continues (Slide # 194), corners and becomes the arch-headed end unit that follows the form of the vault. Interesting is the manner in which the pilasters and the rib of the vault protect a small independent block of verticalized space at the end of the transept. The area is dominated by a large altar dedicated to *San Cristóbal* (and that on the right arm to the Immaculate Conception). Some (Slide # 195) commemorative plaques have been placed on the walls. After cornering (Slide # 196) again, the wall continues on and picks up the same form as the bays of the main arcade. Each arm of the crossing is covered by a barrel vault with the segments (like those of the nave) being delineated by the thrust-line of the pilasters. The wall form (Slide # 197) then becomes a corner pier, turns and continues into the nave. The implication is that the arcade flows from the transept altar, unhindered to the main entrance of the church.

Continuing from the space of the transepts and looking towards the front of the building, the (Slide # 198) side aisles delineate a sequence of arched bays that match those of the nave. Each section (Slide # 199) is covered with a groin vault. The thickness and placement of the arcade piers essentially prohibits any view of the altar until the worshipper is at the crossing. The lateral wall forms are substantial, they support the lower part of the arcade and carry the thrust of the clerestory buttress.

Small altars (Slide # 200) stand at the end of each bay against the exterior wall.⁴¹ Their private spaces, like those of the transepts, are defined by the pilasters and are covered by simple barrel vaults. Each altar area (Slide # 201) is dimly lit by a small oval stained glass window that pierces the upper reaches of the wall. The third bay (Slide # 202) accesses the exterior of the building and (Slide # 203) the first leads to the side aisle entrance from the *atrio*.

Over the doorway (Slide # 204) is a blind arch that holds the forward edge of the vault. A stained glass, quatrefoil window (Slide # 205) projects a warmth of color over the area. The sides and upper faces of the cutout have a light-enhancing splay which is framed by a string molding that follows the exterior form of the window. The floor is (Slide # 206) covered with polished polychrome marble set in an elegant Neo-classicized patterns. The different areas are covered in coarse-grained colorations of off-white panels and bordered in gray and black. None of the original flooring remains.

Sandstone (*arenisca*) and coquina (*conchifera*) were the two main types of stone that were employed in the works. The rough-hewn blocks were cut from nearby quarries and finished by the masons at the building site. These were easily worked and they hardened when exposed to the elements. Both the quality of the stone and the work of the masons left something to be desired. The quick-setting lime was made in local kilns and transported in bulk to the site. The needed timber came from the countryside.

The ashlar show a degree of consistency and a similar manner of handling in the walls of the side aisles, the clerestory, the chancel, the sacristies, the chapel and in the

⁴¹ On the right, from the church front, *San Provincu*, Lady of Carmen, (door), Lady of Guadalupe, and on the left *San Juan Bautista*, *Santa Barbara*, (door), and *Asuncion*.

lower levels of the facade. The upper wall of the transept shows a smoother style of work, while the upper portion of the facade is indifferently handled. Weathering and the nature of the repairs make it difficult to appreciate the differences between the Jesuit work and that of the 1770s. Many hornet's and bee's nests inhabit the ventilating openings and the projections of the facade. Their proximity prevents an uninterrupted look at large portions of the walled surfaces.

The interior work is somewhat easier to delineate, except in the areas that received an amount of 'corrective surgery'. The rougher cut of the eighteenth century presents an inconsistent pattern when viewed against the work of the late 1940s. For instance, the faces of the transept dormers and walls follow those of the pendentives and of the crossing piers, and these differ from the vaults, except for those of the side aisles, which seem more related to the earlier work. The later stonework presents a mechanized, almost sterile, feeling and it loses much in the aesthetic sense.

THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH

By the late 1740's, the construction of the college had been completed and space within the complex was at a premium. The main entrance was established on *Calle San Ignacio*, the cloister buildings had been finished, additional classrooms were built and an interim church had been put up on the edge of the *plazuela*. Along with the approval to found the teaching institution came the implicit right for the Jesuits to erect their collegiate church, and the planning and other preliminary activities involved with the project were undoubtedly underway. Their tradition of monumental constructions had foreseen a building (Slide # 207) much along the lines of the grand design that was associated with the discussions of 1687.

The Jesuit Campaign (1749-67)

The theme of the opening campaign involved the construction of the basic forms of the building. Naturally, the padres had no advance knowledge that their plans were to be so abruptly terminated. They lost no time in getting their project underway and construction was begun in the early months of 1749. The church was laid (Slide # 208) out in a rectangular plan on the reserved plot that lay between the edge of the *plazuela* and the wall of the college quadrangle.

The work process of the campaign was divided into two parts (Slide # 209);⁴²

⁴² This, of course, was the first stage of the project. Others that would have followed would have been directed at the finishing of the side aisles, the linking of the transepts and the crossing arches, building the dome, raising the clerestory walls of the nave, building the vaults and the roof, and completing the towers and the facade. The entire project would have taken at least thirty years to complete, and that timeframe would have been dependent upon raising the needed money and the political and economic conditions of the coming years.

each was self-supporting and both were undertaken at the same time. The first involved the head of the church; it received the greatest attention, and it went up rather quickly. The various elements (the Chapel, the chancel, the sacristy and portions of the transepts) were mutually supporting and they needed no special handling. The Chapel was designed by the architect Lorenzo Camacho [d. 1760] and it was the first element of the church to be completed. Its construction was started in 1752 and it was consecrated by Bishop Morell de Santa Cruz in 1755. The walls were taken up to their current heights and enough would have been built of the transepts to buttress the walls of the sacristy chambers. The head would have been covered with gabled roofs like those of today.

The other part of the process involved the main arcade and the facade. The direction of work (indicated by the placement of the ashlar) proceeded from the facade towards the crossing. As the arcades went up, they had to be supported and that necessitated the parallel development of the arched portions of the side aisles, the transept side walls and certain elements of the facade. The arcades were taken to about the line of the cornice and the nave was covered with temporary roof (there would have been a powerful incentive to put the nave into use as soon as possible). The towers were developed to help stabilize the center block of the facade.

The works in 1761 were described as 'proceeding well' and the view of the unfinished building as being 'solid, beautiful and well proportioned'. A (Slide # 210) 1763 city plan shows the firmly projected Latin Cross layout of the church within the confines of the College property. By 1767 the head and the basics of the nave had been completed and were being used. Interim altars (Slide # 211) would have been set up once there was some sort of structure, and twin pulpits had likely been placed on the piers of the

crossing.⁴³ The facade was well advanced, with only the upper portion of the center block remaining unfinished, and the towers rose to about the level of the lower bellcote. Large portions of the floor would have been paved with the traditional alternating squares of gray toned stone slabs (as seen in the patio walkways of the college quadrangle).

This is about as far as the picture of the construction can be taken. Work on the fabric of the building was abruptly halted in 1767 and there is no further mention of the state of construction. The only available comments are found in the generalized notes of 1769 and 1773 which referred to the abandoned church as being 'finished in principle' and 'very advanced'.

The timeframe of the first campaign involves a period of some seventeen years with a probable interruption of about a year during the English invasion of the city in 1762-63. The subsequent pressure of the construction of the new fortresses of *La Cabaña* and *Atarés* (both begun in 1763) had an unknown effect on the progress of the building. For sure, many additional military engineers and skilled artisans would have been working in the general area and the flow of materials would have increased.

The Problem of the Site

A major problem that the Jesuits had to face in the building of their great church involved certain limitations that pertained to the site. These were imposed by the

⁴³ Every available reference was examined to determine if a two-pulpit layout was a Jesuit constant in the theatreization of their churches, and while it did occasionally occur, it neither appeared to be a trend or a standard. It was noted that most Parish churches that were viewed by the author only carried one pulpit. Hence, it is fair to assume that the twin-pulpit configuration could well have been in place from the time that the nave was first used for services by the Jesuits.

elongated shape of the *Ciénaga* property, the pattern of the established buildings, the streets and the city walls that bordered the holding, and the amount of land that was needed for the church and its sacristies. This 'limitation' problem had been around since the turn of the century and was likely recognized by all of the key players.

The college had been well laid out. No space was wasted and the quadrangle was just adequate to provide for the living quarters, the administrative functions and the classrooms. In fact, the area was so tight that the end wall of the church was required to lie up against the inner wall of the quadrangle galleries, with no space being left for any classrooms or cells on the 'church' side of the cloister.

The building plot that was assigned to the church was only large enough for the basic structure. It was not sufficient to deal with the stylish and projecting forms that were planned (Slide # 212) for the columns and moldings of the center block, for the *atrio* platform and for the towers. Some additional land was required to make the building 'work' in the grand context that the Jesuits had envisaged. That land could only come from the *plazuela* and a slice of the square was essential to the success of their project.

The Jesuits in their normal form were determined to get exactly what they needed. They had a political and social agenda, and the sheer size and grandeur of their building had to surpass that of the other convent churches.

The Jesuit problem was compounded by the *cabildo's* determined refusal to give up to the college any part of the *plazuela*. Yet, by May of 1748 the council had allotted three slices of public land to the wealthy merchant aristocrats whose homes lined the sides of the square. The council was on shaky ground and they could scarcely deny the Jesuits their 'piece of the action'.

At what must have been a most interesting *cabildo* meeting on the 16th of August, 1748, the Jesuit Rector Padre Antonio de Lusena, after consulting with the military engineer responsible for that part of the city (Lt. Col. Antonio de Arredondo), presented the logic behind the architectural and liturgical needs of the church. They discussed the amount of land that was required from the *plazuela* to make the great church a totally functional entity and to ensure its monumental character. Anything less, it was explained, would lead to an unacceptable reduction in the width of the nave and side aisles, and in the size (and prestige) of the presbytery. Besides, the quantity of land that was needed was hardly more than what had already been handed off to the *casona* owners, namely a strip from one to two and a half *varas* in width, across the north end of the square.⁴⁴ In exchange, the Rector proposed to hand over to the city a suitable and sizable nearby property that was owned by the Society.

The reaction to the Jesuit proposal was similar to the uproar over the location of the college that occurred some twenty years before. It was stated that the *plazuela* extension would make travel on the public road dangerous, that there would be no space for workers and for public processions, that there would be no walking space, that it would intrude on the space of the residences, that the owners did not want the mess of construction, that the rain water would flood the *plazuela* instead of draining off directly into the bay, and that the plot reserved for the church (60x30 *varas*) was already sufficiently large.

⁴⁴ A *vara* (Castellana) equates to approximately .828 meters,

The matter was somehow resolved at a later meeting that saw the introduction of a military survey map that laid out the plan of the church and showed its relationship to the *plazuela*. On 11 November 1748, the allowance for the great church was approved by the *cabildo* and the Jesuits had the needed authority to build out onto the square. Work on at least a part of the *atrio* would have immediately been undertaken to guard against a change of policy by the *cabildo* in regard to the use of the *plazuela*.

THE PARISH CHURCH

For several years after the Expulsion, the unfinished shell of the Jesuit Church lay abandoned on the edge of the square. Finally in the Royal decree of 1772, the Crown turned the building over to the city and authorized the translation of the *Parroquial Mayor* (hereafter the Parish Church) to the empty building. Before the structure could be made available for services, it had to be completed and modified to suit its new function.

Bishop Hechevarria's Campaign (1772-77)

The conversion and completion of the unfinished building to the role of a parish church was the essence of the second campaign, which ran under the patronage of Bishop Hechevarria. The details of what was done in regard to the completion and adaptation processes are not known, and there is no way to correlate the allotted funds (some 90.000 pesos) with the work that was undertaken. Furthermore, it is almost impossible to differentiate exactly where the Jesuit campaign left off and where that of the Bishop began. What can be determined is (Slide # 213) the form of the building that resulted from the work that was undertaken during the first two campaigns.

The work process of the second campaign saw the (Slide # 214) clerestory and its supporting buttresses being completed, along with some work to finish the transepts. The pendentives and the great arches of the crossing would have been built up. Weiss noted⁴⁵ that there was a difference between the height of the transept windows and those of the nave, and that their jambs were the same as those of the main door.⁴⁶ The side aisle vaults

⁴⁵ JW 2. Weiss's statements are numerous and are drawn from pages 344-49.

⁴⁶ These moldings were reflected in the palace constructions of the 1770s and 80s in the *Plaza de Armas*.

and their tiled roofs may have been put in place at this time. The altars would have been installed in their proper places, with at least one being reworked and dedicated to *San Cristóbal*. A wooden gallery was likely placed over the vestibule.

The roofs were built on a wood frame and were covered with tiles. Gabled forms predominated, with the crossing being enclosed by an octagonal lantern. Weiss writes that the nave roof was higher than the others and that the transept roof (on the *San Ignacio* side) showed marks of three successive heights. The work, he reported, was good and it did not detract from the standard of the building. *Mudéjar* styled construction would have been employed (Slide # 215), with the beams of the nave likely being carved and inlaid.⁴⁷

The upper works of the facade were finished off, the towers were completed and (Slide # 216), the bells from the old Parish Church were installed in the belfry. Masonry evidence (Slide # 217), in the form of linking lines and cornice differences point to some later work having been completed on the wall surfaces of the attic portion of the clerestory and the transept.

Two military engineers likely functioned as the *maestro mayor* of works during the campaign. The first was Antonio Trevejos (1738-1800) and he was followed by Pedro de Medina (1738-96)⁴⁸ whose term continued to about the mid 1790s. Their preference towards heavily molded Baroque forms can be seen in the (Slide #218) windows of the

⁴⁷ Roof design was a complex art. It included locking beams to stand the stress of high winds and corner braces to resist earthquakes. Span widths were a consideration and the presence of the skeleton was uncluttered and aesthetic in relation to the background. The whole was a work of the art in its own right, executed by a master craftsman, and was based on traditional designs from 'Peninsular' origins. The Church of *Espiritu Santo* (begun 1638) in Havana provides an example.

⁴⁸ Agusti M. p79-80 and 83-84. The times and skill levels/experience fit the sequence. In 1772, Medina went to Spain, Puerto Rico and returned to Havana after ten? years. He was skilled and famous. There is no definitive proof that he worked on the Parish Church or on the Cathedral.

later built government palaces and (Slide # 219) in the entryway to the Havana militia barracks. Both were similar to those of the church.

Once all was ready, the Parish Church (Slide # 220) was, on 9 December 1777, with great ceremony and in an impressive procession, translated from its temporary home in the Church of *San Felipe de Neri* to its new location on the *plazuela*. A Grand Mass was said in a joyous celebration of the move and in honor of its patron saint *San Cristóbal*. The old Jesuit church had been resurrected to a new and significant purpose.

The Problem of the Arcades

The problem that surrounds the main arcades is one that involves their stability in the horizontal direction. Weiss noticed that the piers (Slide # 221) seemed to have shifted rearwards towards the head of the Church. A crucial indication of the movement was very apparent in the stonework of the last bay before the crossing. It showed a notable difference in the way that the springers sat on the imposts of the arch in relation to the angular cut that was given to these blocks.

There were other indications of the shift in this same area, and these showed up in the upper-works of the two piers of the crossing. The moldings were roughly presented when compared with other portions of the arcade; the line of the cornice with its less pronounced undulation showed a similar problem, the pilasters' capitals were 'uncomfortably' attached to both faces of the pier, and they failed to keep their proper relationship to the archivolt. These problems showed a failure in the stonework and the poor quality of the subsequent repairs.

There is another indication of the shifting problem and it lies in the stonework of the clerestory. A vertical belt of randomly placed stone blocks rises (Slide # 222) along one side of the buttresses-to-wall join. These blocks project out from the surface of the wall, and in the first instance could have anchored the original buttresses. At some later time, the arcade shifted and the buttresses may have been critically weakened. New ones were then put in place just downstream from the damaged units and these may have been given a greater thickness to assist with the stiffening of the arcade. Once the rebuilding was completed, the damaged masonry was removed and the original exposed projections were left open to the weather. This supposition is assisted by a difference in the technique of the buttresses/clerestory stonework (indicating a different mason at a later time).

Weiss also writes that the shift of the arcades was neutralized by the addition of stub walls (Slide # 223) that stood out into the area of the crossing. These buttressed the corner piers against the longitudinal force of the arcade and stopped the shift from worsening. The twin pulpits were removed from the piers and attached to the stubs and a stairway complex was built into each wall.

There were no signs of lateral movement in any of the crossing piers, (Slide # 224) nor was there any longitudinal movement in those of the chancel. The so-called 'great piers of the crossing' were in reality only articulated corners of large sections of wall, and they cannot be taken as a free-standing element. The side aisle end walls were a solid mass except for the small passageway that was enlarged during the second campaign (and further opened in Arteaga's time). The opposite facing walls of the sacristy chambers were similarly constructed and they were only pierced by their entrances. These four walls prevented any lateral movement of the corner piers. The chancel side walls were also a

solid mass (except for a small opening to each of the sacristy chambers, which again was later developed by Bishop Arteaga), and these allowed for no real possibility of any longitudinal movement towards the crossing.

The fact (Slide # 225) that there was no forward movement of the facade portion of the arcade could be attributed to the buttress-like front of the church that was in place from the beginning of the work on the arcade. The cross sectional bulk of the heavily anchored ornament allowed it to function as a buttress. Its depth was basically the same as that of the stub buttress of the crossing.

As to what caused the shift, there could be several explanations. The problem in the first instance likely lies with the Jesuit architect, who failed to design an adequate foundation, and that is obviously a very serious failure. There may have been some mitigating factors, the first of which may have been a water problem that attacked the footings and allowed for a degree of settling. The shift could also have resulted from the heavy crossing arches not being properly put in place when the clerestory was being added. The shift could even have occurred as a result of an earthquake or from the battering of a hurricane.⁴⁹ There is also the remote but interesting possibility that the arcade was never meant to carry a clerestory. That would have resulted in a lighter and less sensitive foundation, which may have moved with the weight of the upper walls.

One could only conclude that the arcade shifted and repairs were then made to restore the displaced stonework. There was a minimum of handling and the task was quickly and (at least on the inside) somewhat carelessly completed. The poor level of

⁴⁹ There was no earthquake study available on Havana that would relate date to damage.

workmanship indicated that the repairs had been undertaken after the Jesuits had departed. The process of stabilization and repair most likely was dealt with just following Bishop Hechevarria's campaign (or possibly just at its end). Certainly it was done after the clerestory had been completed, and a reasonable guess would place the repair and stabilization work being undertaken during the 1780s. The problem of the arcade was resolved with the rebuilding that was undertaken in the 1940s.

The Problem of the Towers

The problem of the two towers involves the asymmetric aspect of their design. As they now stand, the towers have harmonized the facade of the Cathedral with that of its surroundings, and they bring out an expression of the sensitive relationship between the building and the nearby urban spaces. The Jesuit norm (Slide # 226) would have called for towers that projected their own essence per the model shown in Cartagena.⁵⁰ This fortunately did not occur, even though the site plan could have undergone a lateral adjustment in the positioning of the building. Interesting is the fact that something else was intended from the very beginning.

Weiss presented evidence that showed that (Slide # 227) the greater of the two towers started off as a mirror image of its lesser, slimmer sister, and the evidence is still visible. The oculus of each tower lies at the same distance from the inner corners, they are of the same size, and they stand at the same height off the ground. Secondly, their likeness can also be seen in the chamfered vertical edges that are the same for both towers.

⁵⁰ Formidable towers on the church façade were a Jesuit constant. They tended to enroach on the centre block space and often placed the elegance of the main entry in a subservient position.

Lastly, Weiss reported that there were traces of a 'lesser' foundation in that of the greater tower.

But somewhere along the line at a point where the towers were well recognizable entities, someone changed his mind and the plans were modified. The cross section of the now main tower was widened and deepened on the exterior. This change is plainly visible in four main ways. The first (Slide # 228) shows a vertical linking of the ashlar that occurs just off the center-line of the main tower. It describes a line that indicates where the chamfered corner ashlar would have stood in the first instance. The second aspect involves the oculus which is situated well off the center-line of the greater tower (and directly on the center line of its slimmer sister). Such a placement would have been a non-standard practice in the Jesuit sphere where such a sign of secular disorder would never have been allowed (on a major facade). The position of the oculus would have been changed. A third feature is the stack of three stairwell light slits that now stand on the new center-line of the wider structure, as in that of its sister tower. These were emplaced during the rebuilding process. The last (Slide # 229) of these changes is seen in the way that the greater tower curls around the corner and bonds with the earlier placed wall surface of the building. There is an element of difference in the wall-to-wall join.

The intervention (Slide # 230) took place when the height of the main tower was about to reach the base of the bellcote. That is about the point that would have been reached at the time of the Expulsion, and certainly not earlier.⁵¹ A second indicator of the timeframe shows up in the overall lack of ornamentation on the towers. They display

⁵¹ From a generally comparative view of building in the Caribbean and in Europe.

none of the undulating forms that are so notable in the main block of the facade. These differences can be best accounted for in the financial context of the Parish Church. The simplified ornamentation, as it now stands, would have been much less costly than what the Jesuits had planned. It therefore appears that finalization of the function, design and ornamentation of the main tower was made during the second campaign.

Why the change? Three points come to mind. First, the lesser tower could not carry the weight of bells that were needed for the church's role as the *Parroquial Mayor*. Secondly, it was realized that two identical lesser type towers standing between the articulated main block would have given the facade a rather dismal, insignificant and off balanced look. And lastly, the design of the towers was the only part of the church that could undergo a degree of change without disturbing the ongoing construction. It is possible the Bishop and the parishioners wanted something that was very different from what the Jesuits had envisaged.

The Problem of the Facade

Weiss's last main observation concerns the main block of the facade (Slide # 231). The classic design of the lower level is more complete and more impressive than that of the upper and the situation becomes acutely more noticeable in the area of the cresting. The problem is one of continuity that was lessened by the neglect imposed on the upper works. It is seen in a variety of ways, from the omission of ornamental finials to the poor quality of the stonework and on to the unconscientiously haphazard termination of the moldings. It shows a change of spirit that does not relate to the whims of the master mason but to a definite de-emphasis of the original idea.

The stonework on the crestline projects an unprincipled state of completion and there is an inescapable weakness in its badly handled lines. When portions of the facade are viewed from above (Slide # 232) there are some notable lines of juncture and many of its elements and groupings are crudely built. There are also several places where ornamentation was supposed to be applied and none was provided. The (Slide # 233) weakly executed volutes discredit the joining of the center block to the towers. Only the balustrades give the upper part of the wing a degree of definition.

This view of the facade leaves us with the inescapable conclusion that although the bulk of the work on the both levels was generally to Jesuit design and specifications, the work on the upper cresting sees none of the strength of what lies below. No Jesuit institution would have ever left such an inattentive display of their architectural incompetence for the world to view.

We can only conclude that the crestline area was left by the Jesuits in an unfinished state. It was then quickly (and crudely) finished off in the late 1770s, and seemingly at the least cost to the parish, with little or no regard for the original design. Even if the drawings had been lost, the Jesuit concept must have been known, and something close to the original intent could have been projected onto the front of the building. This of course fuels the discussion over just what did the Jesuits plan for the upper-works of the main block (and the towers) and it certainly is not what exists today!

THE CATHEDRAL

In 1787, Rome directed the establishment of a new diocese and Tres Palacios became the first Bishop of Havana. Crown approval for the creation was received in 1793 and the rank of the *Parroquial Mayor* was officially elevated to that of Cathedral.⁵² Interesting here is the activity surrounding the selection of the site for the new Cathedral. One faction wanted to use the Church of *Santo Cristo* (Slide # 234) which had long held an important role in the processional circuit of the Parish. It was distant from the center of the city and the body of the church would have had to be heavily modified to suit the new role. Another group wanted to construct an entirely new building but that was too expensive and the acquisition of the land would have been a problem. As money was always a major concern, the answer was to employ the 'new' Parish Church in a more inclusive role, and so it became the seat of the new Bishopric. Some changes were made to suit the liturgical requirement and these had little impact on the fabric of the building.

Bishop Espada's Campaign (1810-25)

The third campaign likely started around 1810 (or earlier) (Slide # 235) under the reforming eye of Bishop Espada who considered the Cathedral as "hopelessly old fashioned."⁵³ His efforts were directed at modernizing the building with the Neo-classical tones that were so prominent in Europe. Espada also initiated a major (Slide # 236) change to the interior space by having 'the wooden *Mudéjar* ceilings concealed under (decorated) plaster vaults'. A stepped choir platform (Slide # 237) with a railing was

⁵² Album p75.

⁵³ Menocal, H. p58.

installed in the crossing. Colored marble was imported from Italy and it replaced the stone paving of the presbytery floor.

An Italian painter, Giuseppe Perovani, was commissioned (Slide # 238) to decorate the chancel (walls and lunettes) with frescoes and (Slide # 239) the main altar was rebuilt in the Neo-classical style under the direction of the Spanish sculptor Antonio Sola. The sculptural detail, the silver and gold-work and the rich marble-work of both the altar table and (Slide # 240) the marble columned and metal domed baldachino styled tabernacle were executed in Rome by the Italian artist, Bianchini.

It is also likely that the carved wood stalls (Slide # 241) and the pedimented throne were installed at this time. Espada removed the items that were considered to be in bad taste, and that included [some of] the altars and statues of the saints. He also replaced original grand masters oil paintings with works done by French artist Jean Baptist Vermay.⁵⁴ The chapel was rebuilt and richly decorated and was raised to the sacred status of a *Capilla Segrario*. New (Slide # 242) Neo-classical altars (designed by P. Abad Villarreal) were completed and installed in the side aisle and transept chapels. These replaced the Baroque originals of the Jesuits.

The *atrio* platform (Slide # 243) was rebuilt in a completely new (Slide # 244) design with a metal-railed front and flanking steps. Little else was done to the exterior except that lightning rods were installed in the towers.

⁵⁴ The subject of the old paintings is poorly stated. No specifics are available.

The Problem of Espada's Campaign

The difficulty here involves the removal of the Baroque altarworks, paintings and other decorations that were emplaced by the Jesuits and by Bishop Hechevarria. It also relates to the *Mudéjar* roof, which was covered over, and later lost when the ashlar vaults were installed. There are no remaining examples of the artwork, and the wood-vaulted ceiling prevented any record being made of the decorative detail of the earlier timber roof.

The Middle Years

Little of importance was done to the fabric of the building over the next one hundred years. We have mentioned the 1858 work on the Chapel vaults, and three years later the choir loft was enlarged to hold a new organ. The facade (Slide # 245) by the end of the century was showing obvious signs of deterioration. At some point before 1890 the metal railed *atrio* was replaced (Slide # 246) with a stepped platform. The new unit (Slide # 247) reached well forward, making the Cathedral entrance more accessible from the plaza and it allowed for a greater degree of social interaction.⁵⁵ During the 1920s, the (Slide # 248) bells were taken down and repaired, and in 1929, Professor Weiss presented his Cathedral plan and his later article, which provided an important key to the past.

⁵⁵ The available photos were examined for dating clues, such as horses, power lines, cars etc. which placed the timeframe in the 1920s.

Archbishop Arteaga's Campaign (1946-49)

The fourth and to date final campaign of construction was handled by Cardinal Archbishop Manuel Arteaga. The Cuban architect, Cristobal M. Marquez, was given charge of the project, and it ran from 1946-49.

The Cathedral work was preceded in 1934-35 by a project that involved the restoration of the plaza (Slide # 249). The architect was Luis B. Sevilla and his work was aimed at giving back to the area an air of its aristocratic past. The square was resurfaced and the casonas were refurbished and turned over to commerce. One aspect of the project (Slide # 250) involved the placement of the stepped platform from the front of the building. The task was handled by the architect Francisco R. Ovando, who took the forecourt back to the form of the 1815 intervention.⁵⁶ A change, however, was made for ceremonial purposes, that being a centrally placed set of steps on the main axis of the building. Another aspect saw a grouping of clocks (Slide # 251) installed in the belfry of the lesser tower of the Cathedral.

The fourth campaign was undertaken to the church to remedy 'the grave defects' of the construction that related to the original work on the foundations, to prop up the structure where it was in trouble, and to complete the needed repairs to the exterior surfaces. The plan was simply to cover up the badly deteriorated adornments of the wood vaults, whitewash the chapels, and carry out superficial repairs to the nave and side aisles.⁵⁷ The process was to have been restorative in nature, costing some 275.000 pesos.

⁵⁶ The form was clearly delineated in the underlying stone foundation.

⁵⁷ There were no available references dealing with the actualities of any exterior, foundation or other structural type work undertaken on the building.

Marquez, however, looked at his task with another purpose. He (Slide # 252) followed a course that involved radical changes to the interior. Vistas were opened, the spatial isolation of the different components of the building was reduced and a greater degree of light, ventilation, security and grandiosity was added. There was, as might be expected, some considerable disagreement as to the scope of the works undertaken by (and the authority of) Marquez.

The interior work (Slide # 253) mostly involved the replacement of the existing wood ceilings with vaults of quarried stone. The nave and transepts were given segmented barrel vaults that were broken by groin vaulted and ornamented dormers. The wall stubs (and the pulpits) were removed from the piers and the defective elements were rebuilt. The windows were worked over, trimmed with stone ornament and given ventilating louvers. A masonry choir balcony was built over the entry bay, replacing the earlier work. The vestibule now flowed into the space of the central aisle through a flattened arch. The (Slide # 254) end arches of the arcade were rebuilt to improve the overall security of the structure, the opening at the entrance to the side aisles was developed to duplicate the arched form of the arcade, and the painted frieze was removed from the entablature and from the capitals of the pilasters.

Looking at the transepts, activities here involved (Slide # 255) the continuation of the line of the cornice along the end wall (over the altar) and as everywhere the ornamentation of the windows. The space of the side aisles (Slide # 256) was opened to that of the transept through an arch similar to those of the arcade. The stepped platforms preceding the altars were eliminated and the floor was re-laid (some 1300 square m.) in polychrome marble in various rectangular patterns.

The (Slide # 257) choir platform that had previously occupied over half of the crossing was removed and wide steps were installed that led up to the main altar. A new eight windowed masonry dome replaced the earlier wood construction. A final touch included the tearing down of the wall stubs and the relocation of the pulpits to the chancel. A gaudy replaced the earlier one over the crossing.

At the same time the trompe d'oeil painted decoration of the presbytery was removed, the ceiling was given a simple cross vault, the walls received their carved stone crests, the frescoes of the three lunettes were restored, the alabaster windows were inserted in the rear wall and the line of the cornice was completed. Espada's baldachino was placed on a centered projection, and in front were two altar tables that carried the liturgical treasures of the Cathedral. The space of the chancel was opened to that of the sacristy chambers through the flattened arches. The throne of the Cardinal Archbishop was placed in the chapel (it appears to be a newer piece and was likely acquired after the turn of the century) and the choir stalls were moved to the sacristy. The entrances to the sacristy chambers were given a greater prominence and enhanced with a broken pediment. A low standing (Slide # 258) marble paneled Neo-classicized partition (with curtained side doors) was added across the rear wall.

The work was reported as dangerous and difficult. The vaults were left unfinished, in that they did not receive the requisite plasterwork and painted adornments typical of their European counterparts. This shortfall injects an unwelcome feeling of barren massivity into the interior, and at the same time it shows up some poorly jointed masonry.

The funds allotted in the first instance (for the restorative work) were obviously inadequate to cover the expanded scope of the work.⁵⁸ An additional sum of one million pesos was made available to the work through government allocations, through donations of involved principals, and by having the Cathedral declared a national monument.⁵⁹

The works continued over a period of two years and four months, the building was in a turmoil and visitors were allowed in only at specific times. The final touches were added in 1952 (Slide # 259) with the placing of modern styled statues of Columbus and Las Casas (by Cuban sculptor Sergio Lopez Mesa) in the niches of the facade. These were later removed by the Revolutionary government.

The Problem of Arteaga's Campaign

The last campaign, which was notable for the vaulting, also repaired the construction defects of the earlier years. The scope of these corrections made it almost impossible to conduct any sort of critical review of the engineering and the masonry techniques of the earlier campaigns. The mistakes have been built over and, except for the writings of Professor Weiss, there are no records of the problems that were encountered.

The Later Years

Likely in the late 1950s, the clocks were removed and since that time only two additional developments have had any further significance for the building. The first was the 1984 restoration of the Chapel and that has been covered. The second, and of lesser

⁵⁸ A block of scaffolding was reported to have cost 3000 pesos (Leu1 137).

⁵⁹ An amount of specifically directed funding would follow the declaration.

importance, was the undertaking of 1997 (Slide # 260) that prepared for the visit of Pope John Paul II. It involved some changes to the layout and decoration of the chancel. These (in addition to the ones previously described) involved the removal of the marbled backdrop that stood along the rear wall, the forward repositioning of the altar table, the reinstallation of the [Bishop Espada's] choir stalls (with a centrally placed throne chair) along the three sides of the chancel, and the placing of liturgical hangings on the north wall (covering the alabaster windows).

PRECEDENCE OF THE DESIGN

The precedence of the Jesuit design can be viewed as arriving from three directions; the first from the internationalism of the Order, the second from major works in the Americas, and the last from the forms that were already present in various churches and convents of Havana. The intention is not to belabor this aspect but to point out a few features that continue to run throughout the theme.

The precedence of the design is seen first and foremost as coming from the mother church of the Jesuits, *Il Gesù* (Slide # 261) that was begun in Rome in 1568. It was a compact work in the form of a basilica, it embodied the spirit of the Order, and it led into the era of the Baroque. *Il Gesù* provided the model with many of its architectural and ornamental forms being incorporated into the churches of the New World. Its two-storied facade displayed an overall unity of design and its frontispiece theme became a recurring motif. It highlighted a crowning pediment and a lesser scaled upper level that was linked to the lower by the same vertical rhythm and by voluted buttresses. The emphasis was on the main portal and it carried a dramatic concentration of features.

The Latin Cross plan (Slide # 262) opened out at the crossing. It embodied a balance of centralized and longitudinal features. The (Slide # 263) long nave and the darkened chapels herded the congregation towards the brightly lit crossing. There the attention of worshippers was given a strong emotional focus that was directed at the altar. The theater-like picture was enhanced by the richness of the decoration that bespoke the power and influence of the Order.

Many other European buildings could also have had some influence on the design of the Havana church. Foremost is that of the facade of *S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane*

(Slide # 264) in Rome (1633-67 by Francesco Borromini) which has been generally accepted by most Cuban academics as a major influence. The forms of its heavy moldings, niches and splayed columns, its emphasized portal and its pronounced two-story division were all reflected in the Jesuit construction.

Professor Prat Puig envisaged the (Slide # 265) Murcia Cathedral (1736-49 by Jaime Bort) as being the keynote inspiration.⁶⁰ Its commonalities include the heavy moldings that define the different levels, the emphasized portal with its splayed columns, the volutes and the balustrade. He (Slide # 266) interestingly developed the scenario to include a heavily formed hood in the upper works.

The fullness of the Jesuit facade is also reflected in the *Neūminster* of Wurzburg (Slide # 267) (1711-19) with its forceful ornament and decisive moldings. Another influential possibility (Slide # 268) comes from the Collegiate Church of *S. Telmo* (1724-34) in Seville that was designed by Leonardo da Figueroa. It has strong horizontal divisions and a similarly styled portal. Other lesser works and possible precedents can be seen in such as (Slide # 269) the portal of the chapel of the University of Salamanca.

Not to be omitted are a few of the possible influences that could have been transmitted from Jesuit constructions (now) existing in the Americas. They present a range of elements that may have been seen by our unknown architect, and any one (or more) of them could have added significantly to the design of the Havana building.

Looking at a few examples, one could ask if the towers were to carry strong moldings and dividing cornices (Slide # 270) like those of church in Zucatecas; were they

⁶⁰ F. Prat y Puig. "La Catedral de la Habana", Revista Bimestre Cubana. vol LXXII (1957) 57-59.

to be strongly developed (Slide # 271) like those of the church in Lima; or (Slide # 272) stubs like those of Sao Salvador; and (Slide # 273) were they heavily ornamented and articulated per the upper works of Quito? Was the cresting of the center (Slide # 274) block to be hooded like the one in Pisco; were the volutes (Slide # 275) meant to show a level of strength like the forms of *Francisco Xavier*; and was there to be (Slide # 276) a drummed dome like that of the church in Cartagena? And what about the (Slide # 277) interior: was it to be vaulted like that of *San Pabio*; decorated (Slide # 278) with frescoes as in Cordoba; and was the cornice (Slide # 279) to function as a railed gallery as it did in the Quito church? What about the College portal, (Slide # 280) was it linked with that of the Quito college? These answers may never be known, and the questions leave considerable room for speculation on certain aspects of the Jesuit design that could well have been derived from various New World precedents.

Another major influence had to be the need to rebuild the Havana Parish Church (Slide # 281), that was rapidly becoming too small for the growing population. The church had occupied the same place on the *Plaza de Armas* since 1556, and had been heavily damaged by pirate raids and hurricanes. The church elders, at the end of the 17th century, were looking at a new design. By 1735, they had developed their concept of a replacement structure and the plans were grand enough not to have gone unnoticed. The plan (Slide # 282), facade (Slide # 283) and elevation (Slide # 284) are of interest as they proclaim the faith of the city fathers in the substance of their modern Havana. The new Jesuit church could have been no less than what was planned for the Parish, and was likely to be even more impressive.

Other major constructions that could have had an effect on the Church would have come from the other religious entities. The Convent and Church of Our Lady of Bethlehem (Slide # 285) had placed a stamp of confidence and determination on the city. Its Mannerist and early Baroque touches date from 1718, and these give a degree of expression (mainly through strongly lined cornice, string courses and pilasters) both to the church facade and (Slide # 286) to the convent portal. The Convent and Church of *San Francisco de Asis* (Slide # 287) was rebuilt in an Early Baroque style from 1719-38. It presented a redesigned facade complete with statuary placed in niches and a high tower that dominated the skyline. Its (Slide # 288) balustrades and slotted buttresses offer a direct link to those forms of the Cathedral. The Hospital Church of *San Francisco de Paula* (Slide # 289) was totally reconstructed from 1735. Its new form was distinguished by a Latin Cross plan and a redesigned facade. *Paula* also had a (Slide # 290) vaulted roof that carried a decorated drum and a dome. An interesting precedence could also have come from the form of the (Slide # 291) Convent of *San Juan de Letran* (rebuilt 1704, now demolished). The church had a high, three story tower and the convent presented a well defined entrance. Lastly, (Slide # 292) the tower forms directly reflect those of the Church of *Santo Cristo* (rebuilt 1755). In all, these many constructions likely had some direct influence on the monumentalism, design, and ornamentation of the Jesuit Church (and the portal of the College). An interesting point is what was so obviously missing, that of the influence of the plateresque frills of the Spanish Baroque which was so noticeable in the mid 17th century tower roof of the Church of *San Agustín*.

ATTRIBUTION OF THE DESIGN

Who designed the old church? Most likely we will never know the name of the architect.⁶¹ Suggestions have been made that include an unknown professional from Europe, and a Jesuit who was brought in for the task from one of the progressive regional schools such as were established in the Spanish Netherlands or in France. One could even speculate that there was a degree of collaboration between an amateur who was well skilled in the architectural forum (such as those of the Order of St. John in Malta) and a professional master builder. If Professor Prat Puig is correct, then Bort could well have drawn up the design and forwarded it to Havana for onsite execution by a *maestro mayor*. There was also a sufficient and well-trained pool of talent that was available in Mexico where great buildings were being constructed.⁶² What we do know is that the gentleman was an intellectual and a highly skilled architect, and his interpretation of the facade (even in European circles) was well advanced for the time.

Perhaps however, we should not look so far afield and peer more closely at the resident Cuban (and Peninsular) architects. Only one person has received any formal mention; that is, Pedro de Medina, to whom the building was incorrectly attributed in a

⁶¹ The term architect (*maestro*) is used throughout, so as to minimize any confusion, differing from masons, carpenters and the like. The *maestro* refers to a skilled professional licensed to undertake a certain scale of work, and he could be in charge of a specific site, such as a convent. The *maestro mayor* was appointed to a specific project (that was closely related to the public realm) with the appropriate all encompassing responsibility. Author Unknown. Architectural Practice in Mexico City, trans. M. Schuetz, Tuscon: Univ of Arizona Press, 1987. 6, 20, 37, 39, 45, 53 and 66. They differ from the military engineers who carried both a rank (i.e. *Tiente*) and a qualification (*Ingeniero Ordinario* or *Extraordinario*), and were sometimes denoted by their project position (*en Gefe*, if in charge, or *en Segundo*, if functioning as a deputy). M. Agusti. Edificios publicos de la Habana en el siglo XVIII. Valladolid: Univ of Valladolid, 1984. 79-84.

⁶² Puig claims that the church of *Santo Domingo* in Zacatecas was the inspiration for the design of the towers. F. Prat y Puig. "La Catedral de la Habana", 53. The problem here is that the tower design came later, and it was clearly reflected in the image of the Church of *Santo Cristo* in Havana.

1796 funeral oration. The error has been conveniently repeated over the years. He likely handled some of the work during Bishop Hechevarria's campaign and he may have been involved with the [later] repairs to the arcade. Medina was certainly involved in the Cathedral works that related to the liturgical type changes needed by the ecclesiastics during the late 1780's. In looking further back to the 1748-67 era, no names seem to be formally associated with the design or construction of the church.

But one name hesitatingly lies in the background, that of the Havana born architect Lorenzo Camacho, to whom has been attributed (Slide # 293) the *Capilla de Loreto*.⁶³ Other than this mention, his work and his life have no formal link to the Jesuit Church. But there is another side to the Camacho equation and it begs to be examined. The story starts in Guanabacoa (then a small but prosperous town not far from Havana) and it relates to the Church of *Santo Domingo* that was built there between 1728 and 1748. It was one of the largest and most important projects of that time, it was a complex undertaking, and Camacho was the architect of record.⁶⁴

Santo Domingo (Slide # 294) was situated on a small plaza not far from the main Parish Church. The facade (Slide # 295) carried a projecting center block and was divided horizontally by heavy, cornice-like moldings. The whole was topped by a multi-belled *espadaña* that was trimmed with heavy Borrominesque moldings and pierced by a quatrefoil. There were no towers (they were suggested) and (Slide # 296) columns and niches verticalized the facade.

⁶³ There was no available biographical data on this individual. He could have been a military engineer who took on (as did most) other projects.

⁶⁴ Joaquin Weiss. *La Arquitectura Colonial Cubana*. vol II. (Havana: Editorial de Arte y Literatura, 1972 and Editorial Pueblo y Educacion, 1985) 10.

The building was laid out (Slide # 297) in a Latin Cross plan. The (Slide # 298) chancel lay between the sacristy chambers. Its crossing (Slide # 299) engaged shallow transepts, the nave (Slide # 300) was defined by a four bay arcade and a vestibule bay lay inside the entrance. The side aisles (Slide # 301) ran the length of the nave and they carried (Slide # 302) wall mounted altars. The floor (Slide # 303) was paved with square-cut stone slabs and the building was covered (Slide # 304) with a carved wood roof finished in the *Mudéjar* style.

What is interesting about this church is that it has the same proportions as the Jesuit Church in Havana, in the modules and the general dimensions, and in the those of the niches, columns, entrances, etc. of the facade. It is almost as though the design was employed as the basis of the blueprint for the *San Ignacio* site. Indeed, if one had finished the upper works of the old Jesuit Church, in a like manner to that of *Santo Domingo*, the building would have had a better visual balance than it now carries.

In looking again at the *Paula* church in Havana (Slide # 305) we can see that the building although small, presents a very sophisticated and intellectualized form. The architect has not been identified. The three-part center block of the facade is framed by superimposed Doric columns and is divided by two levels of heavily lined moldings. Even with its (Slide # 306) different proportions its carries many of the same elements (columns niches, moldings and *espadaña*) as *Santo Domingo*.

Another development (Slide # 307) involves the small Convent Church of *San Francisco* (1720-35?) that is also located in Guanabacoa. It is attributed to *maestro Jose*

Perera who was trained by and worked for Camacho.⁶⁵ The church presents a simple facade that directly reflects the influence of *Santo Domingo*. Very specific are the relationships of the various elements comprising the center block (Slide # 308) and that of the tower to the facade as an entity.⁶⁶ Perera was the (onsite) architect of record, but undoubtedly it was Camacho who influenced the design and he may have assisted with the general supervision of the project. The building reinforces the Camacho tradition.

The Parish Church (Slide # 309) of *Santa Maria del Rosario* (1760-66) was also built by Perera. It in many ways was similar to the Convent Church *San Francisco*. Even though Camacho had died just about the time that the church was started, we can see the common thread of his influence in the forms (Slide # 310) of the center block of the facade and in the general layout of the building. Interesting is (Slide # 311) the design of the tower that is divided by heavy moldings into four distinct sections, and the shape of the bellcote openings. A further point of comparison can be seen on the rear face of the base of the tower. It holds an oculus to light the stairwell (Slide # 312) which is of the same size, shape and position as the one in the tower of the Cathedral. The work shows the acceptance of Camacho's position within Havana's architectural community.

A last notation relates to the availability of Camacho to undertake such a time-consuming project as one that involved the design and construction of the Jesuit Church. It is possible that he worked up the design for *San Francisco* in 1720 and likely supervised its construction. He then moved on to deal with *Santo Domingo* and started that project

⁶⁵ Interview Professor Herrera, Visit 98.

⁶⁶ The tower was taken down after being wrecked during a hurricane (1846). One only has to transpose the tower from *Santa Maria del Rosario* to this church to have a clear picture of the complex as it stood in the mid 1700's.

in 1730. Camacho worked on *Paula* from about 1735 to 1745 (probably doing the planning in the early 30's), he dealt with the design of the Jesuit Church in 1748 and immediately started on its construction including the work on the *Loreto* chapel. He may have assisted with the design of *Rosario* in the late 1750's. Camacho died in 1760.

This view of a number of church constructions simply carries too many coincidences to remain unstated, with the Camacho linkage being too obvious to be ignored. It appears that Camacho had the intellect, the skill, the experience, and the capability to design and execute a project on the scale of that of the Jesuit Church. The point of contention would appear to lie in the identity of the originator of the detail of the design of the main block of the facade. Camacho's facades contained the principles of the design, but not the developed detail. If he didn't actually handle the intellectualization of the ornamental program, he was more than able to understand, interpret and develop the details of the design, and deal with the construction of the building as a whole. All he would have needed was the general idea, and that could have been provided by a member of the Order who would have worked or traveled in Europe and had an excellent feel for the Baroque. Hence, it is my view that Lorenzo Camacho is very likely the responsible architect, and he should be awarded the credit for the unfinished church.

CONCLUSION

The Jesuit presence was profound. There were only 2200 Jesuits in Spanish America and their influence was out of proportion to their numbers. The Expulsion ordered in 1767 caused deep resentment among many Catholics and Indian converts towards the Crown. The mission villages fell apart, schools and universities declined⁶⁷, libraries disappeared, and hospitals and charities languished. The abandoned industries left a hole in the economic fabric of the overseas domain, their lands passed into the hands of the rich, and the Church as an entity lost much of its prestige. Havana was deprived of a major educational institution and the great church of the Jesuits stood untouched for the next five years.

Very little is known of the design and building of the building between 1749 and 1767, nor of its completion by the Parish in 1777. Certain architectural traits of the mother church helped guide the investigation, as did the prevalence of pre mid-century forms associated with important buildings in the Americas and especially in Havana. It was sincerely hoped at the outset that some additional light could be shed on the building. All available sources were examined and the results were somewhat disappointing. It is hoped that this paper will foster a greater flow of information surrounding the early period of the Cathedral. Archival material must not be held as the prerogative of the few but it should be readily accessible to scholars whose interests lie in the acquisition of the truth of the times.

⁶⁷ The Jesuit directed education system (in the Americas) virtually crumbled and took some one hundred years to rebuild.

Notably lacking was any later information (of the repair and restoration activity of the 1940s) that would illuminate the techniques and problems of the early works. It is important that a structured approach be built on over the coming years that will allow for a more complete picture of both the College and the Church.

A most interesting aspect of my study was the slow development of the theory that attributed the design of the Church to Lorenzo Camacho. It wasn't until I viewed his various works that certain parallels and coincidences became all too evident. The Jesuits would have only chosen a prestigious and experienced architect for such an important task and Camacho certainly fits the bill. Another was the gradual clarification of the substance of the Jesuit campaign which made the overall picture of Camacho's [possible] involvement somewhat easier to visualize. A third aspect was the realization that just possibly, the building was originally meant to carry a finely carved wood roof done in the traditional *Mudéjar* style, and that the concept of the vault came on at a later time. It will be interesting to see what further studies might reveal.

Some self-serving academics have pronounced on the 'style of the Cuban Baroque', and have classified the Cathedral (with no mention of the Jesuit Church) as one of a golden core of Havana's monumental buildings.⁶⁸ Perhaps what is really being seen is the ambiance of the city, one which has developed over a period of some 250 years. Here all of the past forms, including that of the Cathedral, have been blended together to create a special visual feeling. This ambiance is most visible when the city is examined through the eyes of a historian seeking something that transcends the mundane. The 'golden trio'

⁶⁸ Castro, M. typifies this position in her thesis El aspecto formal del Barroco Cubano, (University of Havana, 1940) 45-54.

(the Cathedral and the two palaces) are not Cuban but European in their design and the highly acclaimed 'style of the Cuban Baroque' is but a visual projection of the dynamic, wealthy and powerful City that has continued over the years.

As a last observation, it should be noted that since the Jesuit Church was never consecrated, I have refrained from giving it a specific name. The *San Ignacio* appellation is obviously what would have been used and the *calle* and the *ermita* designations leave little doubt in this direction.

Recommendations

A few recommendations are included for further academic study and for the preservation of archival material relating to the Church/Cathedral, the College/Seminary, and to the *Plazuela/Plaza*.

All photographs, magazine articles, drawings etc. pertaining to the Cathedral prior to 1946 need to be catalogued and consolidated under the control of, or listed with, the National Archive. Special emphasis should be given to the material that would present a view of the work accomplished during the first two building campaigns. A separate emphasis, perhaps because of a greater availability of material, might be placed on the changes carried out by Bishop Espada. The concept could be furthered by a centralized listing of all archival material involving the Plaza and the College/Seminary.

An academic review needs to be undertaken of the 1946-49 restoration of the Cathedral (and the Seminary). All of the information on the repair and restoration activities (on the wood vaults, on the arcade repairs, on the choir gallery etc.) needs to be detailed. The problem pertaining to the shift of the arcades might be examined in

conjunction with an engineering team to determine if it was caused by sinking foundations or by a badly built arcade, and if the early form was only meant to carry a wood roof. A similar review should be completed on the 1934-35 restoration and repair activities involving the Plaza. The 1984 repair and restoration activities involving the *Capilla de Loreto* also need to be documented and published. It would be an ideal topic for a directed thesis at the Art History Department of the University of Havana.

An informative study relating to the life and times of Lorenzo Camacho should be initiated. Particular emphasis should be given to his background and an assessment of his capability regarding the design of the Jesuit Church.

It would be interesting to examine various journals, sketches and paintings that may have been brought out of Havana by the English officers and others of the occupying force of the 1763. Perhaps these works may contain scraps of information on the state of construction of the Jesuit church.

Various academic personalities need to be interviewed and their impressions recorded for posterity (Professor Herrera, for example). Wherever possible their academic files should be requested for archival retention.

Unfortunately, the painted/frescoed spandrels of the pendentives were not replaced and their absence constitutes a notable void. Indeed the failure to develop the artwork of the vaults in general and thus complete what might be construed as the original Jesuit vision, is a glaring deficiency which should be rectified. It would be very interesting to come up with the concept of an eighteenth century decorative program for the vaults of the Jesuit Church. This too could be undertaken by the University.

Two of the architectural forms employed in the Jesuit Church and the College can be found in many of the residential and commercial buildings put up in the late eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These forms are the quatrefoil window and the molded portal, and their impact on the Havana scene could well be the subject of an academic work.

A last recommendation deals with the stonework and the possibility that a detailed study in this direction might produce a more definitive picture of just what was done during each of the first two campaigns.

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Convention for Timeline Bibliography References and Slide List Credits⁶⁹

(ADwg) Authors Drawing.

(Album) Commemorative Album of Belén, 1904.

(AP 1998) Authors Photo 1998, etc.

(APlan) Authors Plan.

(Arr) Arrate B.

(Bac) Bachiller y Morales Paseo Pintoresco por la Isla de Cuba, 1841, Havana, 171-72.

(BAN) Boletin Archivo Nacional de Cuba.

(Fer) Guide to the City of Havana.

(JW1) La Arquitectura Colonial Cubana, (18th c) 1985.

⁶⁹ References may be combined, i.e. Album/Leu1 106 states that the Commemorative Album section as quoted in "La Plaza de la Catedral" is at page 106. The short form is used occasionally to designate extracts from a body of written work, i.e. (JW1 45) denotes material is drawn from JW1 paragraph(s) at page 45.

- (JW2) La Catedral de la Habana.**
- (JW3) La Arquitectura Colonial Cubana, 1996.**
- (JW4) La Arquitectura Colonial Cubana, (16/17th c) 1972.**
- (Leu1) La Plaza de la Catedral Vol II.**
- (Leu2) La Habana Apuntes Historicos Vol II.**
- (Leu3) La Habana Apuntes Historicos Vol III.**
- (Mir) Religion y Politica.**
- (Men) Menocal.**
- (M/R) Martin and Rodriguiz.**
- (NA) Archivo Nacional de Cuba.**
- (NA Photo) Photo Archivo Nacional de Cuba.**
- (Pez) Pezuela J. Diccionario geografico, estadistico, historico de la Isla de Cuba, 1863, Havana, vol 3, 71.**
- (SanI) History of the Cuban Nation Vol I.**
- (SanII) History of the Cuban Nation Vol II.**
- (SanIII) History of the Cuban Nation Vol III.**
- (SanIV) History of the Cuban Nation Vol IV.**
- (Visit 96) Visit by author to Havana in 1996.**
- (Visit 97) Visit by author to Havana in 1997.**
- (Visit 98) Visit by author to Havana in 1998.**
- (Z/F) Guia de Arquitectura La Habana Colonial.**

APPENDIX A TIMELINE-THE PLAZA, SEMINARY AND THE CATHEDRAL

The Timeline lists the dated references to the *Plazeula* /Plaza (and the surrounding *casonas*), to the College/Seminary and to the Jesuit Church/Parish Church/Cathedral.

1550 The *Ciénaga* area held the terminus (now at the end of the *Calléjon del Chorro*) of the reservoir/cistern of the aqueduct *la Zanja Real*, which was built between 1550-1566 (major works)-1592 (final form) (Leu1 9/10).

1551 The area (at least from that time) was known as *la ciénaga* (*cabildo* minute 23 Oct, Leu1 11).

1556 Name now capitalized *la Ciénaga* (*cabildo* minute 9 Oct, Leu1 11).

1568-74 A small group of Jesuits were established in Havana, and although they were the first teachers in the city, they did not found any permanent educational establishments (SanI, 356).⁷⁰

1576 The Jesuits built a (one roomed?) hut of sticks and earth on a small piece of land provided/donated by one of their followers (*cabildo* minute 10 Feb, Leu1 11). It likely served as a chapel and appears to have been dedicated to *San Ignacio*, as mentioned in an undated but likely late 1500's *cabildo* minute, which also describes a wooden footbridge as being south of *San Ignacio* (JW1 88).

1577 The *Ciénaga* area was recognized as a part of the town adjoining the Royal fortress (*cabildo* minute 23 Aug, Leu1 12 & Leu2 75).

1584-1603 Various *cabildo* discussions centered on the need for hospital, college and an *ermita* in Havana. No specific sites were mentioned (NA, 5193955, .957, .959 and .960).

1587 The area was directly connected to the harbor, and was important for the supply of water (Crown communication 10 Jul, Leu1 12). A terminus for the aqueduct and a (large) cistern was under construction in the alleyway site to better supply the harbor area and ships with drinking water (*cabildo* minutes 14 Feb, 4 Mar & 30 Apr, Leu1 12).

1592 The aqueduct terminus at the *Plazuela* was detailed as operational (Leu2 73 & Fer 86).

⁷⁰ The *cabildo* had designated certain plots of land within the city boundaries that were dedicated to this end, but these could have been the blocks that were given to the Orders and not specifically for educational purposes. The first real centres of instruction appeared with the arrival of the Franciscans and the Dominicans from 1574 and 1578 respectively, who likely began teaching from their temporary quarters prior to their convents being developed.

cabildo approved and requested help from the Crown (*cabildo* minute 30 May, JW1 70-71).

1656 The Jesuit *Visitador* from the college at Campeche, Padre Roda, wrote the Crown and the General of *la Compañía*, concerning the need to establish a Jesuit teaching institution in Havana (*cabildo* minute 6 Apr, JW1 71).

1658 Nothing was heard of Padre Rodas initiative, and on 6 Apr, the request to found a convent of Jesuits was restated (JW1 71).

1682 The years from 1682-1700 saw various initiatives of the *cabildo* to further the cause of and to collect money for the founding of a college in the city (JW1 71).

1686 A dispatch to the Spanish court of 29 Oct expresses to the Crown the lack of response to the many requests for action to help found a college (Letter to the Havana *cabildo* 10 Nov, 1700, Leu1 25).

1687 A plan for a Jesuit college for Havana was drawn up (for the *cabildo*?) by Francisco Perez (JW3 250, the *Archivo General de Indias Mapas y Planos*, Santo Domingo, 58).

1689 Bishop Compostela (1687-1704) founded the “modest college” of *San Ambrosio* for the children of the parish (church choir boys and others?) in a house beside the Bishops palace (Fer 47). The school was endowed with twelve scholarships for students of the priesthood. (SanII 322)

1692 The College of *San Ambrosio* received its Royal sanction (Crown edict 9 Jul, Leu1 85).

1700 The Jesuits, supported by Bishop Compostela acquired a plot of land for 10,000 *pesos* for a mission and a college, bordering on the *Plazuela de la Ciénaga* “on the ear of the sea”. The area was previously occupied by huts of the fishermen. There they built a humble hermitage of sticks and a roof of palm thatch and mud, and dedicated it to *San Ignacio de Loyola* (Leu2 78 & Album/Leu1 27 & JW2 335). Compostela also, it appears, brought in some Padres (and a curriculum) from Mexico (from the Jesuit University of San Pablo?) to assist with the founding of the college. There appears to have been insufficient income to adequately support the effort. With the Bishops death, the effort lost its momentum and the group returned to Mexico (JW2 335). *Cabildo* meetings tabled a letter from Bishop Compostella (10 & 19 Nov) that discussed the founding and financing of a college, and they agreed that a foundation of the Jesuits would be a memorable event (Leu1 25-26).

1704 The *cabildo* minute of 17 June discusses the number of poor that needed medical attention and the general lack hospital services. It highlighted

the requirement for a Jesuit run hospital and an *ermita* in Havana (NA 4623076). A 19 Sep minute relates to two Jesuit Padres (Rector Andres and another professor) who appeared before the *cabildo* urging (and insisting) that the members make good use of the (visiting) *Visitador General y Provincial* of the Jesuit Order, who could authorize their Orders' involvement in the foundation of a college. The Jesuits determined that the *Plazuela* was the most convenient location to build their college and its grand church (Leu2 78). While the petition did not include the specific request to build the church, it must have been generally known that a large structure was to be built, and possibly that a portion of the *Plazuela* would likely be involved.⁷² The request created a furor, as in that part of the city there were no other plazas, the surrounding homeowners did not want any impeding of the rainwater runoff from the other portions of the city, the space was needed for fiestas, plays, and for military training and parade rehearsals, and most importantly, the *Plazuela* was required to function as a neighborhood market, a service area and water point for the ships in the harbor. This problem was well detailed in the *Procurador Generals'* submission to the *cabildo* on 24 Oct (Leu1 25-26) where he asked that the Jesuit request not be approved (Leu1 18 & Leu2 77). The *cabildo* was obliged to refuse the site permission and to direct the Jesuits to look at another, distant location (JW1 71). Throughout the decade, there was an ongoing battle between the Jesuits, and the neighborhood residents and the *cabildo*, over the impact the new institution would have on life in the area (Leu2 78), the dislocation to public life that the construction would occasion, the favoritism that the area would take on with respect to the remainder of the city, and over the Jesuit manipulations involving the acquisition of a piece of the *Plazuela* on which they would build the front part of the church (JW1 71). In general, the *cabildo*, throughout the first third of the century, opposed any enlargement of the College project, as well as any requests for additional land that would take away from the *Plazuela*. This stance brought them into conflict with the Jesuits (and others) at every turn (Leu2 78).

1705

The Jesuits were not put off, they pressured the (newly appointed) *cabildo* to repeal the earlier decision of the *Procurador General*. The *cabildo* reiterated the public inconvenience and the directive of the Crown that stated that public land and especially *la Ciénaga*, could not be touched. The Jesuits were accorded the choice of public land anywhere in the city (*cabildo* minute 20 Feb, JW1 72). The *Cabildo* minute of 5 Mar reinforced the Crowns dictum (of 1632) saying that it was seriously inconvenient to give up any public plaza and in particular, the *Ciénaga* (JW1 72).

1707

Doctor Teneza (*Casa Arcos*) received special permission from the *cabildo* (6 May), in compensation for his public service, to build an

⁷² The Leu1 extract of 24 Oct 1704, only mentions the founding of a college, while at Leu2 77 it specifically states the construction of a church. I took the position that the latter stance was implied in the foundation, and that the need for plaza land was a given part of the project.

arcaded portal on the *Plazuela* side of his home to make up for the space that was taken up by his clinic (JW1 45).⁷³

1710s-1720s The Jesuits, because of their commitment to the *Ciénaga* property and the established *ermita*, maintained their stance. They collected donations, and the public demand for a college persisted. Some 40,000 *pesos* in *hacienda* estate income was collected between 1713 and 1716 to help found the college (JW2 335).

1719/20 Construction began on the *Casa Bayona* (JW1 48).

1721 Royal proclamation (19 Dec) gave permission for the Jesuits to build a convent/college in the city of which a grand church was an implied component (Leu2 78 & JW1 72). (It should be noted that the main entrance to the *casona* lay and continued to do so, on *Calle de los Mercaderes*, the entrance from the *Plazuela* was symbolic. Initially before its further development, the portal only provided a shaded front and a upper level balcony).

1721-1726 The timely implementation of the college project was hindered by the *cabildo*'s application of various inconveniences relating to its location. There was also a new element of opposition from the other monastic Orders. As may be expected, the Jesuits were very active in countering the objections of the *cabildo*, the *casona* owners, and the other Orders (JW2 335 & JW1 72).

1724 Doctor Teneza (*Casa Arcos*) attempted to obtain permission from the *cabildo* (5 May), to acquire the adjoining alleyway for his clinic (because he had no patio) (JW1 45). The *cabildo* minute of 23 Jun, picked up on the determined opposition of the (other) well established Orders. It also professed that the location of the Jesuit college should be far from the other convents at the other end of the city where it could best serve the needs of that distant population (JW1 72).

1725 The Jesuits (appear to have) pushed the location definition process by starting some minor works at the site of the *ermita* (JW2 336). A document relates to the Jesuit desire not to be located away from the "gems of the population" and it questions the motives of their powerful rivals (the other Orders) in this matter (BAN Ano XIII, No. IV/JW2 335-336).

1726 For several years, there were discussions and proposals between the *cabildo* and the other Orders (and the Jesuits) for locating the College, for a variety of reasons, at what they considered to be a more suitable site at the other end of the city (JW1 72). The Jesuits petitioned the *cabildo*, on the 26 Jun, to defend the need for the college to be located in the city center, stating the spiritual comfort

⁷³ It should be noted that the main entrance to the *casona* lay and still does, on *Calle de los Mercaderes*. The entrance from the *Plazuela* was symbolic. At first, before its later development, the portal only provided a shaded front and an upper level balcony.

to have an arcaded porch (similar to that of the *Casa Jaruco*, of the *Plaza Nueva*). The porch roof was to lie over the street, with the arcade standing on the *Plazuela* (Leu1 18). This effort was turned away by the *Cabildo*, with the Royal decree of 1632 cited in the *cabildo* meetings of 13 and 20 Dec to prohibit any construction on the *Plazuela* (Leu1 18-19 & JW1 44).⁷⁷

1739 A city plan shows a corner plot for the Jesuit ermita that takes up only a fraction of the land now occupied by the Cathedral (JW3 fig317). It also shows the alley later closed off by the *Arcos* residence.

1741 Treasury official, Diego Penalver (*Casa Arcos*) received permission directly from the Captain-General to take four *varas* of land from the *Plazuela* for a porch on the front of his house (Leu1 103). The parish church of *San Cristóbal de la Habana*, in the *Plaza de Armas*, was wrecked when the warship "Invencible" blew up in the harbor. The church of *St. Philip of Neri* took up the parish function (JW1 57).

1746 The owner of *Casa Lombillo*, Don Pedroso, petitioned to and was authorized by the *Cabildo* (29 Jul) to balance the look of the *Plazuela* by adding an arcade of arches to the front in the same manner as his neighbor, so as to present a more proper facade to the *Plazuela* (JW1 44). On the same date, Penalver (*Casa Arcos*) who earlier had purchased a piece of property across the alleyway from his house that led onto a corner of the square, applied for permission to close off the *calléjon* that cut across his adjoining properties (JW1 44 & Leu1 112-13). There was a row Chacon of *Casa Bayona* over the blocking of the alley (JW1 45 & 48).

1748 The owner of *Casa Aguas Claras* received permission (7 May) to add a porch to the house extending out onto the *Plazuela* (JW1 47). By the middle of the century, the work on the Jesuit college had been completed, and an interim church looked after the religious needs of the community. The plan of the great church for the College brought out a major problem that required an allotment of land from the *Plazuela*.

The Jesuit Rector presented, to the *cabildo* on the 16 Aug, after consulting with the military engineer responsible for that part of the city, Lt Col Arredondo, the logic behind the needs and the details concerning the *Plazuela* land (a strip from one to two and a half *varas* in width across the north end) that was essential for the building of the great church. This essentially involved additional space for the base of the towers, the depth of the facade, and the *atrio* platform. In addition the Rector proposed to exchange a nearby property (of some one hundred *varas*) for the sixty to eighty *varas* that were needed from the *Plazuela* (NA N4623093 & Leu1 32).

The *cabildo* meeting on 23 Aug, involved a strong reaction against the Jesuit proposal, stating that the extension would make travel on the public road dangerous, there would be

⁷⁷ It appears that the Jesuit intention to acquire a portion of the public land sparked an effort by some of the surrounding residents to improve the looks of the *Plazuela* by adding an arcaded front to their homes.

no space for workers and for public processions, there would be no walking space, it would be difficult for the houses around the square, owners did not want the mess of building, and the rain water would flood the plaza instead of draining off directly into the bay. The College they said, already had 60x30 *varas* of land available for the church and it did not need the extra space from the *Plazuela* (NA N5644865). A later meeting on 8 Nov, saw the introduction of a military survey map (made by Lt Col Arredondo), with the plan (and needs) of the church in relation to the *Plazuela*, which seemed to put an end to the opposition to the project. The site plan was officially approved on 11 Nov (NA 5644203 & Leu1 34) and the Jesuits had the needed authority from the *cabildo* to build out onto the *Plazuela*. They immediately started to work on the platform portion before the *cabildo* could reverse its decision (JW1 73).

1749 Work started on the great church (JW1 73).

1752 The *Capilla de Neustra Senora de Loreto* was the first section of the church to be constructed and it was started about this time. The chapel was wedged between the convent quadrangle and the main lines of the church, and it had its own entrance off *Calle San Ignacio*. It was built by architect Lorenzo Camacho (JW1 73 & Pez/Leu1 40).

1754 The Crown granted permission (6 Sep) to Plenaver (*Casa Arcos*) to close the alley. In compensation Chacon (*Casa Bayona*) was given permission to build a porch on the front of his home, out into the *Plazuela* (JW1 48).

1755 The *Capilla* was completed and consecrated by Bishop Morell de Santa Cruz (1754-68) (JW1 73 & Pez/Leu1 40).

1757 A city plan shows a larger block representing the Jesuit Church (JW1 fig 249).

1761 The works of the church were described as proceeding well. The view of the unfinished church was one of a solid, beautiful and well proportioned building. (Arr/Leu1 30 & JW1 74)

1763 A city plan shows a Latin cross symbol representing the Jesuit Church (JW1 fig 250). Its size is of a realistic scale to the actual church layout. The legend terms the property outline as belonging to the College of the Jesuits.

1767 The Royal decree (27 Feb) of Expulsion of the Jesuits from Cuba (effective 14 Jun) stopped work on the great church. Essentially, all of the college (and church) records were lost in the resulting confusion (JW1 74). At this time, the Jesuit college was finished and functioning, and the church although unfinished was being used for services (JW1 73). The Jesuit records were lost in the resulting confusion (JW1 74). In the fall, Bishop Hecheverria moved the *Colegio de San*

Ambrosio, to the now abandoned Jesuit property, installing it in the cloister of the convent (Z/F 73).

1768 The Bishop added the appellation of *San Carlos* in honor of the King, and the College was retitled *San Carlos y San Ambrosio*. It was also raised to the rank of a *Seminario Conciliar* (a chartered seminary) with the same prerogatives as its sister institutions back in Spain (Leu1 91 & JW1 76). Its role (as a Royal college) was to teach the humanities to the young, and its curriculum was not specifically directed towards religious studies (Leu1 86). Some work was (likely) undertaken to enlarge the Seminary (not confirmed, would however, have been additional offices and classrooms opening onto the two lesser courts, and possibly additional kitchen, living quarters and other facilities to handle the increased student population).

1769 The status of the work on the abandoned church was described as being very advanced (Arr/JW2 338).

1772 A Royal decree (11 Jul) authorized the translation of the *Parroquial Mayor*, from its temporary home (in the church of *St. Philip of Near*) to the abandoned church of the College of the Jesuits (Leu2 164). Work was begun to finish the building and make it more suitable for the function of a parish church. Some 86.500 pesos were collected to finish the construction of the abandoned building (JW1 73 & JW2 338). *Casa Aguas Claras* changes owners and added its second story. The detailed decoration of the windows and the portal was developed in the form of the *Casa Calvo de la Puerta/Casa de Correos* (JW1 47).

1773 A document listing Jesuit furniture, books and religious articles described the abandoned church (at the time of the listing) as being finished in principal (BNA Ano XVII, No. 1. & JW1 73 & JW2 338).

1774 The new and enlarged(?) Seminary was inaugurated (Fer 46). It carried an advanced curriculum for the times, one drawn from the leading institutions of Europe, which the College continued to maintain to the 1840's (San II 323).

1776 The Crown received a request from the Bishop for additional funds for the work on the church roof. Some 4000 pesos were provided (JW1 74). A city plan (street layout appears to be a direct copy of the 1763 plan) shows a Latin cross symbol representing the Jesuit church (JW1 fig 321). Its size is of a realistic scale to the actual church layout. The legend terms the church form as the *Parroquial Mayor* and the property outline as the *Colegio Seminario of S. Carlos and S. Ambrosio*.

1777 Work on the finishing and transformation of the Parish Church was completed under the hand of Bishop Hechevarria (?) (Leu1 39), which then moved from its temporary establishment in the Church of *San Felipe de Neri* to its new location on the *Plazuela de Cienaga* (JW1 74 & Leu2 164). An altar in the new

Parish Church was reworked and dedicated to *San Cristóbal* (the patron saint of Havana), with some? new images being substituted for the existing (Jesuit) ones (NA Folio note Caja 356, No 27).

1788 The island was divided into two dioceses. Construction was begun by the newly appointed *Obispo* Felipe Jose de Tres Palacios to transform the Parish Church to one of Cathedral rank (Leu1 39 & Leu2 164). Some modifications to the building were implemented to meet the liturgical requirement (JW1 74 & Leu1 39). The Oratory of *San Ignacio* was rededicated to *la Purisma (Santisima) Concepcion* (Leu2 78 & Leu2 164).

1792 *Casa Arcos* receives its upper story and grand palace-like windows (JW1 45).

1793 A Royal decree (Dec) confirmed the creation of the new diocese, the rank of the Parish Church was raised to that of Cathedral and Tres Palacios confirmed as the new Bishop of Havana (JW1 74 & Leu1 39).

1794 A torrential rainstorm ruined the holdings of the Cathedral archive (JW2 340).

1795 Bishop Tres Palacios completed some minor works on the Cathedral, involving the expansion of the choir into the crossing, and extending the choir well forward with a two step stair on the church axis (JW1 1928 plan). At the same time, the steps leading into the chapel from the crossing were removed and the side aisle arches opening to the crossing were enlarged, thus extending the spaciousness of the interior and simplifying any processional needs. This work was attributed to Pedro de Medina (JW2 341).

1796 At the funeral oration of Pedro de Medina, Dr. T. Romay attributed the Cathedral facade to Medina (Leu2 167). This attribution was questioned by Weiss (JW1 74 & JW2 355). The remains of Admiral C. Columbus were interred in Cathedral (Leu2 168).

1797 The curriculum became more complex and university oriented (Leu1 89).

1799 Bishop Tres Palacios dies (Leu1 75).

1800's Additional tier (a third story) of students quarters were added to the existing blocks (there are no details of what was done or the dates involved). The texts included material on the principles of electricity and fluid mechanics (no specific date, some original texts are on display in the Seminary museum)

1802 During his time, Bishop Juan Jose Diaz de Espada and Fernandez de Landa (1802-34) carried out important reforms and modernized the church. His became involved the destruction of adornments that were considered to be in bad taste including altars and statues of saints, and he substituted copies, by the French artist Jean Baptiste Vermay, of original grand masters paintings (Leu2 164).

1805 The painter Giuseppe Perovani was commissioned by Bishop Espanda to decorate the chancel with frescoes (on both the walls and lunettes) (Men 58 & Sev/Leu1 41).

1812 The stepped choir platform and its railing were installed in the crossing (JW2 342).

1814 There is some interior reworking and lightning rods were installed in the towers. *Obispo* Espada began the work (design by P. Abad Villarreal) on the new altars for the side aisle and transept chapels (Men 58 & M/R 75). Design for new *atrio* drawn up by Abad about this time (NA Plan).

1816 The reforming zeal of Bishop Espada and the institution of the public cemetery ended the tradition of church burials (Mir 30).

1817 New Neo-classical altars were completed and installed in the side aisle and transept chapels. These replaced the Baroque originals that were installed by the Jesuits. The chapel dedicated to the Virgin of Loreto was rebuilt and richly decorated. It was raised to a sacred status of a *Capilla Segrario* (Mir 81 & M/R 75).

1820 The main altar was rebuilt in the Neo-classical style under the direction of the Spanish sculptor, Antonio Sola. The sculptural detail, the silver and gold-work, and the rich marble-work of both the altar table and the tabernacle were executed in Rome by the Italian artist, Bianchini (M/R 75). A new marble floor replaced the stone paving (likely only in the chancel) (JW2 343 & JW1 75), with the platform portion of the crossing (assuming it was of this timeframe) receiving an elongated diamond, three color pattern with a broken center on the main axis (Leu1 photo *Coro antes* 1950). In addition, the cornice and moldings of the windows were trimmed like those of the Captain-Generals Palace (JW1 75). Espada also 'had the wooden *Mudéjar* ceilings concealed under plaster vaults' (Men 58), and the wood ceiling was dressed in plaster, smoothed out and decorated (footnote JW2 349).

1821 The *atrio* platform is rebuilt, with a metal railed front and flanking steps, replacing the older Jesuit construction (JW2 353 & NA Plan of about 1815 & Leu1 litho 1854).

1829 The colored marble for the presbytery floor was imported from Italy and donated by a parishioner (Sev/Leu1 41).

1898 The remains of Admiral Columbus were removed to the Seville Cathedral, in Spain (Leu2 168 & Leu1 68).

End 1800's/Beginning 1900's Plaza is simply paved with stone blocks and a gas-lit streetlight is installed in the centrally placed (horse) fountain (NA Photo of 1897-98 was taken from about the center of the Plaza, which could have held the fountain and gas lamp & NA Photo of Plaza in the early 1920's shows paving and gas lamp).

Mid 1900-20s During this timeframe, a new platform (with no railing) of layered steps [that was made of cement] was laid down at the front of the church. It reached well forward and was easily accessible from the Plaza (JW1 fig 118 & NA Photo, timeframe from photo brackets the date, but it could be earlier).

1915-20 The deteriorated condition of *Casas Banos* and *Aguas Claras* and poor state of repair of the *soportal* paving of the latter is noted (NA Photos). *Casa Bayona Casas Arcos* and *Lombillo* appear to have their original facades (NA Photos). The Cathedral bells were repaired (NA Photos, timeframe from photo brackets the date, but it could be earlier). Neo-classical interior of the Loreto Chapel (NA Photo, date could be anywhere from the late 1800's to about 1920).

1934-35 The Plaza underwent a process of restoration (by Cuban architect Luis B. Sevilla) giving back a air of the aristocratic past. The *casonas* were restored, and turned into shops, and the Plaza took on an air of lively action. *Casa Bayona* was first to be modified with its corner niche, decorated portal, quatrefoil windows, enhanced upper story window moldings, and cornice removed (work not started on *Casa Arcos* windows, NA Photo). The elevated forecourt of the cathedral (plan of 1928) was taken back (by Cuban architect Francisco R. Ovando), to the old, metal railed form of the early 1800's, which was clearly delineated in the excavation of the old stone foundation (Leu1 127-128, 1934/35? & NA Report by Sevilla, & Leu1 dwg dated 1854, & photo Visit 98) A stepped passage, for ceremonial uses, was opened on the axis at the front of the forecourt to the Plaza (Leu1 128 & photo Visit 98). The gas lamp pole and fountain were removed, new (synthetic) cobblestones were emplaced on the Plaza (NA Photo) and any applied plaster-work was removed from the exterior of the buildings (revealing the original stone) surrounding the Plaza. (Interview Prof. Pedro Herrera Visit 98). There was a discussion of moving the 1847 memorial to the sailors who died during the Spanish Wars, from the *Almeda de Paula* to the Plaza, which did not occur (Leu1 130). Clocks were installed in the lesser tower of the Cathedral (NA Photo). Coupled with the 1949 renovation of the Cathedral, the whole of the Plaza area was described as a beautiful scenario (Leu2 79).

1944 The Plaza and the surrounding *casonas*, the Chapel, the old seminary of *San Carlos* and the Cathedral were declared to be national monuments. (Leu1 143).

1945
Pastor (Leul 92).

The Seminary is renamed the *Seminario del Buen*

1946-49 During this period, the fabric of the Cathedral underwent a major intervention,⁸⁰ with the project being sponsored by Cardinal Archbishop Arteaga and directed by the architect Cristobal Martinez Marquez. The work was undertaken to remedy 'the grave defects' of the construction, relating to the original foundations constructed by the Jesuits. It also was to add a great degree of light, ventilation, security and grandiosity to the building. There was some disagreement on the scope of the works. The initial plan was only to prop up the building, remove or cover up the adornment of the vaults and cupolas, whitewash the chapels, and carry out superficial repairs to the nave and side aisles. Marquez, however, viewed his task in another light, conceiving a plan to undertake radical changes to interior along with the needed exterior repairs. The interior work focused on the substitution of the painted, false wood ceiling with a barrel vault made of cut stone (JW1 76). Other stonework involved the repairs to the arcade, the arches that were emplaced at the junctions between the crossing and the side aisles, between the sacristies and the main altar, and under the choir gallery. The works continued over a period of two years and four months, the Cathedral was in a turmoil, and visitors were allowed at specific times. Marquez also built a new facade for the Seminary, that faced onto *Avenida Tacon*, and had a degree of architectural unity with the Cathedral and the palaces of the *Plaza de Armas*. The 275,000 *pesos* first allotted to the project, were inadequate.⁸¹ Additional funds (1 million *pesos*) were acquired through donations of principals and government allocations. The Cathedral was declared a national monument, and that carried with it a degree of associated funding (Leul 135). Some restoration work was also completed on the convent, facilities were updated and a Neo-Baroque facade, based on that of the Cathedral, was emplaced on the new front facing *Calle San Telmo* (Z/F 73). The orientation of the Seminary was changed, the old entrance was shut down, and the harbor front became the focus of attention.

1984 The roof structure over the *Capilla de Loreto* rotted and collapsed, destroying the vault. The restoration and repair process was handled by the master architect, Daniel Toboada. The Chapel was reroofed (without the vault and the lantern) and walls were restored to (or close to) their original 1750's form (Z/F 75 & Visit 98).

1997 The visit of Pope John II initiated several interior changes to suit the liturgical requirement of the chancel. The Neo-classical altar of Bishop Espada was relocated in the *Capilla de Loreto*, the old choir stalls were moved from the sacristy to line the walls of the presbytery, the throne was established in the center of the choir, and the Cardinal Arch bishop's throne was placed in the sacristy (photo Visit 98).

⁸⁰ The basic reference material pertaining to the pre-1946 interior comes from the 1928-29 plan prepared by Weiss, and from several photos. Leul 135-37 and photos, and JW1 photos.

⁸¹ The actual costs are unknown.

1998

A major process of restoration was begun on the *Casa Arcos* that also involved the block across the closed off alley. The exterior work on the portion of the facade and the roof overlooking the Plaza had been completed in the 1935 phase (photo Visit 98). The tourist oriented market place activity had been removed to the street area in front of the Seminary (photo Visit 96).

APPENDIX B NOTES ON THE JESUITS IN SPANISH AMERICA.⁸²

The situation of the Jesuits both in Europe and in the Americas needs some further elaboration. The Society of Jesus was founded in 1534 by the Spaniard St. Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556). The Order functioned under the direction of its General who was resident in Rome, and carried a special allegiance to the Pope. One of the roles of the Order was to restore and strengthen the Catholic Church, and in this context it found itself in the forefront of the religious upheavals and conflicts of the times. The Jesuits were also involved as teachers and preachers, as advisors to kings and diplomats, and as missionaries. They won the support of powerful patrons, and although they were not priests, they became the confessors of monarchs, princes and important nobles. The Society realized the importance of education and the influence that would be gained from being involved in that process. One of the primary duties of the Jesuits was to enlighten and train the young; they were the principal teachers in the Crown sponsored universities, and their secondary schools and colleges provided the best possible education.

The Society was centralized and international, it was well organized, and by the end of the seventeenth century, it had become wealthy and it invested much of its fortune in land. Its missionary work in the New World took on political and military tones and a degree of benevolent paternalism. The padres took a realistic approach to all problems and their administrative system gave them a predominance in their overseas activities. Their various skills, coupled with their courage and their 'unimpeachable purity', created wide spread admiration and they won back the popular and royal respect for the clergy. A number were involved in historical writing, and their overseas reports propagandized their work and assisted the recruitment process. The Jesuits selected only the best, and their members were well trained and prepared for their work in the Americas.⁸³

The Jesuits were slow to arrive in Spanish America and there they played a lesser role, compared to that of the other Orders, such as the Dominicans and the Franciscans, who early on had gained the light of the King's glory.⁸⁴ The Jesuit influence had undoubtedly been tempered by the failure of their missionary adventure in Florida. Elsewhere they were "mostly active as teachers, and their colleges attracted an elite of Spanish-American youth".⁸⁵

⁸² Material is liberally drawn from Hayes and Cole, History of Europe since 1500 and Morner, The Expulsion of the Jesuits from Latin America, 6-27.

⁸³ A training academy was operated in Spain to prepare those members who were proceeding to duties in the New World.

⁸⁴ The Jesuits arrived early on in Portugese America. They quickly gained great power and influence.

⁸⁵ Morner, 11.

The Jesuits were able to maintain a balance between their worldly pursuits and the spiritual aims of the Order.⁸⁶ They operated on quite a different plane than did their opposite numbers—the plantation barons and estate owners who generally paid little attention to the economics of their situation. The merchant aristocrats were immersed in the competitive world of trade and they knew well the direction they had to take. The Jesuits well understood the basics of the economic system of the Antilles (which differed considerably from that of the mainland) and their good sense and efficient exploitation of their landed property and its associated resources implanted a different tone to the management of their business affairs. The whole was backed by a sound system of bookkeeping and administration.

The wealth of the Jesuits was derived from a variety of sources. It came from donations and a surprising variety of legacies, from mining, shipbuilding, factories, shops, farms, sugar and other plantations, cattle ranches, weaving mills, sugar refineries, and from buy-ins and from the supporting funds of the families of wealthy novices. This wealth was well spent, being applied to a broad variety of capital-enriching expenditures including all sorts of construction projects, the operation of their (tuition free) colleges, the development of their estates and *haciendas*, and the purchase of livestock and slaves.

So successful were the padres that they created many animosities. These included the loathing of the Protestants, the envy of the other religious orders, the fanaticism of the ex-Jesuits, the venomosity of the rationalists, the provoked hostility and suspicion of the *creoles* and ‘peninsulars’ towards the many non-Spanish Jesuits that were sent to the Americas, and the doubting sovereigns who perceived a threat to their absolutism with their unconditional obedience to their General and to the Pope (that went beyond their allegiance to the Crown).

Certain other characteristics contributed to the vulnerability of the Jesuits. They directly supported the Pope and could not accept bishoprics and similar posts, and this weakened their landed power base. The Crown needed to maintain control over the colleges and universities, and the Jesuits were determined to monopolize the higher level of education. Charles III was concerned that the Jesuit doctrine and teachings would later call his royal prerogatives into question and turn the students into thinking revolutionaries. The Society also faced a degree of moral decline that entered the Order during the era of the enlightenment, and for some, the economic and political commitments became ends instead of means. Their economic activities and especially those related to the practices of banking gave them an air of greatly exaggerated wealth. The size and the richness of the ornamentation and decoration of the colleges and churches embittered the inter-order and secular conflicts. In addition the Order’s generalized secretiveness left their activities open to wild speculation and exaggerated ideas.

It is difficult to clear away the reality from the web of myths that surrounded the expulsion of the Order from the Americas. The root was the result of an alleged Jesuit participation in an aristocratic conspiracy against the Portuguese king that eventually overflowed to the realm of the Spanish Crown. When the overall picture was brought into view, it was the European situation rather than their role in the Americans that brought on

⁸⁶ Material is liberally drawn from Morner, 96-103.

the expulsion. There is little doubt however, that the vastness of the Order's material holdings was the crucial factor in the Crown's decision to seize their lands.

The Jesuits were driven out of Portugal in 1759, and from France and Spain in 1767. The Society was formally suppressed by the Pope in 1773 (and reconstituted in 1814). Their role in America was significant, and they had, prior to 1600, established five colleges and a seminary on the mainland. The expulsion cut one of the strongest colony-crown links of the Spanish Empire.

GLOSSARY OF SPANISH-ENGLISH TERMS

<i>atrio</i>	elevated platform on the front of a church
<i>bohío</i>	hut of mud and sticks, with a thatch roof
<i>cabildo</i>	appointed town or city council
<i>calle</i>	street
<i>callejón</i>	alley
<i>capilla</i>	chapel
<i>casa</i>	house
<i>casona</i>	impressive palace-like home
<i>catedral</i>	cathedral
<i>colegio</i>	college
<i>la Compañía</i>	the Society of Jesus
<i>espadaña</i>	cresting or tower carrying bells
<i>ermita</i>	small neighborhood church
<i>hacienda</i>	ranch property
<i>maestro</i>	master craftsman, architect, etc.
<i>maestro mayor</i>	master in charge of a project and other maestros
<i>mudéjar</i>	style with predominant Moorish influences
<i>obispo</i>	bishop
<i>Parroquial Mayor</i>	main parish church of the city/town
<i>peso</i>	monetary unit
<i>piano nobile</i>	owners upper story, street view suite of rooms
<i>plazuela</i>	a lesser city square
<i>seminario</i>	seminary
<i>soportal</i>	arcaded balcony extending over the street/square
<i>traspatio</i>	a small service court at the rear of the property
<i>vara</i>	unit of measurement
<i>villa</i>	officially recognized town