

Forging Imperial Cities:
Seville and Formation of Civic Order in the Early Modern Hispanic World

By

©2014

Stephanie Stillo

Submitted to the graduate degree program in History and the Graduate Faculty of the University of Kansas in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Luis Corteguera
Chair

Marta Vicente

Elizabeth Kuznesof

Robert Schwaller

Patricia Manning

Date Defended: 12/11/2013

The Dissertation Committee for Stephanie Stillo certifies that this is the approved version of the following dissertation:

Forging Imperial Cities:
Seville and Formation of Civic Order in the Early Modern Hispanic World

Chairperson Luis Corteguera

Date Approved: 12/11/2013

Abstract

In 1503 the Spanish monarchy awarded the city of Seville a monopoly on Spanish-American trade. Serving as the gateway to Spain's lucrative Atlantic Empire for over two centuries, the city fashioned itself as an imperial capital, and natural successor to ancient Rome. Despite never serving as the official capital to the Spanish Habsburgs, civic authorities in Seville nonetheless expressed their city's wealth and nobility through an excess of laudatory histories, artwork, architectural renovations, and regional patron saints. This dissertation first contextualizes Seville's prominence by exploring how Phillip II's refusal to establish a permanent capital in Madrid until 1561 promoted competition between many cities in Castile, all of which saw themselves as potential contenders for the future imperial court. As Spain moved into Atlantic territories, this competition helped fashion the urban organizational strategy for colonial settlement in the New World. As Seville was the most important city in Spain during the early modern period, the city greatly influenced the conceptualization and development of Spanish-American cities between the late sixteenth to the early eighteenth centuries. Colonial capitals such as Mexico City found in Seville a language for expressing their inclusion in the Habsburgs' global empire through lavish ceremonies and architecture which could establish their New World cities as distinctly Spanish and Catholic. By placing Seville at the center of the empire, my research will act as an amendment to contemporary Spanish historiography which has failed to fully recognize the influence of Andalusia in early colonial development.

Acknowledgements

To Kimberly Lynn and Amanda Eurich at Western Washington University, I would like to extend my deepest gratitude. It was through their guidance and persistence that I found my way to the University of Kansas. I would also like to acknowledge the immeasurable contribution of my dissertation committee from the Department of History at the University of Kansas. I am exceptionally grateful for the guidance and unconditional patience of Luis Corteguera, who has defined what it means to be mentor. In addition, the intellectual contribution of Marta Vicente, Elizabeth Kuznesof, Robert Schwaller, and Patricia Manning cannot be overstated. Without their unique insight and enthusiasm about my interests, as well as their own, this project would not have been possible. I would also like to thank my graduate cohort at the University of Kansas. Their continued friendship and dedication to academic excellence has made my experience at KU truly exceptional. There were many academic bodies that contributed to this research project. I most gratefully acknowledge: the Council on Library and Information Resources, The Truman Foundation, the Council for European Studies, as well as the Department of History and the Department of Latin American Studies at the University of Kansas. Lastly, I would like to acknowledge the immeasurable personal support of my family, particularly Sara Christine Styles, Frank Stillo, Joshua Benjamin Stillo, Rebecca Stillo, and my fiancé, Shelby Lane Callaway.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	iii
Acknowledgements.....	iv
Introduction.....	1
Chapter 1:	20
Chapter 2.....	50
Chapter 3.....	81
Chapter 4.....	118
Conclusion.....	157
Bibliography.....	167

INTRODUCTION

“Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined.”¹

Benedict Anderson
Imagined Communities

“He who hath not seen Seville hath not seen wonder.”²

Richard Blome
Geographical Description of the Four Parts of the World (1670)

Spain and its Atlantic territories during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were a mosaic of old and new. In Castile, many regions were the product of Islamic domination in the medieval period, and possessed physical architecture, histories, and populaces which reflected their pre-Christian heritage. Efforts by local municipal authorities often embraced this non-Christian lineage, emphasizing their victory in the reconquest of Spain and imagining their region's history as sites of pitched battles against Islamic intruders. Promoting this narrative, cities like Seville and Toledo proudly recast their urban landscape as proof of their triumph over infidels and continued commitment to the Catholic faith. Civic monuments such as Seville's Giralda and Toledo's Santiago

¹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*, Rev. and extended ed. (New York: Verso, 1991). 6.

² Richard Blome, *A geographical description of the four parts of the world taken from the notes and workes of the famous Monsieur Sanson, geographer to the French king, and other eminent travellers and authors* (London: Printed by T. N. for R. Blome, 1670). 7-8.

del Arrabal - both mosques converted into churches – became layered narratives about both cities’ complicated past.³ Cities in Spanish-America were met with an equally challenging physical and conceptual landscape. Colonial officials, merchants, settlers and mendicant orders were constantly preoccupied by their efforts to integrate indigenous and African peoples into their social, political, and historical frameworks. As Spanish colonialism spread deeper into American territories, the question of how to unite disparate populations across vast distances became a vexing question to officials on both sides of the Atlantic.

In an attempt to locate commonality, or a sense of community, in Spain’s complex, pre-national empire, this dissertation poses a fundamental question: In an empire which spanned two oceans and several continents and ruled over populations which lacked historic and linguistic commonality, where do we find what Benedict Anderson calls “stretchable nets” of cohesion and identity?⁴ In short, how did the monarchy and the people throughout Spain’s vast empire feel connected to one another?

This dissertation will argue that cities became the necessary imaginary for uniting the Habsburgs’ diverse populations both in Castile and their Spanish-American territories. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, urban centers in the Spanish empire united in festivals, artwork, and architecture that could prove their urban, and thus civilized, identity to the monarchy. In early modern Castile, urbanity became synonymous with civility. Spanish cities became the backdrop for

³ While some cities effectively recast their past to reaffirm their relevance to the monarchy, other cities in Castile declined in significance due to their inability to reconcile their history of Islamic dominance to a supposedly unified Christian present. For example, despite the efforts of civic leaders in Granada to distance the city from its Moorish heritage through overt displays of loyalty to the crown and mythologized local histories, the city continued to struggle with its non-Christian past throughout the early modern period. For this see, William Childers, “Granada”: Race and Place in Early Modern Spain,” in *Spectacle and Topophilia: Reading Early Modern and Postmodern Hispanic Cultures*, ed. David R. Castillo and Bradley J. Nelson (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2011). For successful attempts at reform, see Chapters One and Two of this dissertation, which were greatly influenced by the informative work, Amanda Wunder, “Classical, Christian, and Muslim Remains in the Construction of Imperial Seville (1520-1635),” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64, no. 2 (2003).

⁴ Anderson, *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*: 6.

visual and textual competitions to prove their historic ties to Catholicism and contemporary devotion to the crown. As Spain moved into Atlantic territories, cities became the organizational strategy for colonial settlement, making urban (or civic) identity the social and political bridge which united the Habsburgs' diverse populations across the ocean. Attempting to exceed the grandeur and wealth of their Old World contemporaries, New World city officials funded festivals and artwork which recast the physical landscape of colonial cities as an ideal urban setting realized, arguing that Spanish-America uniquely lacked the architectural constraints of established Old World cities.

Key to understanding Spain's urban imaginary during the early modern period is locating comparable models. This proves no easy task in sixteenth- and seventeen-century Spain. Most urban historians interested in European cities focus on metropolises such as London, Paris, or Rome, all capital cities which remained intact and undisputed from their founding to present day. Historical cities in the Iberian Peninsula present a more challenging framework, in that the Spanish Habsburgs were itinerant until the late sixteenth century, and thus lacked a central capital or royal court. The region consisted of a multiplicity of kingdoms, each with different cities of importance. Even when Philip II moved the royal court to Madrid in 1561, the city had to undergo decades of construction to become an imperial capital. Consequently, cities such as Toledo, Valladolid, and Seville all maintained royal palaces, and each saw themselves as potential contenders for the imperial court, publically vying for the king's attention throughout the sixteenth century.⁵

⁵ Seville, for example, maintained the Royal Alcázar; an exquisitely decorated castle built during the Almohades Dynasty which became a favored retreat for many of the Habsburg monarchs. In regards to public competition, see the commissioning of El Greco for a series of idealized cityscape paintings of Toledo (specifically *View of Toledo*, *View and Plan of Toledo*, and *Saint Joseph and the Christ Child*) which were part of a larger urban project to lure Philip II back to the city after he moved the imperial capital to Madrid. For a short but informative article on this topic see Jonathan Brown and Richard Kagan, "View of Toledo," *Studies in the History of Art* 11(1982).

Despite fierce competition between cities in Spain, when architects began construction on important civic institutions in the Americas, and historians and cartographers began to textually and visually fold the history and geography of the New World into that of Europe, tropes of an urban, civilized city emerged. This dissertation argues that during this brief but critical period, the southern Andalusian port-city of Seville became the Spanish model for colonial cities, emerging as what one contemporary author called the “cultural north” of the empire. In addition to the city’s influence in Spain, Seville provided an effective and convenient model for New World capitals struggling to meet the challenges of diverse populations with non-Christian histories. By visually and textually performing Seville’s urban model, colonial capitals fortified their relatively new Spanish Catholic identity through architecture and public ceremonies which proclaimed their New World cities as functional and legitimate additions to the empire.

Seville’s prominence in the New World was foreshadowed by centuries of cultural dominance which began in Al-Andalus and did not wane until the Bourbons moved the imperial port monopoly from Seville to Cádiz in 1717. During the Moorish domination of Iberia, Seville emerged as an important trading city to the south, serving as the Almohad capital for a short time in the twelfth century. After the city’s reconquest in 1248, Seville remained an important Christian stronghold in the southern reaches of the Iberian Peninsula. Recognizing the strategic potential of a city located on Iberia’s only river navigable by oceangoing vessels (the Guadalquivir), Ferdinand and Isabella made Seville the exclusive receiving point for Spanish fleets carrying goods from the Americas. Seville also served as home to the *Casa de Contratación* (House of Contracts), the institution which the monarchy tasked with regulating trade and mapping Spain’s emerging global empire. Due its urban lineage, Seville culturally dominated even the most populated cities both in and outside of Andalusia by the sixteenth

century. Though equally beautiful, Granada and Córdoba lacked the Catholic pedigree and wealth of the port city on the Guadalquivir. In fact, local Sevillian authors were quick to slight their Andalusian neighbors on this point. Author Juan de Mal Lara condemned Córdoba and Granada for not mounting grand festivals for the monarchy due to the Alpujarras Rebellion (1568-1571). He noted, “One is unable to accuse Seville of such negligence...because it (the city) does not lack the riches nor the skills necessary” for such an important event.⁶ Even previous imperial cities such as Toledo and Valladolid, who often squabbled with Seville over its self-appointed title of imperial city, both had declined since the departure of Philip II in favor of Madrid in the 1560s. Sevillian authors were quick to note this decline as well. For example, Luis de Peraza’s *Historia de la Ciudad de Sevilla* decried Toledo’s role as an imperial capital, blaming the city for the years of Christian struggle resulting from the Muslim invasion in 711. In contrast, Peraza argued that Seville historically demonstrated its continued religious and political devotion through local martyrs who rejected paganism in the city as early as the third century.

From 1503 until 1717 Seville flourished as the figurative head of Spain’s overseas colonies, serving as key entrepôt for the Spanish treasure fleet, collecting imperial taxes on colonial inventories, and regulating the movement of people to the colonies. By the late sixteenth century the city had become one of the largest cities in Western Europe, equal to metropolitan centers such as Paris, Naples, and Venice. From the point of view of sixteenth-century Castilians, Seville was one of the most prolific examples of Reconquista. Mudéjar architecture⁷ dominated the city’s landscape, and reminded both residents and visitors of the city’s victory over the Almohad dynasty in the thirteenth century. Favored by the Habsburgs, the city hosted the marriage of Charles V to Isabel of

⁶ Juan de Mal Lara, *Recibimiento que hizo la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Sevilla a la C. R. M. del Rey don Felipe N. S., con una breve descripción de la ciudad y su tierra*, ed. Manuel Bernal Rodríguez, vol. 2, *Obras completas* (Madrid: Biblioteca Castro, 1570). 18.

⁷ A unique combination of Christian and Islamic architecture prominent in southern Spain

Portugal in the 1520s, received Philip II amidst his victory in the Alpujarras Mountains in the 1560s, and was periodically home to pivotal imperial politicians such as the Gaspar de Guzmán, the Count-Duke of Olivares. Relishing both the attention of the Habsburg monarchs, as well as a sizable tax on all good coming from Atlantic trade, the city continued to foster its civic beauty with extensive construction projects. Municipal government built new hospitals, prisons, and theaters, while private wealth funded the construction of new monasteries, sites of pilgrimage, and grand palaces.⁸ Famous Spanish author Miguel de Cervantes mocked the city's many excesses in 1598 by writing, "what a shame it is that all this will not last a century, oh great Seville, a Rome triumphant in your spirit and nobility!"⁹ Despite Cervantes' hyperbole which derided Seville's obvious self-promotion, municipal leaders and city fathers projected an image of urban civility that transformed Seville into what local priest Alonso Morgado called, "not a city, but a world."¹⁰

This dissertation will assign the culture which arose in Seville during the sixteenth and seventeenth century the title of civic (or urban) identity. This identity had a functional purpose in the Spanish empire, most specifically solidifying communal bonds through shared experiences, identification with specific concepts (such as religion and citizenship), and creating a common past. Historians Judith Owens, Greg T. Smith, and Glenn Clark identify the constellation of social and economic factors which effectively broke up prevailing feudal models and moved urban social relationships forward in the early modern world: "The concentration of energy, resources and ideas in larger European centers made for a new kind of public sociability, a body politic, that was more carefully attuned to the internal needs of urban organization... City life created and required kinds of

⁸ Richard Kagan, "Cities of the Golden Age," in *Spanish cities of the golden age : the views of Anton van den Wyngaerde*, ed. Richard Kagan (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 79.

⁹ John H. Elliott, "The Seville of Velázquez," in *Velázquez in Seville*, ed. Michael Clarke (Edinburgh: National Trustees of the National Galleries of Scotland, 1996), 20.

¹⁰ For more on Morgado, see the introduction to Mary Elizabeth Perry, *Gender and disorder in early modern Seville* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990). 1-3. Also see Ronald Cueto, "The Great Babylon of Spain: Politics, Religion and Piety in the Seville of Velázquez," in *Velázquez in Seville*, ed. Michael Clarke (Edinburgh: National Trustees of the National Galleries of Scotland, 1996), 29-30.

association, patterns of operational logic, and grids of coherence that were different from those possible in rural life.”¹¹ Historians Alev Çinar and Thomas Bender identify this urban grid of coherence as a collective imagination.¹² They point out that urban identity was a narrative, reified through repetition and exposure to symbols. As a city expressed its collective identity, its use of well-known symbols in art, architecture, history and public festivals grafted this narrative onto city spaces, and indeed into the consciousness of its inhabitants.¹³ Seminal urban historian Lewis Mumford affirmed the impact of such visual and textual narratives in cities in his simple but elegant assertion that, as people shape a city, a city simultaneously shapes a people.¹⁴

Seville’s urban identity also fit into larger contemporary discourses about civility. Definitions of civility in Spain were based most notably on classical models, the adoption of Aristotle’s *polis*, or *res publica* (commonwealth, or the basis of a Republic as adopted by the Romans), to a Christian model. European intellectuals using Aristotelian principles to guide civic organization argued that law, order, and morality were some of the many benefits of living in an urban setting. However, early modern Spanish intellectual did not use the modern word “civilization” to define this term. Rather, they employed the label *policía*. As defined in the *Tesoro de la lengua castellana*, *policía* emphasized the well-being of the community over the individual.¹⁵ The suppression of individual interest in exchange for the interest of the community was guaranteed by the rigorous promotion of order, which lay in the establishment of laws and

¹¹ Judith Owens, Greg T. Smith, and Glenn Clark, *City limits : perspectives on the historical European city* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010). 12.

¹² Collective imagination in urban centers well covered in the introduction to Thomas Bender and Alev Cinar, "The City: Experience, Imagination and Place," in *Urban imaginaries: locating the modern city*, ed. Thomas Bender and Alev Cinar (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007).

¹³ For more on collective imagination, see Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the politics of history*, Gender and culture (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988). 28-53.

¹⁴ Lewis Mumford, *The culture of cities* (New York,: Harcourt, 1938); ———, *The city in history: its origins, its transformations, and its prospects*, [1st ed. (New York,: Harcourt, 1961).

¹⁵ Richard Kagan and Fernando Marías, *Urban images of the Hispanic world, 1493-1793* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000). 27-28.

the enforcement of customs. Urban life was at the very core of this definition. In *Politics* Aristotle made this distinction clear by establishing the difference between city dwellers (*politicus*) and non-city dweller (*rusticulus*), suggesting the former to be a naturally superior “political animal” while the latter remained “tribeless, lawless...natural outcast” and “lover[s] of war.”¹⁶ The *Tesoro de la lengua castellana* noted the early modern adaptation of the Latin *rusticulus* as villain (*rústico*).¹⁷ The etymology between *rusticulus* (an individual who lives outside of a community) and *rústico* (an individual who is defined as a social outcast or criminal) underpin the idea that a city was defined not by geography, but a legitimate political community. *Policía* emerged in Spain as an idea which represented ideal individual behavior and suggested membership in a community through the adherence of communal laws and customs.¹⁸ In other words, to be part of the community meant the adoption and adherence to a range of “civilized” political rights, legal obligations, and cultural norms.¹⁹ Cities such as Seville promoted this cultural and religious community through the patronizing of arts, public festivals, and laudatory histories which spoke to a civilized urban identity, as well as the idea that to be separated from a political community meant to be separate from civilized culture, or an ordered hierarchical urban center.

In particular, this dissertation will explore the production and circulation of textual and visual urban narratives which reified civic identity. In doing so, we can begin to understand what a city meant to the empire during the sixteenth and seventeenth century. To *sevillanos*, Seville was one of the most religiously orthodox and culturally sophisticated cities in Spain. Proof of

¹⁶ Aristotle, *Politics*, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Library, 2001), <http://etext.virginia.edu/toc/modeng/public/AriPoli.html>. B2r-B2v.

¹⁷ Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*, ed. Ignacio Arellano and Rafael Zafra (Madrid: Universidad de Navarra, 2006). 1418.

¹⁸ Kagan and Marías, *Urban images of the Hispanic world, 1493-1793*: 28.

¹⁹ Edward Muir, *Ritual in early modern Europe*, 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005). 232.

this was embedded in local histories. Seville was founded by Greek and Roman heroes, won mighty battles against infidels, proved its Catholic devotion by the blood of ancient local martyrs, built grand monuments to their faith, and was rewarded by both God and crown for its loyal service. For lack of a more suitable comparison, contemporaries called the city a new Rome. As these images circulated through the city in textual narratives and public festivals, community leaders in Seville began to manufacture this identity in public architecture and commissioned artwork which hailed the city's prominence throughout the empire.

To the monarchy, Seville became an important economic and political ally while the king adjusted to sedentary rule in Madrid, a city that was only slowly transforming into a capital. As historian Sir J.H. Elliott noted, "The replacement of the warrior-king Charles V by a sedentary Philip II, who spent his working day at his desk surrounded by piles of documents, fittingly symbolized the transformation of the Spanish empire as it passed out of the age of the *conquistador* into the age of Civil Servant."²⁰ Under Philip II a unifying system of councils reorganized Spain's administrative machinery while attempting to observe the appropriate limits of royal intervention in local law and customs. Through these efforts, Philip II attempted to connect with his subject as a Spanish king. Historian Guy Lazure noted that unlike his father, Philip II, "badly needed to be recognized, not so much as King of Spain, but as a Spanish king."²¹ Henry Kamen affirmed Philip II's desire: "Unlike the monarchy of Charles V, that of Philip II became truly Spanish, and above all Castilian."²² Olivares made similar overtures to the king in December of 1624, stating that "The most important piece of business in your Monarchy is for You Majesty to make yourself King of Spain...And if

²⁰ John Huxtable Elliott, *Imperial Spain, 1469-1716* (New York: New American Library, 1977). 170.

²¹ Guy Lazure, "Possessing the Sacred: Monarchy and Identity in Philip II's Relic Collection at the Escorial," *Renaissance Quarterly* 60, no. 1 (2007): 64.

²² Henry Kamen, *Empire : How Spain became a world power, 1492-1763*, 1st American ed. (New York: Harper Collins, 2003). 161.

Your Majesty achieves this, you will be the most powerful prince in the world.”²³ Seville offered an ideal civic allegiance for the monarchy during this time of transition. Local authors pointed to Seville’s expanding infrastructure of hospitals, religious houses and public theaters as proof of the city’s ability to meet the needs of its inhabitants, and to protect against the social unrest which had befallen many of its neighbors in the sixteenth century. Local saints and heroes, protectors of this urban ideal, hung in important civic buildings and featured prominently in festivals which constantly renewed the city’s religious and political devotion. Their constant presence spoke to the enduring spiritual health of the well-kept populous, while civic and religious holidays imbued local sites with a history which underpinned the religious and economic goals of the monarchy. In Seville, the city emerged as an instrument of both the Catholic faith and the crown, with all hands (in theory) working for the continued health of God and king.

Testifying to Seville’s influences in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Habsburgs mirrored Seville’s ancient historical narrative in imperial histories. The most noticeable shift occurred in the proliferation of histories which created close ties between the monarchy and ancient Rome. Both Charles V (r. 1516-1556), Philip II (r. 1556-1598) and his grandson Philip IV (r. 1621-1665) sought to bolster popular international support in Europe by popularizing, and in some cases fabricating, the monarchy’s connection to the ancient imperial city-state. In the sixteenth-century, Charles V ordered Alfonso el Sabio’s thirteenth-century imperial history *Crónica General* undergo revisions to more thoroughly match the Habsburgs’ royal genealogy and contemporary expansion into new territories.²⁴ By the seventeenth-century the popularity of Alfonso’s revised history, as well as official royal histories such as Juan de Mariana’s *Historia General* (1619) and Antonio de Herrera

²³ Gaspar de Guzmán, *Memoriales y cartas del Conde Duque de Olivares*, ed. John Huxtable Elliott and José F. de la Peña, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Madrid: Alfaguara, 1978). 96-97.

²⁴ Richard Kagan, "Clio and the Crown: Writing History in Habsburg Spain," in *Spain, Europe and the Atlantic World: Essays in Honor of John H. Elliott*, ed. Richard Kagan and Geoffrey Parker (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 77.

y Tordesillas' *Historia general del mundo* (1601-1612), and the later four volume transatlantic addition *Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las islas y tierra firme* (1601-1615) positioned the monarchy as the natural, Christian successor to the Roman empire.²⁵

Seville also played a vital role in colonial development during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Facilitating some of the earliest economic and cultural connections between Europeans and the New World, Seville was one of the most important cities in Europe in the early stages of Atlantic expansion. When Christopher Columbus returned from the Caribbean, it was Seville that first witnessed his gifts of sweet potatoes, chili peppers, monkeys, parrots, gold and Caribbean natives destined for Ferdinand and Isabella. It was through Seville that tales of indigenous kingdoms conquered by Hernán Cortés and Francisco Pizarro entered into Castile, and later the wider European consciousness. Many explorers returning from Atlantic voyages carried exotic new commodities such as chocolate, tobacco, and hoards of gold as proof of their discovery. Recognition of Seville as one of the first Iberian landfalls for Spain's Atlantic fleets increased throughout the sixteenth century. In 1534, an official working in the treasury of Charles V wrote, "the quantity of gold that arrives every day from the Indies and especially from Peru is quite incredible; I think if this torrent of gold lasts even ten years, this city [Seville] will become the richest in the world."²⁶

Seville emerged as the bureaucratic head of this expanding colonial empire. Housing key institutions such as the Casa de Contratación (House of Trade), the Consulado (Seville's powerful merchant guild), and the Casa de Moneda (The Royal Mint), the city functioned as the most formidable arm pushing open the North and South American continents to Spanish settlement.²⁷ As conquistadors continued to move inland, waves of Sevillian merchants, cartographers, and urban

²⁵ Ibid., 80-81.

²⁶ Christopher M. Kennedy, *The evolution of great world cities : urban wealth and economic growth* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011). 34.

²⁷ Patrick O'Flanagan, *Port cities of Atlantic Iberia, c. 1500-1900* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2008).

planners became some of the earliest and most active contributors to colonial cities. The contribution of these early waves of immigration cannot be overstated. As independent contractors, mendicant orders, and merchants populated New World cities, they spread their version of urban identity into the Americas, a vision born largely out of their point of origin in Seville. When the crown issued the *Law of the Indies* (the official guidelines for the establishment of cities in the colonies in the late sixteenth century), merchants in Spanish-American cities had already begun the process of founding hospitals and great houses, Franciscans had built powerful monasteries, and municipal funds had been poured into public festivals to reeducate the indigenous populations about Spanish religion, culture, and monarchical authority.

In addition to colonial architecture and festivals, local and imperial preference for colonial cities manifested in cartography which supported Seville's notion of urban civility. Cartographic rendering of Spanish-American urban centers rejected pre-Columbian social and religious organization and valorized a Spanish urban civility by emphasizing Catholic orthodoxy and political allegiance to the Spanish crown. Similar to civic performances in Seville, urban cartography visualized Spanish-American territories as equally essential to their Iberian counterparts. Copied in manuscript and printed form throughout the early modern period, these images created a fraternity of urban communities which spanned the Atlantic and became important visual components of Spain's claims to overseas territories.

Whether textual or visual narratives, the unification of cities in Spain and Spanish-American territories was dependent on a high degree of performance. Judith Butler notes a similar framework when analyzing what she terms "intelligible" human engagement. In particular, Butler asks, what are the constraints for being a citizen or a woman?²⁸ While speaking on the topic of regulatory gender

²⁸ Judith Butler, *Gender trouble: feminism and the subversion of identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990). 58.

regimes, Butler notes, “When we ask what the conditions of intelligibility are by which the human emerges, by which the human is recognized...we are asking about conditions of intelligibility composed of norms, of practices, that have become presuppositional, without which we cannot think the human at all.”²⁹ Butler’s model of intelligibility allows us to reconsider the connection between primary materials such as art, architecture, and public festivals. Instead of a simple result of wealth from Atlantic trade, the visual and textual narratives of urban cities became pedagogical performances which signaled a healthy society. In Seville, city fathers established urban parameters of intelligibility through elaborate textual and visual narratives such as ceremonial performances, local and imperial histories, and public artwork which attempted to inscribed good governance and civic virtue. In Spanish-American cities, performing an intelligible urban identity marked not only regional conversion, but also inclusion in something larger and more universal for settlers spread out over vast distances.³⁰ Establishing a physical landscape (architecture and cartography) and set of social relationships (festivals) which resembled the parameters of urban civility in Seville, New World cities visually and conceptually placed themselves in the monarchy’s trading practices, political hierarchy, and imperial histories.

Performance not only established the parameters for inclusion, but also for separation. Municipal and religious authorities in Seville created a rich visual symbolism to publically establish boundaries between those with authority and those who were both historically and contemporaneously subject to their rule. These rituals of power ordered the world into categories which were manageable, and could be regulated. For example, penitential religious processions publicly contrasted the city’s Catholic community against marginalized peoples publically punished

²⁹ ———, "Doing Justice to Someone: Sex Reassignment and Allegories of Transsexuality," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 7, no. 4 (2001): 161.

³⁰ Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper, *Empires in world history: power and the politics of difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010). 126.

for overstepping the cultural boundaries of the city. In addition, civic architectural projects and artwork displayed strong religious and political leaders prevailing over sinner and infidel, or the more general theme of order over disorder. Threats to social order were perceived as both regional and imperial, and punishment reified the danger to both the local community and the crown. Michel Foucault recognized the performance of rejection and separation as a “power that presented rules and obligations as personal bonds...a power for which disobedience was an act of hostility, the first sign of rebellion.”³¹

Each chapter of this dissertation will analyze the symbolic language (or performance) of urban identity in various cities throughout the empire, paying particular attention to the way Seville shaped the development of urban centers in the New World. They will argue that the shadow of Seville is seen most significantly in the infrastructural design of colonial cities, as well as the pronounced emphasis on urban organization as the key to social stability. Though colonial cities did not resemble Seville to any great degree (by the sixteenth century Seville was a collage of several generations of various rulers) the development of urban centers in the Americas possessed a similar civic mentality as seen in Seville. Colonial histories folded themselves into a global Christian lineage, local saints preordained regional prominence, and urban architecture and city planning drew attention to sites which demonstrated their Catholic devotion and connection with the monarchy. The following chapters will attempt to connect these themes across the Atlantic by in great cities throughout the empire.

Chapters one and two will explore the visual and textual vocabulary of urban identity in Seville during its most formative years of the early modern period, from the early sixteenth century to the close of the seventeenth century. These chapters will first resituate Seville in current

³¹ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and punish : the birth of the prison*, 2nd Vintage Books ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1995). 57.

historiography regarding Spanish urbanization. Many historians explain Seville's distinction in Spain during the early modern period solely as the result of the monopolistic impulse of the Habsburg monarchs. Aurelio Espinosa argues that Iberian cities were the primary vehicle for the reform efforts of Charles V in Spain, and as the monarchy sought to incorporate Castilian municipalities and local aristocracy into a system of control after the Comuneros Revolt in the early sixteenth century, Charles V maintained consensus by working closely with local judiciaries and administrators who could effectively control taxation and quell local disputes, both of which were essential to maintaining Spain's burgeoning overseas empire for subsequent Habsburg kings.³² As Seville was the most important port city, its prominence seemed only natural. Historian Patrick O'Flanagan echoes Espinosa's argument by highlighting the profound economic interest of the Spanish monarchy in Atlantic trade. He suggests that Iberian port cities, especially Seville, were products of aggressive state intervention, particularly the Habsburgs' penchant for port monopolies. Seville's prominence was thus a desire of the monarchy to centralize trade in Seville so as to facilitate maritime networks and monitor the movement of people and goods, as well as levy taxes.³³

While Espinosa and O'Flanagan provide important background for the economic role of Seville in Habsburg Spain, the city was not solely the work of royal judiciaries and tax collectors. Like many cities in Iberia, Seville had a profound cultural component. Iberia's Islamic past, along with the perceived threats of *coverso*, *morisco*, and *alumbrado* religious and cultural corruption, made cities in Castile important cultural allies to the Habsburg monarchs. Cities such as Seville, Toledo, and Granada functioned as defenders of Catholicism and monarchical authority.

Beginning with Seville, cities in Spain during the sixteenth century began to fashion themselves as religious and political havens of Spanish civility. They argued for their historical significance to

³² Aurelio Espinosa, *The empire of the cities : emperor Charles V, the comunero revolt, and the transformation of the Spanish system* (Boston: Brill, 2009).

³³ O'Flanagan, *Port cities of Atlantic Iberia, c. 1500-1900*.

Castile, as well as their contribution to an expanding monarchy. Chapter one and two will explore the way local histories, municipal ordinances, devotional literature, artwork, public processions and architectural renovations all played a valuable role in creating a collective narrative about the city's antique past and distinguished present. It will demonstrate how ancient mythological and historical figures like Hercules, Julius Caesar, local patron saints such as Justa and Rufina and Fernando III of Castile appeared in public art and architecture as city founders, historical defenders of civic orthodoxy, and prophetic foreshadows of the Seville's early modern prominence. At the same time, Sevillian authors such as Antonio de Quintanadueñas, Rodrigo Caro, and Alonso Morgado spoke directly to Seville's history and ancient, Catholic orthodoxy. Seville's *cabildo* (municipal council), local nobility, church officials, and inquisitorial tribunal also collaborated on how to promote Seville's deep historical ties to antiquity, a populous defined by religious and political allegiance to their city (*patria*), and an economy fully devoted to the expansion and sustainability of Spain's expanding empire.

The third chapter will explore Spain's growing interest in cities throughout the empire by analyzing various cartographic representations of urban centers in the New World. When the Spanish arrived in the Americas in the late fifteenth century they began building cities. The initial voyages throughout the Caribbean were plagued by several largely unsuccessful attempts at urban settlement, the most obvious disappointments being the founding, and later failure, of La Navidad in 1493 and La Isabela a little over a decade later. However, by the end of Columbus' fourth voyage in the early sixteenth century, several successful urban sites such as Santo Domingo and Havana dotted the Greater Antilles and the coastal regions of Central America, facilitating trade between Iberia and the Caribbean territories. Movement into the interior of the northern and southern continents yielded even more profitable ventures for the Spanish. The discovery and subsequent conquest of

Tenochtitlan in 1521 gave rise to Mexico City, and later expanded to the foundation of urban sites such as Puebla (1531) and commercial centers such as San Francisco de Campeche (1540).

Conquistadors in South America similarly established the pivotal *Ciudad de los Reyes* (Lima) in 1535, which later prompted the founding of commercial urban sites such as Cartagena de Indias (1533) and Panama City (1519, resettled in 1671), both of which became important cities through which imperial authorities controlled their vast new territories in the north and south American continents.

This chapter will also trace Seville's decisive role in shaping the visual image of Spain's increasingly urban overseas empire. From the earliest voyages to the New World, the extraordinary maps of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century cosmographers in Seville were key to the process of Spanish discovery and settlement. Employed by the *Casa de Contratación*, famous cosmographers and explorers such as Amerigo Vespucci, Diego Gutiérrez, and later his son, Sancho Gutiérrez, Alonso de Santa Cruz, and Juan López de Velasco, diminished the great geographic and cultural divide between Spain and its colonies with the *Padrón Real* (a pattern or master chart), which presented the viewer with a visually unified empire.³⁴ As cities became the preferred method of Spanish settlement, there was an increasing demand for textual and cartographic views of urban centers in Spanish-American territories. Chapter three will explore the way contemporary authors described the New World (and its potential) by comparing its cities in Spain, particularly Seville. It will also explore the way Philip II's *Law of the Indies* and urban cartography adhered to the tenets of civility set down in the first two chapters, creating a visually verifiable trans-Atlantic community of cities.

³⁴ David Buisseret, "Spanish Colonial Cartography, 1450-1700," in *The History of Cartography: Cartography in the European Renaissance*, ed. David Woodward (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 1143-48.

The final chapter will explore the role of Seville in development of Mexico City during the early colonial period. It will address the way Seville offered an urban model where merchants and nobles shared common interests and expressed their civic devotion through lavish buildings and ceremonies which visualized their New World city as distinctly Spanish and Catholic. In particular, it will analyze the legacy of Seville's urban identity during a time of perceived crisis. In the 1640s, a rumored Jewish Portuguese conspiracy known as the *gran complicidad* rocked Mexico City, resulting in one of the largest *autos de fe* in colonial history. During the *auto*, Mexico City officials employed Iberian tropes of an ordered hierarchical Republic, rejecting the supposed religious and economic incursion and using the opportunity to prove their rightful and necessary inclusion in Spain's larger empire. The 1649 *auto* demonstrated that Mexico City remained closely tied to its reputation as an economic pivot of the empire, a reputation put forth by Sevillian merchants after settling in the colonial capital in the 1520s.

The conclusion of this dissertation will address new topics of research. In particular, it will outline a new project which utilizes the methodological combination of art and geography to explore the way early modern Europeans approached the subject of geography. In the wake of Atlantic exploration, Europeans began visually reforming a globe notably different from medieval histories and cosmologies. As Europeans learned about foreign geographies through mnemonic texts and images, they drew new comparison between themselves and foreign lands. Exploring the connection between the written word, art, and geography during the early modern period will allow historians to further explore the many different ways the New World was drawn into comparison with the Old. As the New World arrived in Europe in maps, natural histories, and exotic commodities, the globe divided into the continental structure of Europe, Asia, Africa and America. These divisions eventually came to categorized various human

communities into comparative frameworks, a phenomenon that Martin W. Lewis and Kären Wigen call a metageographical framework.³⁵ Exploring this development will also allow us to ask fundamentally new questions about the relationship between center and periphery, as well as the formation of identity on both sides of the Atlantic, for example, how and through what mediums did New World territories become intelligible to Europeans? And how, in turn, did European intelligibility of foreign lands change local identity throughout Europe?

³⁵ See Martin W. Lewis and Kären Wigen, *The myth of continents : a critique of metageography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997). 1-19.

CHAPTER ONE

The Universal Mother: Seville and the creation of a Spanish city in early modern Spain

¡oh, gran Sevilla!,
Roma triunfante en ánimo y riqueza!
Apostaré que la ánima del muerto,
por gozar este sitio, hoy ha dejado
el cielo, de que goza eternamente."³⁶

Miguel de Cervantes
Burlesque Sonnets, 17th Century

In 1637, devotional writer and hagiographer Antonio de Quintanadueñas published his treatise, *Santos de la ciudad de Sevilla*, in which he cataloged notable saints associated with the southern Andalusian city of Seville. As was often the case in Sevillian devotional literature and histories of the time, the native sister martyrs Justa and Rufina enjoyed pride of place. Quintanadueñas' story began during the Roman occupation of Iberia in the third century, then known as *Hispania*. Managing a small pottery shop in the center of Seville, the unwed sisters lived an austere life in which most of their earnings went to the small but devoted faction of Christians living under pagan Roman rule in the city. The sisters' life of humble obscurity ended during a celebratory procession honoring the goddess Venus in 287.³⁷ As the procession passed the sisters' shop, Quintanadueñas retold how Justa and Rufina grew enraged at the sight of pagan worship. In an act of defiance, the sisters denied the passing devotees alms for their idolatry,

³⁶ Oh great Seville, Rome triumphant in spirit and in riches! I'll wager that, to enjoy this spot the dead man's spirit has today abandoned Heaven, where he rests eternally. Adrienne Laskier Martín, *Cervantes and the Burlesque Sonnet* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991). 107-09.

³⁷ Antonio de Quintanadueñas, *Santos de la ciudad de Sevilla y su arzobispado: Fiestas, que su Santa Iglesia Metropolitana celebra* (Sevilla: por Francisco de Lyra, 1637). 83.

pulled down the statue of Venus, and shattered the pagan idol in the name of Christian piety. In retaliation, the processioners destroyed the sisters' shop and the two were carried to the Roman Prefect for punishment.³⁸ As retribution for the sisters' insolence, the Prefect ordered Justa and Rufina burned in the city square, a penalty that Quintanadueñas argued the sisters endured with the patience and fortitude of contemporary martyrs in Rome.³⁹

Antonio de Quintanadueñas was not the only contemporary Sevillian author who favored Justa and Rufina's remarkable story. Pulled from relative obscurity in medieval Spain, the sisters enjoyed wide recognition in Seville during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Broadly circulated texts and images weaved the *sevillanas*' heroic defense of Christianity into memorable events in Sevillian history, entrenching their local iconography and encouraging reflection on the sisters' ultimate sacrifice. Famous Sevillian historian Alonso Morgado, for example, mentioned the sisters as part of a pantheon of city founders in his *Historia de Sevilla* (1587), calling the sisters "glorious guardian patronesses of this great city" (*gloriosas patronas tutelares desta [sic] gran ciudad*).⁴⁰ Local friar José de Muñana, member of the *Orden del Colegio Mayor* in Seville, wrote an intimate account of the sisters' commitment to the city in his seventeenth-century manuscript. Originally part of a larger historical catalog about the many illustrious men and women born in Seville,⁴¹ Muñana used the life, good works, and continued admiration of the *patronas* as a template for all other potential biographies.⁴² Justa and Rufina's story also became entrenched in the city's architecture during the early modern period. Author Don Pablo de

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 84.

³⁹ Peter Cherry notes the biographical reference by Arana de Varflora in 1791. See Peter Cherry, "Santas Justa y Rufina: una nota iconográfica," in *En torno a Santa Rufina: Velázquez de lo íntimo a lo cortesano*, ed. Benito Navarrete Prieto, et al. (Sevilla: Centro Velázquez, 2008), 128-33. A more general synthesis of the sisters' martyrdom may also be seen in Perry, *Gender and disorder in early modern Seville*: 12.

⁴⁰ Alonso Morgado, *Historia de Sevilla* (Sevilla: en la imprenta de Andrea Pescioni y Iuan de Leon, 1587). 12.

⁴¹ Unfortunately, Muñana never finished his grand catalog. See, Diego Ignacio de Góngora, *Historia del Colegio Mayor de Sto. Tomás de Sevilla*, vol. 2 (Sevilla: E. Rasco, 1890). 211-12.

⁴² José de Muñana, *Sevilla ilustrada y defendida por las gloriosísimas vírgenes e invictísimas mártires sus hijas y tutelares patronas Sancta Justa y Sancta Rufina* (Sevilla 17th century).

Espinosa de los Monteros, for example, recounted an early sixteenth-century earthquake which nearly toppled the Giralda (a mosque converted into the city's iconic Christian bell tower in the thirteenth century). Espinosa noted that, were it not for the sisters' celestial protection the Christian bell tower would have surely fallen.⁴³ Popularization of Espinosa's story led to rumors of the sisters' particular affection for Seville, as well as reports of their secret burial at the base of the converted mosque.⁴⁴ Justa and Rufina's visual iconography complemented the popularity of local legend. Espinosa's story became linked to their iconography, inspiring artists such as Hernando de Esturmio, Miguel de Esquivel, Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, and later, Francisco Goya to memorialize the sisters' divine protection of Seville's most notable symbol of Christian triumph in grand paintings which hung in the most important civic and religious institutions in Spain.

Justa and Rufina's hagiography reified Seville's emerging civic narrative during the early modern period. Justa and Rufina's iconography spoke to the superiority of Seville's unique past, Catholic orthodoxy, and notable citizenry. Though the sisters' story crossed the Mediterranean to connect Seville to the great Roman Empire, Justa and Rufina's legend emphasized the city's early defense of Christianity, placing Seville as one of the earliest Catholic cities in Western Europe. The sisters' supposed spiritual protection over the Giralda, an architecture which epitomized Seville's continued defense of Catholicism, further defined them as defenders of the city's historical commitment to the faith. Festivals celebrating the sisters' civic commitment, many of which came to life in the writings of authors such as Muñana and Quintanadueñas,

⁴³ In emphasizing the popularity and persistence of this iconography, Justa and Rufina were also often mentioned as offering protection during Lisbon's late eighteenth-century earthquake.

⁴⁴ It is notable that there is no consensus regarding the sisters' final burial place, which Morgado admits in *Libro Segundo* of Morgado, *Historia de Sevilla*: 129. Though most accounts suggest their burial in Seville, notable alternatives include Burgos and the Asturias in Northern Spain. I attribute these variations not only to the widespread popularity of the sisters during the early modern period, but also the cultural influence of Seville during the formative years of their iconography. Regardless, the confusion undoubtedly encouraged speculation about their final resting place throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

emphasized Seville's continued commitment to the sisters' vision of a city devoted to Christian leadership.

Seville's civic patronage of the sister martyrs was part of a larger complex of public projects intended to connect Seville's ancient Catholic heritage to the city's early modern prominence in Iberia. As the Spanish Habsburgs shifted from an itinerant royal administration to one with a permanent royal capital in Madrid in the late sixteenth century, several cities in Castile conceived of themselves as potential future contenders for the imperial court. Publicly vying for the king's attention, cities such as Toledo, Valladolid, and Seville shifted their attention to civic beautification projects which spoke to the uniqueness of their particular city. However, during this time of competition Seville had a distinct advantage. Though the city remained one of the largest in Spain both before and after the Islamic domination of medieval Iberia, the establishment of the *Casa de Contratación* (the royal institution which regulated and taxed all goods from Atlantic trade) by Ferdinand and Isabella in 1503 solidified the city's economic prominence in Spain. In addition to the vast wealth of the Americas, the monarchy's desire to establish permanent trade relations with the American colonies also enlivened local olive production in Seville's fertile hinterlands. By the mid-sixteenth century, the city was one of the largest and wealthiest in Europe. Seville's 1634 *Ordenanças[sic] de Sevilla* (public ordinances of Seville) highlighted the city's unique role in Europe:

One can call it (Seville) unique, because it is the only one which all the nations depend on for support by the riches which they distribute, not only with the gold and silver which they bring from the armadas on the river, but with the most splendid and crucial fruits of life which are grown and produced in their countryside.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Juan Varela de Salamanca, "Ordenanças de Sevilla " (Sevilla1634), 8.

During this period, Seville fashioned itself as an imperial capital, an image commiserate with what civic authorities and city fathers felt was the financial gateway to Spain's lucrative colonies in the Americas. In an effort to make Seville more imperial looking, city leaders in the sixteenth and seventeenth century launched a campaign which valorized the city's physical topography and emphasized its historical connection to ancient Roman. During this period, local histories, artwork, municipal ordinances, and devotional literature became entangled visual and textual narratives justifying Seville's position as head of the Spanish Habsburgs' expansive empire. Central to this narrative was Seville's historic religious devotion. The triumphant death of Justa and Rufina, as well as the reconquest of the city by Fernando III of Castile (San Fernando) in 1248, became preludes to Seville's construction on what would become one of the largest cathedrals in Western Europe.⁴⁶ Recognizing the authority of Seville in Andalusia, Ferdinand and Isabella established one of the original inquisitorial tribunals in the city in 1480, and Catholic orthodoxy remained a key component to Sevillian identity throughout the early modern period. Claiming Seville's teleology of Christian devotion and urban civility dated back to the settlement of *Hispania* by the Romans, municipal governors, local nobles, artists, and authors explained their city's prominence as destined, with a wealth and nobility which was known "throughout the whole world."⁴⁷

This chapter will explore the textual and visual records which helped city fathers create Seville's early modern myths, paying particular attention to public works which classified the city as a well-ordered, Spanish, and Catholic metropolis. In addition to exploring Seville's perceived prominence, this chapter will also discuss the unmatched contribution of Sevillian merchants in maintaining the city's reputation well into the seventeenth century. As definitions

⁴⁶ Construction ended in 1506.

⁴⁷ Mal Lara, *Recibimiento que hizo la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Sevilla a la C. R. M. del Rey don Felipe N. S., con una breve descripción de la ciudad y su tierra*, 2: 10.

of nobility became more inclusive, merchants demonstrated their newly gifted titles by investing in public project which flaunted their newly ennobled status. In addition to the city's wealthy merchant community, notable Sevillian natives used their social and political networks to broadcast their city's cultural currency and prestige at the royal court in Madrid. Philip IV's royal favorite, the Count-Duke Olivares, for example, maintained a congenial intellectual rivalry with Fadrique Enríquez de Ribera, Duke of Alcalá, which helped local academies train famous artists, such as Diego Velázquez and Bartolomé Esteban Murillo. The combined effort of city fathers, ennobled merchants, artists, and local authors created a city whose reputation dominated Spain and memorized greater Europe for nearly two centuries.

A New Historical Narrative

Seville promoted its supposed superiority over other Iberian cities through the patronization of local artists and scholars who carefully crafted the city's visual and textual narratives about Seville's antique past and distinguished present. The presence of wealthy merchants in Seville during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries provided the necessary funds for this textual and visual refashioning. Historian Ruth Pike argues that despite residing in a region which historically viewed commerce and nobility as mutually exclusive, Sevillian merchants enjoyed an elevated status usually unbecoming of their occupation.⁴⁸ Due to lucrative trade with the Americas, the boundary which separated wealthy merchants and old noble houses remained extremely permeable in Seville during the sixteenth and seventeenth century. In fact,

⁴⁸ Ruth Pike, *Aristocrats and traders: Sevillian society in the sixteenth century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1972). 445. Beyond this marvelous study, also see her other very informative works on merchants in Seville. Most notably, ———, *Enterprise and adventure; the Genoese in Seville and the opening of the New World* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966); ———, *Linajudos and conversos in Seville : greed and prejudice in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain*, American university studies. IX, History (New York: Peter Lang, 2000).

sometimes well-established noble houses themselves could not resist the profits of Atlantic trade. Influential Sevillian magnates such as the Duke of Alcalá, as well as the grandson of Christopher Columbus, Alvaro Colón y Portugal, Count of Gelves, formed *compañías* (groups of wealthy investors) who outfitted ships for the *carrera de indias* (West Indies Convoy) and sold American merchandise and slaves at Seville's famous Arenal market.

Emboldened either by new wealth or the accumulation of additional riches from colonial trade, Sevillian merchants imaginatively constructed their family's lineage through commissioned histories and artwork, as well as private and charitable construction projects, throughout the city. In addition, prosperous petty merchants often purchased minor titles (*hidalguías*), held positions in municipal government, and dealt in maritime insurance, all of which served as a model to their (often hereditary) predecessors in the New World.⁴⁹

The contribution of merchants to the increasing grandeur of Seville's physical landscape cannot be overstated. Conscious of their recently ennobled status, merchants attempted to publically prove their nobility, an enthusiasm which fueled Seville's great construction boom in the late sixteenth century. Extant merchant wills identify their civic contribution. For example, Sevillian merchant Diego de Yaguas left nearly 60,000 ducats to be used for the construction of charitable institutions in Seville after his death.⁵⁰ Similarly, local merchant Hernado de Jaén, drawing public attention to his generous contribution to Seville's religious houses, commissioned Pedro de Campaña to create a life-size mural of the newly ennobled merchant kneeling before Christ in the Church of Santa Cruz in Seville.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Louisa Schell Hoberman, *Mexico's merchant elite, 1590-1660 : silver, state, and society* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991). 43.

⁵⁰ Pike, *Aristocrats and traders: Sevillian society in the sixteenth century*: 118.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 115.

As the physical landscape of Seville transitioned into a topography of a capital city, local authors began the process of aggressively rewriting the city's history to foreshadow its contemporary prominence. The most seminal author of this historical refashioning was Luis de Peraza. His work, *Historia de la Ciudad de Sevilla*, first published in 1535, set a notable standard for later historical revisions which occurred throughout Castile. Peraza's local history was the first to indulgently survey a Spanish city's origins, making close ties to ancient civilizations and connecting these civilizations to contemporaneous noble lineages and institutions.⁵² Peraza laid the foundation for Seville's contemporary prominence by suggesting that the city was founded by the ancient hero Hercules, and later settled by Julius Caesar during his exploration of *Hispania* in the first century. Peraza treated the later Islamic conquest of Iberia in 711 as a prelude to the city's reconquest by Fernando III of Castile in 1248, at which point Peraza argued Seville became a truly imperial city. As visual markers of Seville's historic prominence, Peraza describes the city's many plazas, noble palaces, hospitals, convents, and public markets – omitting the poverty, overflowing prisons, and poor quality of city streets which plagued Seville throughout the early modern period. Peraza concluded his history with a description of Seville's local government (*Cabildo Hispalense*) as the natural descendant of Rome (*Senado Romano*). Beyond Seville's connection with overseas territories, Peraza emphasized the city's regional influence. Like many cities in Spain, Seville's city council held jurisdiction over several surrounding regions. In total, Seville's cabildo heard requests and grievances from seventy-two towns and villages, all dependent on the city's market to sell their goods.⁵³ For Peraza, Seville's regional commitment, combined with the overseas economic responsibility of the *Casa de*

⁵² For more on this, see Kagan, "Cities of the Golden Age."

⁵³ Seville's regional jurisdiction was divided into four territories. Campiña de Utrera (south), Partido del Aljarafe y Ribera (west and north), Sierra de Constantina (northeast), and Sierra de Aroche (northwest). For a fascinating new work on the relationship between Seville's municipal councils and surrounding regions, see Kristy Wilson Bowers, *Plague and public health in early modern Seville* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2013).

Contratación, made Seville “above all the other cities” (*encima del resto de sus ciudades*) in Spain.⁵⁴

Many authors in Spain copied Peraza’s model narrative throughout the early modern period. In Seville, authors used Peraza as a collaborative source in publications which similarly referenced historical figures such as Hercules, Caesar, saints Justa and Rufina, and San Fernando as prophetic foreshadows of the city’s early modern dominance. Acclaimed poet and historian Rodrigo Caro, who also served as inspector of churches for the Sevillian inquisitorial tribunal, wrote *Antigüedades y principado de la ilustrísima ciudad de Sevilla* (1634) in which he suggested that Seville, as well as its outlining provinces, had been surrounded by ancient Roman settlements. In support of his narrative, Caro spent a good portion of his career reestablishing the route of Roman legions in southern Spain in an attempt to establish his home town of Utrera (southeast of Seville) as one of the earliest Roman settlements in the Iberian Peninsula.⁵⁵

Authors in other cities found Seville’s refashioned historical narrative useful in their own manipulation of the historical record, often with varying degrees of success. Historian Katie Harris, for example, analyzes the impact of the discovery of the Plomos of Sacromonte in Granada. The Plomos, a set of buried documents found in an abandoned tower in 1588, bore the signature of Saint Cecilio, one of Saint Peter’s original disciples. After their discovery, Granadan authors like Francisco Bermúdez de Pedraza claimed that the presence of Saint Cecilio in the city proved that Christianity had roots in Granada prior to the establishment of the Islamic monarchs in city during the eight century. The papacy eventually condemned the documents as a forgery in 1682, but Harris argues their existence throughout the early modern period allowed Granada to

⁵⁴ Luis de Peraza, *Historia de la ciudad de Sevilla* (Sevilla 1685). 2.

⁵⁵ Jonathan Brown, *Images and Ideas in Seventeenth-Century Spanish Paintings* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1978). 35-36.

divert attention away from their Islamic past and connect the city more thoroughly to the monarchy's Catholic reformation of the sixteenth century.⁵⁶

In addition to local histories, the Spanish Habsburgs also began recasting imperial histories to align their contemporary success with historical models. Charles V, Philip II and his grandson Philip IV all sought to bolster popular intercontinental support in Europe by popularizing, and in some cases fabricating, the monarchy's connection to famed people, artifacts, and events in European history. For example, in the sixteenth century, Charles V ordered Alfonso el Sabio's thirteenth-century glorified imperial history *Crónica General*, which envisioned the Spanish monarchy as Roman imperialists, undergo revisions to more thoroughly match the Habsburgs' royal genealogy and contemporary expansion into new territories.⁵⁷ By the seventeenth century, the popularity of the revised *Crónica* had spread to nearly every city in Spain.⁵⁸

Demonstrating their significance to local communities, histories both in Seville and the rest of Spain were preciously guarded. Attempts to manipulate the historical record by either individuals within a community or someone from a neighboring city could be met with physical intimidation and even destruction of property. As Seville held the distinguished position as custodian to one of Castile's only established printing presses during the early modern period, tensions were most often expressed through heated debates in publicly circulated printed materials.⁵⁹ For example, after Philip II abandoned Toledo as an imperial capital in favor of Madrid in the late sixteenth century, local Sevillian historian Alonso Morgado engaged in an

⁵⁶ Katie Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada : inventing a city's past in early modern Spain* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007). xvi.

⁵⁷ Kagan, "Clio and the Crown: Writing History in Habsburg Spain," 77.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 80-81.

⁵⁹ The most thoroughly researched work on Seville's printing press is Clive Griffin, *Los Cromberger : la historia de una imprenta del siglo XVI en Sevilla y Méjico* (Madrid: Ediciones de Cultura Hispánica, 1991).

unsolicited debate with Toledo over which city was more imperial. Just as Morgado foreshadowed Seville's prominence, Morgado foretold Toledo's loss of the imperial court due to the city's supposedly permissive attitude toward Islam and the Moorish invasion of 711. In contrast, Morgado argued that Seville maintained the supposedly unique designation as the *first* capital and court for the Christian Visigothic kings far before any Christian interest in Toledo.⁶⁰

In the 1630s another series of debates erupted between various authors in defense of "Sevilla, la Cabeza de España" (Seville as the "head" or leading city in Spain) against Juan Pueblo Mártir. According to local authors, Mártir's *Historia de la Ciudad de Cuenca* (1629) asserted that Seville and Córdoba "fueron de las que se levantaron por Comunidad" against Charles V (rose up against Charles V during the Comuneros Revolt). The claim placed the authors in the position of defending the city against Mártir's accusations of disloyalty, and their defensive approach was characteristically historical. The defense against Mártir's slanderous assertion relied heavily on the city's connection to men of historical import and their supposed affinity for Seville. Hercules and Augustus were listed as city fathers, while prominent contemporary Sevillian historians such as Rodrigo Caro were referenced to recount which cities were the "first to receive the faith" in Iberia, using the opportunity to note Seville's early reconquest and medieval Christian prominence in Andalusia.⁶¹ Richard Kagan notes that the politicizing of history throughout Spain during the early modern period became a matter of such pronounced local interest that texts became militarized. In fact, Kagan notes that it was not unusual to refer to history as a weapon, usually a lance or spear, to be deployed in accordance with particular local concerns.⁶²

⁶⁰ Morgado, *Historia de Sevilla*: 12.

⁶¹ Francisco Morovelli de Puebla, *Apología por la ciudad de Sevilla, cabeza de España* (Sevilla 1629).

⁶² Kagan, "Clio and the Crown: Writing History in Habsburg Spain," 207.

Visualizing the Narrative

In his treatise *Religiosas Estaciones* (c. 1630), seventeenth-century author Alonso Sánchez Gordillo emphasized Seville's supposedly famous religiosity by stating that; "Our city of Seville, Universal Plaza of the world, where all nations that exist on earth come to see, to look and to take, not only of its worldly wealth of riches, jewels, pearls, silver, gold, merchandise and fruits of the earth...but also of its spiritual wealth and good example, devotion and holiness."⁶³

The supposed piety of the Sevillian people was in fact favored topic of local authors. The *Ordenanças*, for example, referred to the way foreigners who visited the city marveled at Seville's superior citizenry:

But even they themselves (foreigners and visitors) come to this universal mother (*universal madre*) to partake in so much more wealth, relaxation, peace and prosperity than is available in their own *patria*. Even...people of lesser quality should speak with fear of its nobility...and the illustrious children of the city, which are so celebrated in the world for their great merits. Pointing to these impressions, one sees all proceeding from these admirable and prudent laws and ordinances by which this Republic is governed.⁶⁴

Civic iconography reified the virtuous citizenry claimed by so many authors in Seville. Famed local author and painter Francisco Pacheco suggested the close association between images and a healthy civic body in *El Arte de la Pintura* (The Art of Painting, 1640), stating that images were meant to "...govern the mind, move the will, and refresh the memory of divine

⁶³ The actual date of *Religiosas estaciones que frecuenta la devoción sevillana: observaciones* is unknown. Estimates are early seventeenth-century. See Lynn Matluck Brooks, *The dances of the processions of Seville in Spain's Golden Age*, Teatro del Siglo de Oro. Estudios de literatura 4 (Kassel: Ed. Reichenberger, 1988). 11.

⁶⁴ Salamanca, "Ordenanças de Sevilla " 8.

things...acts of patience, acts of justice, acts of chastity, gentleness, mercy, and disdain for this world...which are the principle paths that lead to blessedness.”⁶⁵

For many authors, including Pacheco, there were universal models of piety worthy of reflection by all communities in the empire. Marian devotion, for example, functioned as a model of motherhood and chastity which transcended regional difference. However, local patron saints had to serve the specific needs of a specific community, and their careers had to coincide with the unique safeguarding needs of a particular people.⁶⁶ Saint Julián, for example, rose to popularity after sixteenth-century plagues in Cuenca decimated much of the population. Though not part of his traditional hagiography, Julián became patron of Cuenca due to his inexplicable ability to guard against illness.⁶⁷ Other campaigns created intercessors based on both local need and regional popularity. Juan de Ribera’s promotion of local intercessor saints in Valencia prior to the expulsion of the *morisco* population in the late sixteenth-century suggests that local spiritual needs and historical memory were essential components to public support.⁶⁸

In Seville, regional need was tied to the city’s key role in American trade, as well as the impact of these social and economic entanglements. Rapid urban growth and constant immigration were often cited as potential harbingers of the decline by Spanish intellectuals. In 1539, Spanish writer Fray Antonio de Guevara valorized rural existence by comparing it to the cramped, loud, and impersonal reality of urban life.⁶⁹ Picaresque novels such as *La vida de y de sus fortunas y adversidades* (The life of Lázarillo de Tormes and his Fortunes and Adversities,

⁶⁵ Francisco Pacheco and F. J. Sánchez Cantón, *Arte de la pintura. Ed. del manuscrito original, acabado el 24 de enero de 1638* (Madrid: Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, 1956). Book 1, 189.

⁶⁶ Peter Burke, "How To Be a Counter-Reformation Saint," in *Religion and Society in Early Modern Europe 1500-1800*, ed. Kaspar von Greyerz (Boston: George Allen & Unwin, 1984), 45-47.

⁶⁷ Sara Nalle, "A Saint for All Seasons: The Cult of San Julián," in *Culture and Control in Counter-Reformation Spain*, ed. Anne J. Cruz and Mary Elizabeth Perry (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992), 43-47.

⁶⁸ Benjamin Ehlers, *Between Christians and Moriscos : Juan de Ribera and religious reform in Valencia, 1568-1614* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006). 67-72.

⁶⁹ James Casey, *Early modern Spain : a social history* (New York: Routledge, 1999). 112.

1554) made similar, albeit more entertaining, arguments through the experiences of characters such as Lázarillo de Tormes on the streets of Toledo. The establishment of additional orphanages and halfway houses after 1503 helped alleviate some tension in Seville, but the magnitude of the city's population fomented anxieties throughout the early modern period.

Particularly notable to many visitors to Seville was the city's day to day business. For example, historian Mary Elizabeth Perry famously writes that in 1525 a Venetian ambassador visited the city and matter-of-factly lamented that Seville had "fallen into the hands of women!"⁷⁰ The absence of spouses involved in the *carrera de indias* had indeed created new opportunities for women as property owners and independent businesswomen. In addition, readily available materials such as cloths, silks, and tapestries meant that local women could flaunt their wealth as much as their husbands.⁷¹

Women's engagement in public life exacerbated moralists' anxieties about the social decline.⁷² Even more than provincial hinterlands, which naturally regulated relationships between the sexes, urban churches in medieval and early modern cities advocated for a rigid hierarchy between men and women.⁷³ The arrival of Justa and Rufina into Seville's normative iconography addressed this fundamental tension by foregrounding women actively engaged in the city's commerce while aggressively maintaining their faith.

Valencian born humanist Juan Luis Vives' *Instrucción de la mujer cristiana* (The Education of Christian Women, 1523) explained the close alliance between gender and civic life

⁷⁰ Perry, *Gender and disorder in early modern Seville*: 14.

⁷¹ Laura Bass and Amanda Wunder, "The Veiled Ladies of the Early Modern Spanish World: Seduction and Scandal in Seville, Madrid, and Lima," *Hispanic Review* 77, no. 1 (2009): 112-22.

⁷² Dianne Webb's work with saints in medieval Italy argues that urban centers magnified problems through enhanced visibility and concentrated social anxiety. See Diana Webb, *Saints and cities in medieval Italy*, Manchester medieval sources series (New York: Manchester University Press, 2007). 17-23.

⁷³ Pia F. Cuneo, "Jörg Breu the Elder's Death of Lucretia: History, Sexuality and the State," in *Saints, Sinners and Sisters: Gender and Northern Art in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Jane L. Carroll and Alison G. Steward (Burlington: Ashgate, 2003), 30-32.

present in Justa and Rufina's iconography. Vives described the relationship between men and women as fundamentally connected to the formation and well-being of the state: "there is nothing so troublesome as sharing one's life with a person of no principles. And if this can be said with good cause of states, all the more justly can it be said of the individual household."⁷⁴ Though Vives found virginity the highest form of integrity, he suggested that virginity was not always bound to the corporal body. Married women, for example, could maintain what he called "integrity of the mind" through contemplation on devotional models.⁷⁵ More closely allied with contemplation and an intellectual purity, Vives suggested that every woman could be a "spouse of Christ by virtue of integrity of the mind."⁷⁶ Vives illustrated the efficacy of female integrity through historical precedent. He noted prominent Athenian and Roman women who "preserved a chaste mind," and noted that "history is full of examples, as is the common experience of life."⁷⁷ To this life Vives attributes so much admiration that "lions stand in awe of it."⁷⁸ Though Vives wrote before the popular height of Justa and Rufina iconography, the popularity of *Instrucción de la mujer cristiana* could have easily framed the sisters' hagiography.

Justa and Rufina's late arrival in Sevillian hagiography and local histories also suggest a deliberate inclusion. Despite the sisters' popularity in the seventeenth century, their story was omitted in Pedro de Ribadeneira's popular compendium, *Flos Sanctorum* (1616). Ribadeneira's exclusion was based on Justa and Rufina's absence from the *Roman Breviary*, the church's official liturgical guidebook. However, Justa and Rufina did make an appearance in the first volume of Alonso de Villegas' early seventeenth-century version of the *Flos Sanctorum*, where

⁷⁴ Juan Luis Vives, *The Education of a Christian Women: a sixteenth century manual*, trans. Charles Fantazzi (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000). 45.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 80.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 84.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 83.

their story was given new life as part of the reformed *Breviary*, and their story positioned in the chapter devoted to the “Life of Christ and the Lives of the Saints.”⁷⁹ In 1637, Antonio de Quintanadueñas, published his *Santos de la ciudad de Sevilla*, stressing Sevillian’s natural obligation to worship the sisters and their historic defense of the faith in Seville.

The story of Justa and Rufina’s death eventually moved beyond a solely pedagogical image for female piety in Seville. The sisters became universally popular figures in the city’s history. For example, Rordrigo Caro’s popular local history, *Antigüedades y principado de la ilustrísima ciudad de Sevilla* (1634) used the sisters as an allegory for the city’s transition from the paganism of the Greeks (Hercules) and Romans (Julius Caesar) to Christianity, which he argued flourished in the city from the third century onward.⁸⁰

Seville’s supposedly early conversion to the Catholic faith was a necessary component of the city’s emerging civic narrative. As discussed previously, authors such as Juan Pueblo Martyr who questioned Seville’s pedigree publically became the target of vicious attacks. Similarly, local artists visualized ties to early Christianity by highlighting the sisters’ historical role in Seville through public artwork. Sevillian artist Hernando de Esturmio’s 1555 painting of the sisters illustrated this close connection.⁸¹ (Fig. 1) Esturmio imagined Justa and Rufina within an atemporal frame (an image independent of time). This approach allowed Esturmio to effectively connect a variety of important moments in the sisters’ hagiography within in one image. Draped in humble attire and gently displaying the different varieties of pottery sold in their shop, Justa and Rufina stand in the forefront of the image. In the background Roman ruins flank an unfinished Giralda while figures at the base of the tower enact the procession which launched the

⁷⁹ Cherry, "Santas Justa y Rufina: una nota iconográfica," 127.

⁸⁰ Rodrigo Caro, *Antigüedades y principado de la ilustrísima ciudad de Sevilla* (Sevilla: A. Grande, 1634). 21-30.

⁸¹ Esturmio’s version represents an older vision of the sisters, one which emphasized their antiquity and close connection to the city’s history. Later versions made more marked distinctions between the sisters and the Giralda, the latter towering well above them to mark its dominance.

sisters to fame. The ruins surrounding the unfinished tower suggest a dual meaning. Though certainly evocative of Seville's connection to antiquity, the Giralda also signals the city's emergence from paganism at the hands of the sisters' Catholic faith. The Giralda, still in the early stages of construction, bypasses its traditional Islamic inception and instead focuses on the construction of the Christian bell tower over the minaret, alluding to the establishment of orthodoxy within the city as contemporaneous to that of Justa and Rufina.

Artwork which visualized the new narrative in local histories was an important addition to Seville's early modern claim to prominence. Like their textual counterparts, these visual histories bypassed, or redirected, the emphasis on medieval Islamic rule in Seville to create more linear connections to antique history and Catholic orthodoxy. Thus, Esturmio's inaccuracy was surely deliberate. The sisters died years before the first brick was laid for the mosque at the base of the Giralda, much less the grand cathedral which was to follow. Nonetheless, the close association between the sisters and the Giralda was necessary to publically reaffirm Seville's antiquity, its orthodoxy, and the city's ideal citizenry. The linkage between the sisters' antique history and the Giralda provided their images with the same sense of cultural superiority which often accompanied local histories and architectural aimed at publically displaying Seville's grand lineage.⁸² Justa and Rufina's early Christian martyrdom indicated this same distinctiveness by highlighting the city's historic superiority to other locations within Iberia.

Hoping to benefit from the prestige of a lively intellectual and artistic presence in Seville, the same magnates who funded many voyages across the Atlantic also patronized famous painters and sculptors. Seville's city council made this close connection clear when it convened in the summer of 1626 to discuss local Sevillian artist Francisco de Zurbarán's

⁸² Interesting correlations between exceptionalism and identity can be seen in Magali M Garrera, "Affections of the Heart: Female Imagery and the Notion of the Nation in Nineteenth-Century Mexico," in *Women and Art in Early Modern Latin America*, ed. Kellen Kee McIntyre and Richard E. Phillips (Boston: Brill, 2007).

commission for several painting which would hang in several of the city's prominent monastic houses. After a brief discussion regarding monetary compensation, council member Rodrigo Suárez stated, "painting is not among the lesser ornaments of a Republic, but rather one of the greatest."⁸³ Suárez' sentiment adorned the walls of the *Casa de Contratación* with Sevillian artist Alejo Fernandez's *Virgen de los Navegantes* (Virgin of the Seafarers, c. 1536)), depicting the Virgin Mary's robe enveloping Seville's notable explorers and cosmographers, such as Christopher Columbus, Juan de la Cosa, and Amerigo Vespucci.

The founding of Seville's School of Painting under Luis de Vargas and Pedro Campaña in the sixteenth century (renamed the Sevillian Academy by Francisco Pacheco in the early seventeenth century) also helped lay the foundation for Seville's historical reimagining. The contribution of the Sevillian Academy to the city's civic reimagining cannot be overstated. Aided by the popularity of the printing press and the lack of prestigious universities in many parts of Spain during early modern period, local academies became popular alternatives to university life for young intellectuals. Usually headed by a leading member of the community and financially supported by urban elites, local academies provided regional training for young intellectuals and became integral components of a city's social and political identity. Though the University of Salamanca remained essential to Spain's contemporary perception of proper intellectual training, local academies in Spain certainly benefited from the deinstitutionalization of intellectual life and the decline of the traditional university system during the early modern period.⁸⁴

For cities like Seville vying for the title of an imperial city, academies were essential. Though Seville in no way lacked the wealth or esteem of a true imperial city, it did not (nor had it ever) possessed the innate privilege and prestige of the Habsburg imperial court. The network

⁸³ Jonathan Brown, *Painting in Spain: 1500-1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998). 135.

⁸⁴ Stephen Pumfrey and Paolo Rossi, *Science, culture and popular belief in Renaissance Europe*, ed. Maurice Slawinski (New York: St. Martin's University Press, 1994). 40-45.

of local and foreign nobility which accompanied the royal household in cities such as Toledo, Valladolid, and Madrid created indispensable social networks for artists, poets, musicians and playwrights; connections which were not easy accessible outside the imperial capital. The Sevillian Academy filled the vacuum created by the absence of court-based patronage networks, a fact recognized by local elites. For example, local rivalries between Sevillian patrons such as Don Fernando Enríquez Afán de Ribera, the Duke of Alcalá, and Gaspar de Guzmán, Count-Duke of Olivares, often provided the funds necessary to promote Seville's elevated economic position both, as well as their rightful place among other Spanish intellectual centers such as Toledo, Salamanca and Madrid.⁸⁵

In particular, the Sevillian Academy aided in the promotion of Seville's early modern prominence by promoting urban identity through public artwork. Devoted to creating paintings which meticulously represented their subjects, art houses in Seville openly debated the appropriate use of material, technique, and perspective. Francisco Pacheco, censor of sacred images to Seville's inquisitorial tribunal and head of the Sevillian Academy in the seventeenth century, became a vocal advocate for this kind of standardization in local artwork, most significantly by emphasizing artists' important role in Catholic devotion. In his two volume treatise, *El Arte de la Pintura*, Pacheco argued that it was only through proper technique, intention, and intellectual preparation that works of art could serve "the glory of God, our [artists] education, and the teaching of our neighbor."⁸⁶ The *Arte* expanded on this civic devotion by stating that artists possessed in "their right hand the veneration of their *patria*, through their exemplary work and blessed life."⁸⁷

⁸⁵ For more on this subject, see the Conclusion of this dissertation.

⁸⁶ Pacheco and Sánchez Cantón, *Arte de la pintura. Ed. del manuscrito original, acabado el 24 de enero de 1638*: Book 1, 187.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, Book 1, 176.

Amassed over a lifetime of collaboration with fellow artists and intellectuals, Pacheco's *Arte* revealed an overt pride in both his *patria* and profession (*artífice supremo*, supreme artisan). Unsatisfied with Sevillian artists' close association with the mechanical rather than the liberal arts, Pacheco engaged in a methodical investigation of the genealogy of both artists and contemporary artistic method. The *Arte* weaved this genealogy through antique scholars, famed Renaissance artists, and into the works of Seville's most influential artists and intellectuals.

Though there was much in the *Arte* which outlined preferential artistic style, material, and technique, Pacheco entrenched his first book in Seville's narrative about civic exceptionalism. For example, the opening heading of the first book claimed to highlight the *Antigüedad y Grandezas del Arte de la Pintura*. Not only was the heading *antigüedad y grandezas* a common trope utilized by classical authors, but the phrasing also gained significant traction in both regional and imperial histories during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Richard Kagan has explored this authenticating trope throughout Spain during the early modern period, suggesting that, despite wanting to make meaningful connections to imperial authority in local histories, regional historical constructions functioned primarily as a way to promote local identity through "*obligación del amor del patria*."⁸⁸

Pacheco's contemporaneous publication *Libro de Descripción de Verdaderos Retratos de Ilustres y Memorables Varones* of Seville (Book of description and true portraits of illustrious and memorable men, first printed from an original manuscript in 1599) suggested an additional, sophisticated understanding of this rhetorical strategy. The *Libro de Descripción* is a compilation of *retratos* (small portraits) and descriptions of great men of Seville as defined by Pacheco and his associates in the Sevillian Academy. The work remains relatively contemporary, but takes

⁸⁸ Richard Kagan, *Clio & the crown : the politics of history in medieval and early modern Spain* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009). 93.

some extreme liberties. For example, Philip II was mentioned not as a current resident, but as being conceived in Seville, and thus worthy of mention. In addition, explorer Ponce de Leon, who only visited the city, was also listed as a notable Sevillian native. In addition to short biographies, the work contained poetic flourishes by Pacheco and several of his contemporary Sevillian authors such as Rodrigo Caro, Francisco Herrera, Lope de Vega, Francisco de Medina, and Baltasar Alcázar, all of which collaborated on the project.⁸⁹

Pacheco's work on the *Libro de Descripción* further contextualizes the *Arte's* descriptions of the *origen y antigüedad de la pintura* of the artist's *antigüedad y grandezas*. Pacheco recognized his central role in fostering a new historical narrative about Sevillian artists, as well as the popular strategies used to promote their legitimacy. For example, Pacheco notably formulated instruments and technique around a genealogical rubric, nearly all of which made their way back to Seville. In his chapter concerning "illumination, estofado, and fresco painting, its antiquity and durability" Pacheco mapped the discovery of estofado, a popular decorative technique in sculpting during the seventeenth-century, through the travels of several sixteenth-century Italian painters who were filled with "a fervent desire to disinter the works of the great painters of antiquity."⁹⁰ Pacheco led the young painters through the grottos of Saint Peter ad Vincula (in London) and into the rumored underground Palace of Titus in which were found the vestiges of the technique. He then traced estofado through many "worthy men" of Italy, into the city of Úbeda, through the Alhambra in Granada, and onto the altar of St. Joseph in Seville's own Casa Profesa.⁹¹ In a similar teleology, Pacheco defined tempera, the popular technique of

⁸⁹ Francisco Pacheco, Pedro M. Piñero Ramírez, and Rogelio Reyes Cano, *Libro de descripción de verdaderos retratos de ilustres y memorables varones* (Sevilla: Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1985). 38.

⁹⁰ Pacheco and Sánchez Cantón, *Arte de la pintura. Ed. del manuscrito original, acabado el 24 de enero de 1638: Book III*, 21.

⁹¹ Francisco Pacheco, "El Arte de la Pintura," in *Artists' Technique in Golden Age Spain: six treatises in translation*, ed. Zahira Veliz (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 56-59.

binding pigment in egg, as one of the most antique styles of painting. Like *estofado*, the *Arte* traced tempera's antiquity through the works of Pliny, into the painting of famed Renaissance artists – Pacheco claimed that Michelangelo wept when he learned that contemporary painters had replaced the classic style for oil paints – and into the esteemed work of Córdoba's Pedro de Céspedes and Seville's Luis Vargas, men whom Pacheco suggested possessed the rarest virtue.⁹²

The *Arte*'s justification for nobility indicated the necessity of constructing both a historical narrative, as well as hierarchical guidelines for an artist and their work. Pacheco accomplished this by adopting the same standard which applied to scholarly discourses about urban civility. Just as Sevillian authors paired contemporary commercial success with the city's trajectory as the natural successor to Roman history, so did Pacheco argue for artists' superiority over other competing mechanical arts due to their unbroken ties to antiquity. Pacheco's narrative also coincided with Seville's emphasis on *policía*, or a unity based on the adherence to communal laws. As discussed previously, to be a part of a political community meant the adherence to supposedly civilized laws. Consequently, to be separate from these laws was to be separate from civilized society. Pacheco too advocated for laws as the basis for legitimate artwork. These guidelines were based on proper technique, material, and training. Similar to the guiding principles which governed a civilized society, if the artistic laws laid out in the *Arte* were obeyed, artists would create intrinsically noble artwork because they adhered to a codified body of rules which were handed down by the ancients and adopted to contemporary technique. If proper preparation and technique was absent, Pacheco argued the artist's work should be considered illegitimate, or what he called "vile and without value."⁹³

⁹² Pacheco and Sánchez Cantón, *Arte de la pintura. Ed. del manuscrito original, acabado el 24 de enero de 1638*: Book III, 21-23.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, Book I, 187.

Though at first a seemingly excessive elaboration, Pacheco's extensive research into the tools and techniques used by artists in public art had practical application in Seville. Like local histories, artwork was meticulously inspected to ensure its contribution to the civil aesthetic. During the canonization of Fernando III, the legendary king who reclaimed the city for Christian rule in 1248, Sevillian artists Francisco López Caro and Bartolomé Esteban Murillo⁹⁴ were asked by the papal council to gather evidence in order to assess the validity of Fernando's cult in the city. The exhaustive campaign included investigations into the style and technique of frescos, woodcarvings, embroidery, prints, and colors, as well as physical descriptions such as costume and hairstyle. When completed, the two artists presented their findings via sworn testimony at the archbishop's palace. The process took almost three years to complete.⁹⁵ The broad range of materials analyzed within the investigation suggests that the *Arte*'s emphasis on style, as well as tools and technique, had practical application in assessing devotional value for *sevillanos*. However, the decision to include López Caro and Murillo was also pragmatic. The two were chosen not only because they possessed the knowledge of medieval and contemporary art, but because they were considered intellectual descendants of many of the artists whose pieces they appraised.⁹⁶

Though the experience of Murillo and López Caro represent a high profile investigation of a regionally beloved figure, investigations by civil authorities regarding the efficacy and benefit of artwork sold in the city were not uncommon in Seville. In other words, municipal authorities well understood that, like local histories, the visual component of their new civil aesthetic needed to be protected. According to the 1634 *Ordenanças*, works of art (here

⁹⁴ Murillo ran the Sevillian Academy after Francisco Pacheco's death in 1644.

⁹⁵ Amanda Wunder, "Murillo and the cononisation case of San Fernando, 1649-52," *Burlington Magazine* 143, no. 1184 (2001): 674-75.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 673.

including paintings, sculpting, frescos) had to be inspected by a combination of resident royal officials (*Alcaldes veedores*) and a member of the cabildo (*Alcaldes mayores*). The officials were, “given the ability and authority to summon the houses and shops of the painters; and the works which during their visit are not considered in accordance with the ordinances, they take them (the paintings) and establish them in accordance with these ordinances without giving the artist place to dispute.”⁹⁷ Similar to the investigation of San Fernando’s iconography, authorities inspecting local shops and scrutinized the use of colors, materials, representations of clothes (to the detail of correct pleats in robes), physiognomy, and representations of both the female and male form – paying particular attention to nudity.⁹⁸ The goal was “a perfect image” (*una imagen perfectamente*) which would not be “harmful to the Republic.”⁹⁹ Violations against the civil aesthetic were severe. Artists using old licenses or knowingly selling works which had not been approved by the inspectors were “first to pay 600 maravedis, for the second time 1,200 and for the third time the said sentence will be nine days in jail...in payment for their own disobedience.”¹⁰⁰

Civil authorities deemed such extreme penalties as justified because the artwork commissioned by local artists would often hang in important institutions in Seville, and conversely all of Spain. The Sevillian Academy’s close association with devoted patron, the Duke of Alcalá, exemplified this connection. Alcalá advocated for Seville’s antique lineage by publicly fostering a sense of continuity with Roman leaders through a variety of public works projects. Ribera’s family home – locally known as the Casa de Pilatos – functioned as one of Seville’s most famous sites of pilgrimage. The site served as an exact replica of Christ’s walk to

⁹⁷ Salamanca, "Ordenanças de Sevilla " 162-63.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

Calvary and hosted thousands of pilgrims every year. Though the palace underwent several renovations in the early sixteenth century by Ribera's father, Francisco Pacheco was an active participant in the Pilatos' decorative redesign in the seventeenth-century. Despite the palace's classic Mudéjar architecture, the great halls introduced thousands of visitors to Seville's renewed emphasis on their Roman heritage. The interior of the Pilatos featured Romanesque triumphal arches and imported artifacts from Italy and the Holy Land. Both secular and religious institutions throughout the city served as the famed Stations of the Cross, and great statues and classic busts lined the house's long hallways and formed unbroken genealogies of early Christian emperors, Spanish imperial authorities, and local elites.¹⁰¹

The fusion of contemporary culture and classical motifs, coalesce in the main interior chamber of the Pilatos. The ceiling of the central hall featured Pacheco's *Apotheosis of Hercules*, a multi-paneled piece which envisioned the ancient hero being received by the twelve Olympians. (Figure 3) Art historians have commented on the painting's stylistic similarity to Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* (1537-1541), an imitation most notable in the extreme definition of Hercules' bare legs and back.¹⁰² However, as will be discussed in further detail in the following chapters, Sevillians had a long standing relationship with the Herculean legend. In the thirteenth-century, Alfonso el Sabio's *Crónica General* reported that he and Caesar were original founders of Seville and his visual and textual iconography was seen throughout the city during the early modern period. It was, therefore, no coincidence that Alcalá claimed an ancestry which positioned his family in prominent positions in Seville since Caesar's earliest campaigns in the

¹⁰¹ Wunder, "Classical, Christian, and Muslim Remains in the Construction of Imperial Seville (1520-1635)," 197-202.

¹⁰² Despite the obvious allegorical nature of the *Apotheosis* the painting presented a surprisingly unorthodox overtone. This fact was never directly addressed by Pacheco in the *Arte*, though he did have brief technical notes on the painting itself. The subject has garnered surprisingly little debate among contemporary historians. See G. Kunoth, "Pacheco's Apotheosis of Hercules," *The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* no. 27 (1964): 337.

region. The classic busts which lined the hallways of the Pilatos sustained this assertion. In addition, from the fifth-century onward, many in the Alcalá family claimed direct descent from Hercules, some going so far as to adorn their family seal with the ancient hero's portrait. Pacheco's commitment to establishing the historic reputation of the Alcalá family was characteristically meticulous. Despite the *Apotheosis*' obvious genealogical reference, the piece was composed entirely in classic tempera, a fact which was an undoubtedly subtle allusion to the family's authentic antique heritage

Conclusion

Through local histories, public artwork, and strict city regulations, Seville cast itself as an imperial city during the early modern period. This new narrative recounted how the city was founded by Hercules and Julius Caesar, reconquered by Fernando III of Castile in 1248, built the most grand cathedral in Europe, became favored by Ferdinand and Isabella, and eventually gained recognition for its greatness by becoming the gateway to Atlantic treasure. Local authors argued that Seville was one of the most superior cities in the world, and the natural successor to Rome. Despite fierce opposition in the rest of Spain, the merchant class in Seville transformed into hereditary nobles and graced the city with construction projects which simultaneously displayed the city's close historical ties to antiquity, as well as its contemporary prominence. Having few comparable rivals within Spain, authors and artists imagined a city that was commercial, metropolitan, and fervently orthodox.

This chapter has suggested a revision to our teleological view of capital cities, both in the past and in the present. Seville's growth in the early modern period was consistent with several cities more readily recognized by modern urban historians. Similar to capitals like London and

Paris, both of which became important centers of commerce and culture, as well as seats of religious and political definition, Seville came to define what it meant to be an imperial city in the early modern period. The Habsburgs' refusal to permanently settle the imperial capital in one city until the late sixteenth century facilitated Seville's prominence by suggesting that the seat of Spanish cultural authority could be contested. Additionally, the decision of Ferdinand and Isabella to establish Seville as home to the lucrative *Casa de Contratación* in 1503 meant that city fathers promote Seville as the key economic center of the empire, as well as a protectorate of religious and political civility. Civic fathers in Seville fostered their sense of entitlement by patronizing art, scholarship, and architecture which spoke to a civilized urban identity. Local authors like Rodrigo Caro and Alonso Morgado wrote model histories which were adopted throughout Spain, while artists such as Hernando de Esturmio fostered a similar civic aesthetic through images which visually connected Seville and its residence to a grand lineage. Prominent intellectuals such as Francisco Pacheco believed in the efficacy of the new civic model so much that he used a similar methodology to justify the nobility of his own profession.

Beyond contemporary claims to prominence, Seville's civic campaigns came to define something larger. The urban culture presented in Seville established a model of urban civility which reverberated throughout Spain, and indeed much of the empire.¹⁰³ The following chapter will explore this idea further by looking at the ways in which public demonstrations in Seville promoted urban identity as the adherence to law, order, and morality – a condition only a city such as Seville could provide. The Habsburg participation in these displays reveals the monarchy's interest in further cultivating Seville's emphasis on urban civility.

¹⁰³ For more on this, see the seminal work by José Antonio Maravall, *La cultura del barroco : análisis de una estructura histórica*, 6a ed. (Barcelona: Editorial Ariel, 1996).

FIGURE ONE

Historia de la Ciudad de Sevilla, 1685

Luis de Peraza

Image can be found at: Biblioteca Colombina

57-6-34



FIGURE TWO

Justa and Rufina

Hernando de Esturmio, 1555.

Image can be found in Santiago Montoto, *La Catedral y el Alcázar de Sevilla* (Madrid: Editorial Plus-Ultra, 1948)



FIGURE THREE
Apotheosis of Hercules
Francisco Pacheco, 17th century
Image can be found at: Casa de Pilatos, Sevilla



CHAPTER TWO

Wielding the Colossus: Performing Identity in Early Modern Seville

In 1570, in the midst of the *morisco* rebellion in the Alpujarras Mountains in southern Spain, crowned king of Spain Philip II visited Seville. His royal entry was meticulously cataloged by local author and intellectual Juan de Mal Lara, who was equally committed to lauding his native city as he was to bolstering the king's power in the region. Sailing on an ornately decorated vessel, the king entered the city through the Guadalquivir River, the exclusive trading route for all goods coming from the Americas. Amidst excessive celebration, the king made his way to Seville's city center, making several deliberate stops at prominent religious, economic, and civic institutions. Members of Seville's trade houses, monasteries, and the inquisitorial tribunal emerged from their respective buildings to greet the visiting monarch as well as the attendant crowds gathered to witness the spectacle. When Philip II disembarked, he ceremoniously passed through the Puerta de Goles (later renamed the Puerta Real) which, according to legend, was the same entry point utilized by King Fernando III of Castile (San Fernando) when he reconquered the city in 1248. In anticipation of the king's visit, Seville's municipal authorities commissioned the decoration of the Puerta de Goles with several ornate archways featuring large decorative sculptures (*colosos*).¹⁰⁴ The first arch, which will serve as the textual and artistic framework for this chapter, displayed ancient heroes such as Hercules and Betis (a common metonym for the city's river) as well as Mount Parnassus, the mythical location of Apollo and the ancient Muses.

¹⁰⁴ Though Mal Lara uses the archaic *colosso*, this essay will adopt the contemporary spelling.

Latticed between the sculptures were smaller figures of important Spanish kings such as Fernando III of Castile and Charles V, as well as images of Seville's profitable hinterlands. Mal Lara concluded his description of the dizzying festivities with a detailed account of actors dressed as classical Muses and Greek gods, boat races which cut through the Guadalquivir, and a fireworks show in which a giant dragon lit the night sky.

The procession of Philip II in general, and the central archways of the Puerta de Goles in particular, functioned as an expression of the powerful political and economic relationship between the city of Seville and the monarchy during the late sixteenth century. The previous chapter established the parameters for this relationship, arguing that the cultivation of Seville's model of civic identity occurred during a time of competition for royal attention in the sixteenth century. In this climate of contest, civic authorities in Seville created a public vocabulary which claimed that, while not home to the royal court, the city remained at the heart of the monarchy's empire. History, economic success, and public religious devotion merged into civic narratives about Seville's prominence and rightful claim to the title of imperial city.

Without this context, the royal entry of 1570 would become a one-sided story, focusing solely on Seville's response to the presence of the king. This one-sided version would neglect how Philip II responded to (and indeed utilized) Seville's urban project during a time of social crisis in the late sixteenth century. During this time, Seville sought to convey to its king that the *colosos* signified a necessary political and economic alliance between the city and the crown. After his entry into Seville, the king was scheduled to meet his forces in the Kingdom of Granada to discuss the ongoing *morisco* rebellion in the Alpujarras region of Andalusia. His strategic stop in Seville during a time crisis in southern Spain demonstrated how vital the city was to the monarchy during the early modern period. To unpack this theme in Mal Lara's text,

this chapter will examine the complex symbolism of the sculptures (*colosos*) constructed for the central archway (*arco primero*). Fashioned after familiar civic iconography, the *colosos* symbolized good governance and highlighted the city's stewardship of wealth from the Americas. While each *coloso* represented Seville's contribution to the Spanish monarchy, they also showcased the city's self-proclaimed status as a capital city, and served as metonyms for both local and royal prosperity.

The 1570 *entrada* also reiterates the major theoretical thrusts of my dissertation. Seville's city fathers created a model of civility which posited urban life as superior to all other forms social organization; a message which rested on visual and textual images of city life as tantamount to civilized life. For Seville, this process was not one of force, but of consent. Edward Said notes such a relationship in his seminal work *Orientalism*, stating that "culture...is to be found operating within civil society, where the influence of ideas, of institutions, and of other persons works not through domination, but by what Gramsci calls consent."¹⁰⁵ This chapter will analyze the construction of consent in public symbolism about order and good governance embedded in the 1570 entry. Most useful in this analysis will be the work of Joan Wallach Scott, who argues that a rich symbolic vocabulary constitutes social relationships based on binary difference (for her, the constructed difference between male and female). In her analysis of gender, Scott notes several necessary elements which simultaneously establish the differences between men and women. First, she argues for public symbols which evoke imagery of difference, such as concepts of purification and pollution, or innocence and corruption. However, according to Scott, symbolism must also be accompanied by normative concepts in religious and educational narratives which "appropriately" interpret the meaning of symbols of difference to a larger audience. These public discourses create an illusion of consensus and work to effectively

¹⁰⁵Edward Said, *Orientalism*, 1st Vintage Books ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1979). 7.

repress any alternative possibility other than that put forth in the dominant narrative. For an example Scott posits Victorian religious fundamentalist who suggested a historical precedent for “authentic” or “traditional” roles for women when there is, in fact, no historical reality to support such a consensus.¹⁰⁶

The construction of urban, or civic, identity in Seville has a notable resemblance to gender construction. Thus we can engage in a similar theoretical analysis. In the 1570 entry we will see how city fathers were tasked with creating symbols which evoked the concept of order (urban life) and disorder (religious and cultural heterodoxy) for the visiting monarchy. To convey this message, city officials decorated the entry with figures like Hercules and Betis, both of which embodied historic good governance and a virtuous stewardship of funds from trade with the Indies. As we saw in the previous chapter, this iconography did not occur in isolation. Rather, the presence of historical figures was part of a carefully cultivated narrative about Seville’s perennial role as defender of the Catholic faith and ally of the monarchy. The 1570 entry will reveal how public processions worked in conjunction with these narratives to deflect attention away from events which did not conform to Seville’s supposedly authentic connection to antique history and Catholic orthodoxy. These public projects visualized Seville as a historical urban model based on history, religious devotion, and public order. For the visiting monarch, the narrative of Seville’s historical triumph over religious and cultural heterodoxy created a language of correct political and social order in a time of political crisis in southern Spain.

¹⁰⁶ Scott, *Gender and the politics of history*: 42-44.

Images in Context

The central archway in Mal Lara's description of the 1570 entry possessed various, uniquely elaborate *colosos*. The first *coloso* which met the monarch upon his entrance into Seville featured Hercules triumphantly slaying the dragon of Nemea with his club, as well as Betis, a metonym for the Guadalquivir River. Mal Lara's extensive description of the archway revealed that the *colosos* were not merely ornamentation. Rather, each decorated figure possessed a deliberate message about Seville and its unique relationship with the king. Due to the rich visual and textual tradition of Hercules and Betis in Seville, this chapter will focus primarily on contextualizing their iconography. However, in order to explain the intelligibility of the *colosos* message, it is necessary to place these works of art in their early modern context.

From paintings to processions, images played a decisive public role in post-Tridentine Europe. Annual celebrations throughout Europe created powerful corporate experiences which were an important part of every city's ritual calendar. For example, the *autos sacramental* were mainstays of Seville's sixteenth- and seventeenth-century urban experience. Led by church officials, public celebrations such as Corpus Christi, Palm Sunday, and Holy Thursday crowded urban streets and physically connected onlookers to abstract dogmas such as humanity, grace, faith, and transubstantiation.¹⁰⁷

Of course, civic festivals were evident as early as the thirteenth-century when Fernando III's claimed much of southern Iberia to Christian rule. Similar to their interest in rewriting history in the early modern period, the Habsburgs encouraged the unification of religious and political themes in public events. Festivals at the royal court often celebrated the triumph of

¹⁰⁷ See chapter on "Processional Sculpture" in Susan Verdi Webster, *Art and ritual in Golden-Age Spain : Sevillian confraternities and the processional sculpture of Holy Week* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998). 57-110.

Christianity over Islam by featuring actors dressed as Muhammad and the King of Morocco, both pitted in elaborate battles against Christian knights. Such productions often concluded with the theatrical baptism of both Muhammad and a defeated Moroccan King.¹⁰⁸ Festivals were also regionally specific. For example, Granada's sixteenth-century Toma festival celebrated the city's political and religious victory over Muslim kingship in 1492 by holding an annual celebration in which a royal procession commemorated the end of the Reconquista with a procession which marched through the cathedral to the town plaza.¹⁰⁹

Visual and textual records from the time period demonstrate that processions and church services took great care in choosing the images which would best represent their specific message. Local Sevillian author Fernando de la Torre Farfán described a fiesta celebrating the completion of a three year renovation project to the Iglesia Parroquial de Santa Maria la Blanca in Seville in 1655. Farfán spent several pages describing the renovations, attendant paintings designed for the church, as well as the dignity of artists such as Francisco Pacheco and Bartolomé Esteban Murillo who provided the original artwork. Farfán recalled how city officials decorated the streets and plaza with paintings and triumphal arches for the procession which celebrated the completion of renovations which broke down walls to ensure unobstructed viewing of important images.¹¹⁰

As discussed in the previous chapter, the deliberation of artists in the creation of public artwork underscored the seriousness of images and their influence on the viewer. Due to the supposed spiritual benefit, contemporary scholars and painters often emphasized the unique

¹⁰⁸ Teofilo Ruiz, "Elite and Popular Culture in Late Fifteenth Castilian Festivals: The Case of Jaen," in *City and spectacle in medieval Europe*, ed. Barbara Hanawalt and Kathryn Reyerson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 296-97.

¹⁰⁹ Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada : inventing a city's past in early modern Spain*: 88-107.

¹¹⁰ Fernando de la Torre Farfán, *Fiestas que celebros la Iglesia Parrochial de S. Maria la Blanca, capilla de la Sta. Iglesia Metropolitana y Patriarchal de Seuilla* (Sevilla: por Juan Gomez de Blas, 1666). 13-17.

influence of images on behavior, regardless of education or rank. In an attempt to ensure *una imagen perfectamente*¹¹¹ Francisco Pacheco advocated for scholarly collaboration in the formation of devotional images. Pacheco's *El Arte de la Pintura* made the necessity of this close connection clear: "When they [artists] are asked for an antique or modern figure in history, they prepare themselves to point either by counsel from learned persons or by reading books, and thus forming their ideas; they fabricate whole from parts."¹¹² Pacheco himself often sought the counsel of scholars in the construction of his work. His painting *San Sebastian Attended by Saint Irene*, for example, was an intellectual collaboration with Francisco de Medina, a prominent Sevillian humanist whom Pacheco found useful in constructing devotional iconography.¹¹³ Modern historian Luis Corteguera argues for a similar process in the case Saint Teresa of Avila. Discussing the painting of *Christ at the Colum*, made for the Convent of St. Joseph in Avila, Corteguera notes: "Teresa made precise specification to the painter she commissioned regarding how she wanted the portrait, describing in great detail the ropes tying Christ's hands, the bruises on the face, the hair, and in particular a scrape on the left arm near the elbow."¹¹⁴ The *Arte* posed the same preoccupation with iconographic images. Pacheco addressed everything from the Holy Family, which included the banning of Saint Anne in the mid seventeenth century due to her somewhat dubious marital record, to how many nails should be represented when imagining Christ's crucifixion.¹¹⁵ Devotional mnemonics additionally emphasized the spiritual art of memory in which individuals practiced visualizing images worthy of imitation. Seville's own Diego Velázquez' famous early seventeenth-century paintings personified the art of

¹¹¹ See previous chapter for reference (pg 26)

¹¹² Pacheco, Book III, 2.

¹¹³ Tanya J Tiffany, "Visualizing Devotion in Early Modern Seville: Velázquez's "Christ in the House of Martha and Mary", *Sixteenth Century Journal* 36, no. 2 (2005): 448-49.

¹¹⁴ Luis Corteguera, "Visions and the Soul's Ascent to God in Spanish Mysticism," in *Looking Beyond: Visions, Dreams, and Insights in Medieval Art and History*, ed. Colum Hourihane (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2010), 261.

¹¹⁵ Pacheco, Book II, 234.

contemplation by highlighting recognizable faces, scenarios, and themes, many of which conformed to acceptable models of imitation set forth by Pacheco.¹¹⁶

Mal Lara's similarly diligent description of the archway constructed for Philip II's entry presents us with a similar context. Firmly rooted in Spain's utilization of images to communicate meaning, the archway constructed for Seville's royal entry functioned as an intelligible message for onlookers and the visiting king.¹¹⁷ The intelligibility of this message meant that the entry could function as a political space where both Seville and Philip II could publically express their strength in the region. For Seville, the arrival of the monarchy solidified their significance to the Castilian monarchy and allowed them to showcase the city's superior architecture, institutions, and citizenry through a grand procession. For Philip II, the entry provided a necessary connection to one of southern Spain's most relevant cities during a time of open insurrection in the region. The imagery described by Mal Lara represented both sides of this interaction. Hercules bestowed good governance and connected the monarchy to an ancient imperial lineage, while Betis maintained order in the empire by providing the funds and necessary for infrastructure to fight religious and cultural heterodoxy both at home and abroad. The civic organization which supposedly derived from the combination of these historical factors in Seville created what Mal Lara called a "grandeza y riqueza" (nobility and wealth) known "throughout all the world" -- an undoubtedly appealing association for the visiting monarch.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ Tiffany, "Visualizing Devotion in Early Modern Seville: Velázquez's "Christ in the House of Martha and Mary", 433-53.

¹¹⁷ See Corteguera and the "experience of seeing." Corteguera, "Visions and the Soul's Ascent to God in Spanish Mysticism," 255.

¹¹⁸ Mal Lara, *Recibimiento que hizo la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Sevilla a la C. R. M. del Rey don Felipe N. S., con una breve descripción de la ciudad y su tierra*, 2: 10.

Hercules: Vanquishing the Dragon

“We imitate that great spirit of the ancients; because it seems to us just reasoning that Seville should compete with the great cities of the world, affirmed by its divine origin and that the god Hercules founded it.”¹¹⁹

Rodrigo Caro
Antigüedades y principado de la Ilustrísima ciudad de Sevilla, 1634

The center of the first archway through which Philip II entered the city displayed the first *coloso* (Figure One). The statue featured Hercules draped in the skin of the lion of Nemea, a mythological creature slain by the hero to gain both immortality, as well as atonement for his complicity in the tragic death of his children. In his left hand he holds the spiked club used to overcome the dragon of the mythological garden of Hesperides, which lay vanquished under his foot. The garden, rumored to have been a Punic outpost located near Cádiz during the Carthaginian exploration of southern Iberia in the fourth century, was mythologized as the location of a miraculous apple tree which was rumored to grant immortality. Appropriately, Hercules holds a branch displaying three apples of the garden of Hesperides in his right hand. First reassuring the reader that “the statue of Hercules [was] commissioned in the same form of bronze as that in the Roman acropolis,” Mal Lara goes on to describe the unique meaning of Hercules’ apples: “the three apples signify the three principle virtues which a king or hero must have: the first moderation, the second temperance, the third generosity. Moderation of anger and passionate brutality. Temperance of avarice. Noble contempt of pleasures. These are three truly marvelous virtues for a state of justice and clemency.”¹²⁰ For Mal Lara, the connection between good governance and the great hero (or king) was so strong that “one cannot offer it (a state of

¹¹⁹ Caro, *Antigüedades y principado de la ilustrísima ciudad de Sevilla* 3.

¹²⁰ Mal Lara, *Recibimiento que hizo la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Sevilla a la C. R. M. del Rey don Felipe N. S., con una breve descripción de la ciudad y su tierra*, 2: 40-41.

justice and clemency) without Hercules, which possesses the most powerful understanding, dressed in the spoils of the lion, which signifies the generous strength of the spirit, and the excellence of his valor...”¹²¹

The popular appeal of figures like Hercules underscores the power that history – in this case, Sevillian history – had in creating the parameters for good kingship in early modern Spain. It became common practice in the sixteenth century for the Spanish Habsburg to harness the “mythical aura” emanating from historically popular leaders to bolster their support in regions increasingly destabilized by trade, religious dissent, and plague.¹²² This point is particularly salient in the sixteenth century. Charles V and Philip II both witnessed a series of popular rebellions throughout Iberia, most notably the Comuneros Revolt (1520s) and the southern Andalusian Alpujarras Rebellion (1568-1571), the latter being contemporaneous with Philip II’s visit to Seville. In addition to internal threats, Ottoman encroachment in the Mediterranean prompted aggressive foreign policies which eventually ended in the famed Battle of Lepanto in 1571, less than a year after Philip II’s visit. As the king actively sought to consolidate his political power in the south, as well as shore up much needed tax revenue in Andalusia, he attempted to access the authority of religious and political leaders who were not only universally popular, but politically relevant. For the king, Herculean iconography was particularly germane.

Hercules had been a favored artistic theme throughout the Italian Renaissance. However, the advent of the printing press guaranteed the ancient hero’s continued popularity with a steady proliferation of engraved images which further entrenched the hero’s iconography well into the eighteenth century. The popularity of Herculean legend was particularly striking in Spain during the early modern period, largely due to its close connection to Seville. According to Alfonso el

¹²¹ Ibid., 41.

¹²² Luis Corteguera, "King as Father in Early Modern Spain," *Memoria y Civilización* 12(2009): 60.

Sabio's *Crónica General*, the ancient hero set across a great ocean (the Mediterranean) and landed on the future site of Seville. Bound by a prophecy that someone greater than himself would found the city, Hercules erected six marble columns which would serve as a marker to this great unknown leader. According to the *Crónica*, Julius Caesar, while serving out his quaestorship of *Hispania*, discovered Hercules' six columns and founded the city on the spot. In the sixteenth century, two of the columns were supposedly rediscovered by Sevillian antiquarians and the city underwent a massive reconstruction project which placed them at the entrance of Seville's public gardens in Alameda Park. Sixteenth-century authors such as Luis de Pereza substantiated the *Crónica's* story by attempting to document that the city was in fact founded by Julius Cesar in the first century BC.¹²³ The popularity of this story was so profound during the early modern period that Seville adopted Hercules as the *Padre de Sevilla*. Additionally, statues of both Hercules and Julius Caesar stood atop large columns at the entrance to Alameda Park and the Ayuntamiento.

The significance of Herculean iconography in and around prominent public institutions is revealed in Mal Lara's description of the club with which the ancient hero subdued the dragon of Hesperides. The masses of commoners who populated most Spanish cities (*el vulgo*) were frequently known to take literary form as a monster or hydra which threatened disorder.¹²⁴ This iconography was particularly popular in Seville, as social unrest threatened to disrupt a particularly salient revenue stream for both the city in the monarchy. Though the early sixteenth century witnessed a preoccupation with clandestine *morisco* and *converso* populations, civil and religious authority became much more sensitive to the problems of rapid urbanization during the

¹²³ Kunoth, "Pacheco's Apotheosis of Hercules," 138.

¹²⁴ Luis Corteguera, *For the common good: popular politics in Barcelona, 1580-1640* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002). 190. Also see Christopher Hill's chapter on the *Many Headed Monster* in Christopher Hill, *Change and continuity in seventeenth-century England*, Rev. ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991). 181-204.

late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. For example, statistics of those placed on trial in Seville's inquisitorial tribunal during this period reveal that over half of those convicted were charged with morality infractions such as bigamy.¹²⁵ These types of crimes were a direct result of Seville's burgeoning trade with the Americas. The extended absence of spouses on trading ventures, the influx of unskilled transient laborers, and the constant coming and going of trade vessels and their crew made moral offences such as bigamy a prominent concern for local secular and religious authorities. Terminology used to deal with such offenses also betrays the conflation of religious concerns with concerns regarding rapid urbanization. For example, common lay expressions such as *gente de mal vivir* (bad people), or *rufianes*, translated quite literally into 'thugs', were often commandeered by Seville's church officials to describe moral offences.¹²⁶ In addition to moral offences, Seville's role as the center for all sea trade also left the city vulnerable to reformed theology. A letter from Inquisitor General Fernando de Valdés to Philip II in 1557 reiterated the city's precarious position, stating that "... a great number of books, containing many heresies, have been brought into Seville. These books have been found in the possession of leading people both inside and outside that city."¹²⁷

In response to these problems, civic authorities promoted images which emphasized order over disorder throughout the city. For example, the 1623 anonymous engraving *Allegory of the City of Seville* (Figure 2) imagines an erect Hercules held up by one of his columns which stood at the entrance to the city's public gardens. Similar to the image presented by the *coloso*, Hercules stood over a vanquished and prone monster. The city, also horizontal, displayed in the

¹²⁵ Elkan Nathan Adler, "Auto de fe and Jew," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 13, no. 3 (1901): 402-19.

¹²⁶ See chapter on "The Underworld" in Pike, *Aristocrats and traders: Sevillian society in the sixteenth century*: 192-214. Also see Mary Elizabeth Perry, *Crime and society in early modern Seville* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1980). 19.

¹²⁷ Lu Ann Homza, *The Spanish Inquisition 1478-1614: An Anthology of Sources* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2006). 180.

background alludes to a similarly vanquished city and populous, firmly under the foot of the ancient hero.¹²⁸

Artwork constructed to complement the entry's central archway *colosos* reiterated the Herculean theme of order triumphing over disorder. For example, civic authorities commissioned a similarly symbolic archway dedicated to Fernando III of Castile (San Fernando) to emphasize the close connection between the Philip II and San Fernando's famed sword, which supposedly claimed Seville for Christian leadership from Islamic rule in 1248. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the thirteenth century king and his legendary sword maintained steady popularity in Seville throughout the medieval and early modern period. Though not a part of the central archway, San Fernando occupied an adjacent arch dedicated to showcasing additional political leaders such as Charles V who, according to Mal Lara, demonstrated equally laudatory leadership in the Comuneros Revolt.

Mal Lara's description of San Fernando presented a similar binary to that of Hercules. However, instead of Hercules' club, San Fernando's sword maintained order in the face of historic Muslim insurrection in the region. At the time of Philip II's entry, San Fernando's popularity was at a particular height due to the recent *morisco* rebellion in the Alpujarras region in Granada. During the rebellion, Seville showed both its political and financial support by offering itself as a base of military operations for the king's armies in southern Spain. Unsurprisingly, San Fernando pervaded Mal Lara's accounts of the city's history, making direct ties to powerful political leadership which successfully overcame Muslim strongholds in southern Spain hundreds of years prior to the Alpujarras Rebellion. Mal Lara's most striking account retells the story of Ramón Bonifaz's marine assault against the Almohad leadership on

¹²⁸ Juan Miguel Serrera, Alberto Oliver, and Javier Portús, *Iconografía de Sevilla 1650-1790* (Sevilla: El Viso, 1989). 150-51.

the Guadalquivir River. The story ends with the naval leader smashing the barricade (often artistically represented as a chained blockade reaching across the river) and paving the way for San Fernando's triumphant entrance in to Seville and the eventual reconquest of the city from Islamic leadership. Not surprisingly, Philip II entered the city along the same route.¹²⁹

San Fernando's iconography remained a popular figure long after the *entrada* of Philip II. The saint's official canonization in 1671 triggered an eruption of celebrations commemorating his role in the reconquest of southern Spain. One of the most prolific accounts came from the pen of local author Fernando de la Torre Farfán. Printed in Seville in 1671, Farfán's *Fiestas de la S. Iglesia Metropolitana y Patriarcal de Sevilla al Nuevo culto de Señor Rey S. Fernando* was a voluminous work which visually and textually cataloged the festivities commemorating the city's medieval hero. The text opened with an engraved portrait of San Fernando (Figure 3) flanked with an image of his canonization on the right. On the left, an image of Seville's Giralda served as a metonym for the reconquest and return of southern Spain to Catholic rule. Buttressing San Fernando's accomplishments was Hercules and Caesar, standing victorious atop a cityscape image of Seville. Throughout the *Fiestas*, Farfán continually indicates the importance of this recognizable iconography. While discussing the procession of a portrait of San Fernando's into the Cathedral, Farfán noted, "...they happily carried in the paintings and *hieroglificos*...which they hung where they would serve both beauty and erudition; having part adornment for their eyes and also for understanding morality."¹³⁰ The effectiveness of these

¹²⁹ Teofilo Ruiz, "The Symbolic Meaning of Sword and Palio in Later Medieval and Early Modern Ritual Entries: The Case of Seville," *Memoria y Civilización* no. 12 (2009): 12.

¹³⁰ Fernando de la Torre Farfán, *Fiestas de la S. Iglesia Metropolitana, y Patriarcal de Sevilla : al nuevo culto del señor rey S. Fernando el Tercero de Castilla y de Leon* (Sevilla: En casa de la Viuda de Nicolàs Rodriguez, 1671).

images, according to Farfán, rendered his pen nearly unnecessary (*imposible para la facultad de la pluma*).¹³¹

For Philip II, the iconography of San Fernando would have not only been well-known, but also a most welcome association of good government and historical triumph over religious and cultural heterodoxy. As the *Padre de Sevilla*, Hercules offered the king victory over the dragon (*el vulgo*) through the virtues of good kingship (moderation, temperance and generosity). Philip II performed a strategic role in Mal Lara's tableau of good governance by diverting the grandiose procession to the city's new prison, where he acted as benevolent judge and conferred the crimes of several female inmates who publically begged for pardons.¹³²

In sum, Mal Lara's description of the Herculean *coloso* highlighted Seville's contributions to the monarchy during the early modern period. Most fundamentally, the *coloso* and the entry presented Seville as a model society, with equally model historic leaders. Though cities were emerging throughout Europe as cultural and economic centers, Mal Lara argued that only Seville could set such an example for the monarchy in Spain. For Mal Lara, the recent uprisings in the Kingdom of Granada proved that they city was unmatched by any of its Andalusian neighbors. However, the 1570 entry also presented Philip II with a mythology about his own tenure as king of Castile. Placing the king next to figures that either historically or symbolically restored order to chaos presented the king with a symbolism about his own ability to be victorious in southern Spain. Founded by great men such as Hercules and Caesar, and reclaimed from Islamic rule by their Catholic antecedent, Fernando III of Castile, the 1570 entry placed Philip II in the same lineage as these great civic leaders and supposedly foreshadowed his victory in the region.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ruiz, "The Symbolic Meaning of Sword and Palio in Later Medieval and Early Modern Ritual Entries: The Case of Seville," 46.

**Betis:
Safeguarding the Empire**

“This commodity [rivers] is lent us, if it be navigable. And without comparison, the commodity is much better... than which the earth doth give.”¹³³

Giovanni Botero
On the Cause of the Magnificence of Cities, 1588

Next to Hercules in the central archway resided the figure of Betis, taking the name “King Beto, the sixth king of the Hebrews.”¹³⁴ (Figure Four) The figure was made of bronze, wood, and painted cloth, and was similarly matched to the size and greatness of the Herculean *coloso*. Though Betis took the form of a man in Mal Lara’s description, his figure represented the Guadalquivir River, the city’s central waterway which served as the primary conduit for all trade with the Indies. Fashioned after images of river gods popularized in the Italian Renaissance, Betis appeared as an old and bearded man with curled locks wrapped in white garland, olives, and cattails. His right hand gripped a boat rudder while two swans, representing poetry, gather at the banks of the river to watch him pour a great pitcher of gold and silver into the torrent at his feet.¹³⁵ Attached to the image was a poem which asked the river (here called Betis) for protection against enemies and continued fortune for the Spanish crown.¹³⁶

In the prologue to his decisive book on imperial Spain, historian Sir J.H. Elliott noted that prior to the late fifteenth century, Spain remained “fragmented, disparate, a complex of different races,

¹³³ Giovanni Botero, *On the Cause of the Magnificence of Cities divided into three bookes by Sig: Giouanni Botero, in the Italian tongue; now done into English by Robert Peterson* (London 1606). 18.

¹³⁴ Mal Lara, *Recibimiento que hizo la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Sevilla a la C. R. M. del Rey don Felipe N. S., con una breve descripción de la ciudad y su tierra*, 2: 43.

¹³⁵ The rudder, though featured in the text, is not illustrated in the attendant drawing.

¹³⁶ Mal Lara, *Recibimiento que hizo la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Sevilla a la C. R. M. del Rey don Felipe N. S., con una breve descripción de la ciudad y su tierra*, 2: 44.

languages, and civilizations... Yet, in the last years of the fifteenth century and the opening years of the sixteenth it seemed suddenly... to have overcome. Spain, for so long a mere geographic expression, was somehow transformed into a historical fact.”¹³⁷ As the gateway to Spain’s overseas empire, Seville played an essential role this transformation. Local authors found the city’s central role predestined. Ancient Romans had strategically established the city along Iberia’s only river navigable by oceangoing vessels (the Guadalquivir), making the city a natural receiving point for Spanish fleets carrying goods from the Indies. As trade with the New World increased, demands for Iberian goods such as olive oil, textiles (most specifically wool), and wine came largely from Seville and its Andalusian neighbors. Ships returning from the *carrera de indias* traveled up the Guadalquivir with a cargo of new commodities such as indigo and tobacco, as well as vast quantities of silver from the mines of Mexico and Peru, which they deposited in Seville’s *Torre del Oro*. During his vacation to Brussels in 1520, German artist Albrecht Dürer expressed the wonderment often associated Spanish-American trade:

I saw the things which have been brought to the king from the new land of gold (Mexico), a sun all of gold a whole fathom broad, and a moon all of silver of the same size... These things were all so precious that they are valued at 100,000 florins. All the days of my life I have seen nothing that rejoiced my heart so much as these things, for I saw amongst them wonderful works of art, and I marveled at the subtle *Ingenia* of men in foreign lands.¹³⁸

The Habsburgs’ unique wealth also afforded political advantage in continental Europe. Charles V used the trade revenue from Seville to subdue the rebellion of German princes after Protestantism gained a stronghold in central Europe in the sixteenth century. His son, Philip II, financed continual conflicts with France and the Low Countries, while Philip III and Philip IV also

¹³⁷ Elliott, *Imperial Spain, 1469-1716*: 13.

¹³⁸ Albrecht Durer, *The Writings of Albrecht Durer* (London: Philosophical Library, 1958). 102.

attempted – albeit less successfully – to buffer Spain’s declining economy with taxes on Seville’s American trade. Until Cádiz replaced Seville as the entrepôt for colonial trade in the early eighteenth century, the city maintained a monopoly on Spanish-American commerce and served as the gateway to the monarchy’s lucrative Atlantic empire.

Local cosmographers at the *Casa de Contratación* solidified the connection between Spain and its overseas territories by visualizing a unified Atlantic. These images would often utilize similar iconography to the 1570 entry. The inclusion of Seville’s common iconography is not surprising. The activities of Sevillian cosmographers took place in the context of a lively information and financial exchange among wealthy merchants, scholars, and artists. Though the Consejo de Indias (Royal Council of the Indies) officially regulated travel to and from the New World, cosmographers in the sixteenth and seventeenth century made maps in response to the demands of noble merchants and explorers based in Seville. Through cartography, this interwoven network of noble merchants, artists, and cosmographers transformed Spain’s ethnically and geographically disparate empire into a visually unified global community.¹³⁹ For example, Diego Gutiérrez, royal cartographer and head of the *Casa de Contratación* in the sixteenth century, worked with famed Dutch engraver Hieronymus Cock on the ornamental multi-paneled map, *Americae sive quartae orbis partis nova et exactissima descriptio* (1562). (Figure Five) Commemorating Philip II’s rise to the throne after the abdication of his father Charles V in 1556, the Gutiérrez map was the largest engraved cartographic image compiled to date. Its skillfully engraved lines demonstrated the triumph of the Atlantic through an image of Philip II being pulled across the great ocean by Poseidon, the Greek God of the Sea, while

¹³⁹ This idea is indebted to Ricardo Padrón, *The spacious word : cartography, literature, and empire in early modern Spain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004). And later article ———, "A Sea of Denial: The Early Modern Spanish Invention of the Pacific Rim," *Hispanic Review* 77, no. 1 (2009).

his armada fought for Spanish interest in the southern Atlantic.¹⁴⁰ Gutiérrez noted the Habsburgs' unique contribution to geographic knowledge by stating that "This fourth part of the world remained unknown to all geographers until the year 1497, at which time it was discovered by Americus Vesputius serving the King of Castile, whereupon it also obtained a name from the discoverer." Similar to Mal Lara's Betis, the familiar image of a river god dominated the lower right corner, communicating the monarchy's possession of the lucrative Rio de la Plata region of South America.

Beyond creating a unique bond with the monarchy, the wealth of Atlantic trade connected Seville to a lineage of influential cities which had attempted to create similarly linked territories throughout history. Italian philosopher Giovanni Botero makes this argument in *On the Cause of the Magnificence of Cities* (1588). Arguing for a more Christian moral philosophy than contemporary political theorists such as Niccolò Machiavelli, Botero advocated for a robust economy as the foundation of both historical and contemporary cities. His very definition of a city highlighted this necessity: "A city is... an assembly of people, a congregation drawn together to the end they may thereby the better live at their ease in wealth and plenty. And the greatness of a city is said to be not the largeness of the city or the circle of the walls, but the multitude and number of the inhabitants and their power."¹⁴¹ For Botero, it was not force or necessity which bound inhabitants in city, but wealth. He argued that "...profit is of such power, to unite and tie men fast unto one place; as the other causes aforesaid, without this accompany them with all are not sufficient to make any great city."¹⁴²

Describing historical cities such as Rome and Constantinople, both of which possessed the necessary components of both power and wealth, Botero lamented the lack of any great cities

¹⁴⁰ The dual Spanish and French coat of arms also reference the monarchy's recently awarded territorial possession of much of Italy from France in the Treaty of Cataeu Cambrésis (1559).

¹⁴¹ Botero, *On the Cause of the Magnificence of Cities divided into three bookes by Sig: Giouanni Botero, in the Italian tongue; now done into English by Robert Peterson*: 1.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 11.

in Spain. Though Valladolid was indeed noble, it remained too small. Madrid, while growing, still needed further time for development. However, Botero makes a notable exception for Seville:

Seville is increased mightily since the discovery of the New World. For there come fleets that bring unto them yearly so much treasure as cannot be esteemed...It is situated on the left shore of the River *Betis*, which otherwise some call Guadalquivir. It is beautified with fair and goodly churches, and with magnificent and gorgeous palaces and buildings. The country there is as fertile as it is pleasant.¹⁴³

Botero's praise reverberated in subsequent text about Seville's reputation as the gateway to the crown's American treasures. For example, in his *Antigüedades y principado de la Ilustrísima ciudad de Sevilla*, Rodrigo Caro placed Botero's work within a catalog of authoritative historians and cosmographers who had remarked on the city's overseas prominence. Quotes from Botero appeared alongside contemporary figures such as royal cartographer Abraham Ortelius, geographer and mathematician Gerardus Mercator, and Spanish historian Pedro Medina, who praised the riches of Seville as on the most illustrious in all of Europe (*las riquezas de Sevilla...[as] una de las mas ilustres de Europa*).¹⁴⁴

Mal Lara's description of Betis presented the same sentiment as Caro's catalog of historians and cosmographers. Betis, or the Guadalquivir, was the conduit through which all wealth from Spain's lucrative Atlantic territories flowed. The pitchers of gold and silver Betis poured into the river were unmistakable allusion to the city's deep connections to Spain's overseas territories. Similar to Botero's connection between wealth, civility, and urban development, Mal Lara described the way trade vitalized the city through architectural renovations. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Seville had always maintained a unique

¹⁴³ Ibid., 84.

¹⁴⁴ Rodrigo Caro, "Antigüedades y principado de la Ilustrísima ciudad de Sevilla " (Sevilla1634), 66-67.

aesthetic. Mudéjar architecture dominated the city's landscape since the thirteenth century reconquest, and created a distinctively Spanish and Mediterranean aesthetic. With the profits from Atlantic trade, Seville continued to foster its civic beauty with extensive construction projects. Municipal government built new hospitals, prisons and theaters while private wealth funded the construction of new sites of pilgrimage and noble houses. Between 1561 and 1588 Seville erected nearly 2,500 new houses, many of which were described as small palaces.¹⁴⁵

However, urban development had more than an aesthetic value; it became the very definition of social stability. Botero noted, "Unto art, belongs the straight and fair streets of a city, the magnificent and gorgeous buildings therein...the theater, parks, circles, raises for running horses, fountains, images, pictures, and such other excellent and wonderful things, as delight and feed the eyes of the people with an admiration and wonder at them."¹⁴⁶ Mal Lara similarly centralized Seville's urban expansion throughout his text. In an analogy about Seville's emerging infrastructure, Mal Lara described the *Victoria*, Ferdinand Magellan's famous ship that had recently circumnavigated the globe. The city council placed the grand ship on display for the visiting monarch. Mal Lara described of the vessel's sumptuous tapestries, living quarters, dining facilities, and attendant crew members, suggesting that like a good ship, a city must "stock" all necessary amenities so as to be "able to meet the service needs of the people."¹⁴⁷ To emphasize the point further, Mal Lara further described how the king processed past many of Seville's prominent public institutions, such as the Alcázar, the *Torre del Oro*, Puerta de Goles, the Consejo Real, the Inquisitorial Tribunal, Royal Audiencia, the Colegio de Santa Maria de Jesus (University of Seville), and several antique churches and monasteries. Performing their likeness

¹⁴⁵ Kagan, "Cities of the Golden Age," 79.

¹⁴⁶ Botero, *On the Cause of the Magnificence of Cities divided into three bookes by Sig: Giouanni Botero, in the Italian tongue; now done into English by Robert Peterson*: 9.

¹⁴⁷ Mal Lara, *Recibimiento que hizo la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Sevilla a la C. R. M. del Rey don Felipe N. S., con una breve descripción de la ciudad y su tierra*, 2: 20-21.

to ancient Rome, local officials on horseback – accompanied by over four thousand tradesmen – showcased their historical role in the city by parading before the king dressed in robes in the likeness of Roman senators.¹⁴⁸ Mal Lara also described the more general civic and religious institutions in the city, in particular the construction of ports, churches, amphitheaters, universities, hospitals, and noble residences, as well as local political institutions such as the local *cabildo* (town council), *audiencia* (royal courts responsible for civil suits), and prisons.¹⁴⁹ These institutions, according to Mal Lara were the places within the city which proved the “justice of the Republic.” Important city officials in Seville often complemented such laudatory descriptions with action. For example, in the 1630s Asistente Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Conde de la Corzana, busied himself with the betterment of Seville by frequently attending the opening of hospitals and prisons, as well as sending personal envoys to patrol highly utilized public spaces such as markets and local shops.¹⁵⁰

For Mal Lara, the image of Betis and the accompanying wealth from American trade provided a similar analogy to order over disorder to that of the Herculean *coloso*. For Mal Lara, the infrastructure provided by the Guadalquivir provided the same safeguard against civic disorder as Hercules’ club or San Fernando’s sword. Civil disorder would certainly disrupt Seville’s ability to effectively manage the wealth of the empire.¹⁵¹ Betis represented the solution to this problem by funding the social and political institutions necessary to meet the need of Seville’s vast populous, and ensure Seville’s continued economic success. Mal Lara further emphasized the ability of the city to maintain order by meeting the social and political needs of

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 139. Mal Lara described them as Roman consuls, high political officers during the Roman Republic.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 138.

¹⁵⁰ Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *Historia de Sevilla : la Sevilla del siglo XVII*, 3a ed., Colección de bolsillo (Sevilla: Secretariado de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla, 1986). 85.

¹⁵¹ Foucault’s emphasis on silent discourses reminds us that the masses (described as *el vulgo* in the previous section) were at the forefront of ostentatious displays of authority. See Michel Foucault, *The history of sexuality*, 1st Vintage Books ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1980).

its inhabitants in his allegory of the *Victoria*. The well-stocked ship emphasized not only the need for civic infrastructure, but also the desire to keep the authority of these institutions visible. The effect of this performance for Mal Lara was what he called a “natural court” among the people.¹⁵² Though Lara did not shy away from his belief that the “souls of men harbor boundless insults,” he suggests that civic festivals which emphasized the city’s triumph over disorder functioned as “the public part of moral philosophy upon which all the people who live in the city agree.”¹⁵³

The extent to which *sevillanos* accepted this symbolic representation of a legitimate urban community becomes clear in incidence in which civic institutions failed to meet their needs. For example, seventeenth-century bread riots rocked Andalusia, and Seville’s civic authority found themselves in the grips of a city-wide uprising. The riots were not due to lack of grain, rather hoarding which had occurred due to excessive grain taxes. A letter composed by Pedro de Zamora Hurtado begged Philip IV for assistance in quelling the violent uprising.¹⁵⁴ Hurtado argued that the city’s grain taxes were an assault by a municipal government which had established itself upon the very assumption that correct political and cultural organization would forestall social and economic decay. When the pact between the public and city broke down, *sevillanos* launched punitive attacks – both physically and symbolically – on the institutions which proclaimed to protect them.¹⁵⁵ Hurtado described an attempt to storm the Alcázar, a government building which housed not only municipal authorities but also the House of Trade. When the taxes were finally annulled, an angry mob seized the town governors and forced them

¹⁵² Mal Lara, *Recibimiento que hizo la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Sevilla a la C. R. M. del Rey don Felipe N. S., con una breve descripción de la ciudad y su tierra*, 2: 140.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 36.

¹⁵⁴ Pedro de Zamora Hurtado, "The Situation in Seville, 1652," in *Early Modern Spain: A Documentary History* ed. Jon Cowans (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 173-75.

¹⁵⁵ More on this see Natalie Zemon Davis “Rites of Violence” in Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and culture in early modern France : eight essays* (Cambridge: Polity, 1987).

to mount horses and publically announce the redaction. The mob later stormed Seville's jails and publically burned the trial records of all those imprisoned for rioting against Seville's municipal authority.¹⁵⁶

Overall, the monarchy had a vested interest in maintaining social order in Seville. As the Betis *coloso* suggests, the Guadalquivir River not only provided wealth from Spain's colonial territories, but it also provided protection against the monarchy's enemies at home and abroad. In the sixteenth century, the Comuneros Revolt under Charles V in the 1520s and the Alpujarras Rebellion in southern Iberia during the late 1560s and 1570s suggested the necessity of stable civic organization. However, the wealth from the Guadalquivir was not only financial, it was also cultural. Philip II's decision to end toleration of *morisco* culture in 1567 betrayed the monarchies anxiety regarding Ottoman military encroachment in the Mediterranean, as well as cultural heterodoxy within Iberia. Philip II's visit to Seville connected the monarchy with a city which proclaimed historical victory over the Moors in Spain. The city claimed to continue this success by appropriately investing American wealth in public works projects which emphasized allegiance to the monarchy and continued commitment to Catholicism. Mal Lara underscored the city's proper stewardship of colonial trade by stating that "[Seville] is composed of the best of which others have," where one can find the best "gentlemen, men of letters, merchants, [and] people of worth."¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁶ Hurtado, "The Situation in Seville, 1652," 175. For further interpretation of symbolic violence, see chapter on "Rites of Violence" in Davis, *Society and culture in early modern France : eight essays*. For a more general work see Julius R. Ruff, *Violence in early modern Europe, 1500-1800* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

¹⁵⁷ Mal Lara, *Recibimiento que hizo la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Sevilla a la C. R. M. del Rey don Felipe N. S., con una breve descripción de la ciudad y su tierra*, 2: 140.

Conclusion

Mal Lara's description of the 1570 entry demonstrates how public spectacles established authority through the utilization of a clearly delineated set of symbols.¹⁵⁸ With the periodic outbreak of plague, grain shortages, the burden of increasingly high taxes, and sporadic unrest throughout Iberia, this threat only became progressively more menacing for both Seville and the monarchy after the establishment of the *Casa de Contratación* in 1503. Featured prominently in Philip II's entry into Seville in 1570, the *colosos* of Hercules and Betis functioned as personifications of the city's commitment to order (urban life) and suppression of disorder (religious and cultural heterodoxy). Hercules offered the king a lineage which foreshadowed his victory in southern Spain in the midst of an uprisings in the Alpujarras region, a conflict which Philip II viewed as cultural dangerous as he did politically errant. From Hercules to Fernando III of Castile, Seville's teleology of powerful leaders united the king with a mythology of leadership which spanned centuries. Images of Hercules' club and Fernando's sword offered the king the most valuable gift of all, victory over the dragon (*el vulgo*) through good and just governance. Philip II's performance as benevolent judge at Seville's prison suggests he well understood the value of this association.

While Hercules protected social order through governance, Betis guarded the wealth from the Guadalquivir River. Used in the service of the city, Seville became a model steward of the monarchy's resources. In an effort to translate the city's prosperity into a badge of support for Philip II, Mal Lara detailed the city's robust urban development. He argued that infrastructure

¹⁵⁸ For more on this, see Foucault, *Discipline and punish : the birth of the prison*: 57. This subject will be discussed more thoroughly in chapter four.

created a natural court and safeguarded the monarchy's interests through a peaceful and profitable city.

The following chapters will explore the reverberations of Seville's civic model throughout Spain's early modern empire. As the influence of the Spanish Habsburgs spread across the Atlantic, cities arose throughout the Americas to meet the religious, economic, and political needs of the empire. Philip II's *Law of the Indies* highlighted his desire to create recognizable cities based on a model born largely out of Seville's emphasis on history, infrastructure, and religious devotion. Great colonial cities like Mexico City, Lima and Cartagena de Indias (in Colombia) found in Seville an example for organizing their civic and cultural life. To the new Spanish-American capitals, Seville offered an urban model where merchants and nobles shared common interests and expressed their Spanish Catholic devotion through lavish buildings and ceremonies which could signal their New World cities as part of the larger empire. Projects such as Veracruz's Tepeaca Rollo, modeled after the hallmark of Seville's commercial strength, the Torre del Oro, as well as Mexico City's metropolitan cathedral, which mirrored the architectural organization of Seville's famous cathedral, suggests the extent of this cultural borrowing. Though cities in the Americas were always a mixture of urban planning and on-the-ground contingency, the following chapters will argue that there remained a discernible tactic of organizing people according the model set out by Seville in the sixteenth century.

FIGURE ONE

Hercules

Image can be found in: Juan de Mal Lara, *Obras completas*, 1570



FIGURE THREE

Hercules and Seville

Image can be found in: Javier Portus, *Iconografía de Sevilla 1650-1790* (Madrid: Focus, 1989)



FIGURE THREE

Fernando and Seville

Image can be found in: Fernando de la Torre Farfán *Fiestas de la S. Iglesia Metropolitana y Patriarcal de Sevilla al Nuevo culto de Señor Rey S. Fernando, 1671*



FIGURE FOUR

Betis

Image can be found in: Juan de Mal Lara, *Obras completas*, 1570

B E T I S .

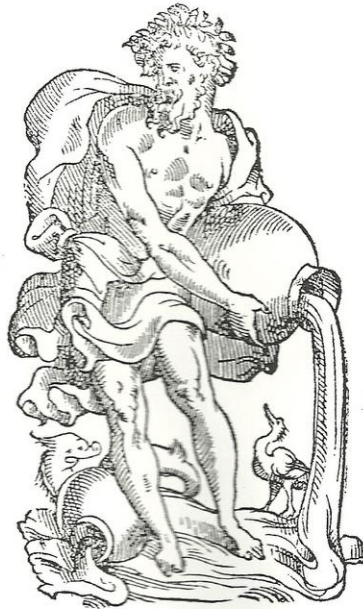


FIGURE FIVE

Diego Gutiérrez, *Americae*, 1562

Image can be found at: Library of Congress, Geography and Maps Division,
G3290 1562.67



CHAPTER THREE

Urban Cartography and Performative Geography in the Habsburgs' Atlantic Empire

“[He] who fails to settle fails to conquer properly,
and if the land is not conquered
the inhabitants will not be converted.”

López de Gómara
16th century Sevillian Historian

This chapter will demonstrate how urban cartography played an important role in visually uniting the Spanish empire in the early modern period by creating a fraternity of urban communities which spanned the Atlantic. The proliferation of formulaic cartography represented a codification – both in the minds of the monarchy, Spanish-American cartographers, and civic leaders – of what colonial cities should look like. These images derived meaning from contemporary discourses which rejected pre-Columbian social organization and valorized urban civility. Even if cities strayed from an ideal Roman antecedent, cartographic images mastered the “idea of a city.”¹⁵⁹ In accord with the Habsburgs’ employment of images to visualize new colonial territories,¹⁶⁰ cartography became performative narratives that showcased Catholic orthodoxy and political allegiance to the Spanish crown, creating “intelligible”¹⁶¹ images of inclusion for Spanish-America cities.

¹⁵⁹ Using Richard Morse terminology here – will use full quote later.

¹⁶⁰ For an exciting new study on this topic, see Daniela Bleichmar, *Visible empire : botanical expeditions and visual culture in the Hispanic Enlightenment* (Chicago ; London: The University of Chicago Press, 2012).

¹⁶¹ I am here using Judith Butler’s definitions of “intelligible” and “presuppositional.” See introduction for analysis of Butler, *Gender trouble: feminism and the subversion of identity*.

In order to interpret the language of these images, this chapter will compare visual representations of New World cities with Seville's urban program, as well as authors grappling with the inclusion of New World histories and geographies into European framework of knowledge. As the previous chapters argued, the Habsburgs utilized the iconography of urban centers like Seville to bolster their reputation and success during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. External threats from the Ottomans and the religiously errant regions of the Low Countries, internal unrest manifest in the Comuneros and Alpujarras Rebellions of the sixteenth century, and the persistent frustration over the cultural distinctive *morisco* community prompted the Spanish monarchy to seek an increasingly resolute identity based on Catholicism, history, and imperial devotion. As Seville was the largest and most influential city at the time, the city functioned as a useful rubric for describing newly forming Spanish-American cities. European authors such as Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas and Giovanni Botero struggling to include New World territories into a larger narrative about European history embraced Seville's rejection of non-urban, and thus uncivilized, social arrangements. These histories drew sweeping, wholesale conclusions about the barbarity of pre-contact peoples, which they argued was due to the absence of properly constructed and adorned cities.

Urban cartography throughout the New World responded to these discourses by perusing an analogous model of civic organization to the one put forth in Seville – a deliberate and formulaic image which immediately identified colonial cities as well-ordered and Catholic. As in Seville, growing colonial cities proclaimed political allegiance to the monarchy through an architecture which spoke to the religious fidelity of the people and an economy devoted to the expansion and sustainability of trade. Such images spoke to residents of Spanish-American cities and colonial

administrators by imagining colonial urban centers as important religious and cultural arms of Spain's expansive empire.

Citizen Cities:

As European trade reached further into New World territories, as well as the Mediterranean region of the Ottoman Empire and more lucrative regions of Southeast Asia during the late medieval and early modern period, cities in Europe became important centers of culture and commerce.¹⁶² The previous chapters discussed the way cities in Spain used their new prosperity to advance contemporary prominence, explaining their supposedly destined role in the world economy through complex narratives about ancient Christian devotion and historical allegiance to the crown. Philip II's grand entry into Seville in 1570 demonstrated the utility of this narrative to the Habsburgs' identity as heirs to the Roman empire. The monarchy's notable interest in the myths of Castilian cities also showed up in court. For example, Spanish portrait painter Alonso Sánchez Coello (1531-1588) shifted his attention to images of cityscapes, particularly Seville, in the latter half of the sixteenth century (Figure One), imagining the city as a bustling metropolis under the watchful gaze of the Giralda. Philip II further cultivated his knowledge of Iberian cities in the sixteenth century by commissioning Flemish cityscape artist and cartographer Anton van den Wyngaerde to produce a topographic catalog of Spain's notable cities.¹⁶³ Though Wyngaerde's paintings conveniently excluded the overpopulation and poverty

¹⁶² See introduction to Albrecht Classen, "Fundamentals of medieval and early modern culture," in *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age*, ed. Albrecht Classen (Berlin ; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009).

¹⁶³ Philip II's inquiry created one of the most extensive collections of cityscape views to survive the sixteenth century. For analysis of these images see, Richard L. Kagan, *Spanish cities of the golden age : the views of Anton van den Wyngaerde* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).

within most major cities in Spain, the images reflected a growing interest in depicting cities as necessary components of Philip II's kingdom.

The conquistadors that arrived in the Americas in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries reflected the preoccupation of their imperial masters. The initial voyages throughout the Caribbean had several largely unsuccessful attempts at urban settlement, the earliest disappointments being the failure of *La Navidad* in 1493 and *La Isabela* a little over a decade later. However, by the end of Columbus' fourth voyage in the early sixteenth century, several successful cities such as Santo Domingo and Havana dotted the Greater Antilles and the coastal regions of Central America. These cities initiated Spain's burgeoning trade between Iberia and the Caribbean territories. Movement into the interior of the northern and southern continents yielded more profitable ventures for the Spanish. The discovery and subsequent conquest of Tenochtitlan in 1521 gave rise to Mexico City. Further exploration into the Mexican frontiers resulted in cities such as Puebla (1531) and San Francisco de Campeche (1540). Conquistadors in South America established the pivotal *Ciudad de los Reyes* (Lima) in 1535, which later prompted the founding of commercial urban sites such as Cartagena de Indias (1533) and Panama City (1519, resettled in 1671), both of which became essential for imperial control and economic development in continental America.

Contributing to Spain's success in the New World, the Aztec and Inca empires had well established trade and tribute networks throughout Central Mexico and the coastal regions of Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador. Pre-Columbian established networks provided the labor and resources necessary for a colonial bureaucracy which sought to insert itself into a hierarchical relationship with the indigenous population. In the *Natural and Moral History of the Indies* (1540), José de Acosta saw this relationship as essential to Spain's presence in the New World:

How helpful the greatness of these two empires I have mentioned [Aztec and Inca] has been for preaching, and the conversion of the people can be observed by anyone who cares to do so by the

extreme difficulty that has been encountered in bringing to Christ the Indians who do not recognize an overlord...it would be impossible to possess those riches, or preserve them, if there had not been an (indigenous) monarchy.¹⁶⁴

By granting a combination of legal rights and social obligations for both conquistadors and Indians who settled in populated regions (*encomiendas* and later *repartimientos* in New Spain, and *mita* labor in Peru), the crown created a system of colonial intermediaries that could facilitate the incorporation of indigenous people into their system of government, religious belief, and labor practices.¹⁶⁵

Though Acosta was correct in suggesting that the early contact period would have been much more challenging were it not for indigenous urban centers in the New World, the impulse to colonize (or create) densely populated communities of Spanish settlers was not solely the consequence of contact with indigenous empires. Rather, the strategy was part of Spain's earliest claims to New World territories. Upon hearing of Columbus' discoveries, Ferdinand and Isabella moved to ensure their rights to the islands in the Caribbean. Legitimizing their claim in the face of Portuguese encroachment, the Catholic Monarchs convinced Pope Alexander VI to issue the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494) which allocated territory to each of the rival Iberian powers. In return for all territory west of Cape Verde, Ferdinand and Isabella promised to Christianize the inhabitants and aid in the papal effort for spiritual domination in newly conquered territories. Ferdinand in particular

¹⁶⁴ José de Acosta, *Natural and moral history of the Indies*, ed. Jane Mangan, Walter Mignolo, and Frances López-Morillas (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002). 445-46.

¹⁶⁵ This strategy had a tradition that predated the contact period. For example, the Guanches, the indigenous peoples of the Canary Islands during the fourteenth and fifteenth century, suffered the same occupation as that of Central and South America. Due to the disruption of traditional trade routes by Ottoman encroachment in the Mediterranean during the fourteenth century, Iberian kingdoms began exploring islands further into the Atlantic. After establishing agricultural settlements in the uninhabited Madeira and Azores Islands, Iberians moved into the Canaries where they encountered the Guanches. After fierce infighting between the Guanches and the Iberian settlers, the island was finally settled by the Spanish. Colonization consisted of the importation of plants and animals which attempted to change the Canary Islands into an environment which looked and felt more like Spain. For more on Guanches, see Alfred W. Crosby, *Ecological imperialism: the biological expansion of Europe, 900-1900*, 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

believed that cities would aid in the process of conversion by providing visual markers of political and religious authority in new lands. As we will see later in this chapter, Ferdinand even gave specific instructions on how to establish residential lots (*solares*) so as not to impede future construction of necessary civic institutions such as plazas and churches. Later expeditions demonstrated similar assumptions about the connection between cities and order in New World territories. No early contact event in Latin America captures the urban impulse more dramatically than the arrival of Hernán Cortés in the Gulf of Mexico in the early sixteenth century. For Cortés, monarchical authority flowed through political infrastructure. Thus, immediately after his irreverent theft of 500 crewmen and eleven ships from the governor of Cuba, Diego Velázquez, in 1519, Cortés founded the city of Veracruz on the coast of Mexico. Though the city consisted of little more than a small settlement, Cortés appointed *alcaldes* (magistrates) and *regidores* (municipal councilors) to pardon his crimes and grant him political authority to move forward with his plan to make contact with the Aztec capital. After the fall of Tenochtitlan in 1521, Cortés and his men rebuilt Mexico City to more thoroughly reflect their understanding of Spanish cities – based on Catholicism and monarchical authority. Conquistadors demolished the pyramid of Huitzilopochtli and Tlaloc and transformed them into the city’s first Catholic cathedral. Cortés converted Montezuma’s palace into his personal residence, which later became the palace of the viceroy, Spain’s most public expression of the king’s political authority in the colonies.¹⁶⁶

Contemporaneous conquistadors spreading through the New World demonstrated a similar desire to connect themselves to Spain through the establishment of cities. Though far less dramatic, Francisco Pizarro began immediate construction on the *Ciudad de los Reyes* when he arrived in Peru in the late sixteenth century. Though a nascent urban center, the city functioned as a strategic coastal

¹⁶⁶ William F. Connell, *After Moctezuma: indigenous politics and self-government in Mexico City, 1524-1730* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011). 6-7.

capital from which Pizarro sought to solidify his political authority and organize his meager forces months before he stepped foot in the Incan capital of Cuzco.

The fact that urban settlement was not a pan-European strategy in the New World highlights the desire of Spanish monarchs to create an empire connected through cities. For example, British colonists preferred to established settlements on the periphery of indigenous empires, with little interest in cultural conversion or urban development.¹⁶⁷ Even Britain's lucrative Southeast Asian colonies in India did not become culturally British until well into the eighteenth century, and indeed most colonial holding in the early modern period fell under the jurisdiction of private financiers with little interest in establishing their families permanently in colonial territories.¹⁶⁸ For British trading companies such as the Levant Company (1581), British East India Company (1599), and the Virginia Company (1606), limiting antagonism (and engagement) with the indigenous population was the best way to sustain commercial networks between the New and Old World. Unlike the Habsburgs' insistence on monopoly port cities, urban development, and colonial administration, the British monarchy acted more as a legal advocate, protecting the rights of companies that were populating areas demarcated by the Pope for Spanish rule in the Treaty of Tordesillas.¹⁶⁹

Though a Spanish urban strategy is an accepted theory by European and Latin American scholars, the influence, character, and trajectory of Spanish-American cities is a subject of more contentious debate. For example, historian Jorge Enrique Hardoy argues that even though the physical urban landscape which arose in Spanish-American cities was very loosely based on a late medieval model, the topography of colonial cities was more explicitly (and rapidly)

¹⁶⁷ For this see April Lee Hatfield, *Atlantic Virginia : intercolonial relations in the seventeenth century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004). 39-60.

¹⁶⁸ Matthew Lange, James Mahoney, and Matthias vom Hau, "Colonialism and Development: A Comparative Analysis of Spanish and British Colonies," *Chicago Journals* 111, no. 5 (2006): 1425-27.

¹⁶⁹ For the British monarchy, the Pope had no legal rights to grant territorial jurisdiction on "undiscovered" lands. See Burbank and Cooper, *Empires in world history: power and the politics of difference*: 173-74.

responding (via architectural innovation) to the immediate needs of leadership and organized labor in the colonies. It was only *after* these needs had been met that a concerted Iberian influence took hold in Latin American cities.¹⁷⁰

Latin American scholar Richard Morse provides a more instructive model for this study. Morse suggests that as ideas about urban development moved across the Atlantic, colonial cities did not become mirrors of their respective colonial powers. Rather, cities evolved into a combination of Iberian idealism, practicality, and expressions of socio-political philosophy, such as those proposed by Thomas Aquinas and the “mystical body,” or a non-contiguous spiritual and political body bound by a set of social, political, and economic rules of organization and conduct.¹⁷¹ Instead of focusing solely on contingency, Morse sees the combination of *all* factors in the creation of an urban strategy in the colonies, stating that “One way to understand Spanish American cities... is to place the ‘idea of a city’ that came from Europe in dialectical relation with New World conditions of life.”¹⁷²

Due to the city’s wealth and vested interest in the New World, Seville was the most idyllic Castilian city of the early colonial period. The previous chapter argued that city fathers attempted to prove Seville’s healthy body politic through a campaign which visualized Catholic devotion and allegiance to the monarchy. In exchange, authors writing in (or about) Seville were quite comfortable framing the city’s prominence as destined, or at least well deserved.

¹⁷⁰Jorge Hardoy, "European Urban Forms in the Fifteenth to Seventeenth Centuries and Their Utilization in Latin America," in *Urbanization in the Americas from its Beginnings to Present*, ed. Richard Schaedel, Jorge Hardoy, and Nora Scott Kinzer (Chicago: Mouton Publishing, 1978). Also very instructive, Jorge Enrique Hardoy, *Cartografía urbana colonial de América Latina y el Caribe*, 1a ed. (Buenos Aires: Instituto Internacional de Medio Ambiente y Desarrollo-IIED-América Latina : Grupo Editor Latinoamericano, 1991).

¹⁷¹ Richard M. Morse, "The Urban Development of Colonial Latin America," in *The Cambridge History of Latin America* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 68-69.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 70.

British geographer Richard Blome reiterated neighboring recognition of Seville's central role in the Atlantic in his illustrated atlas *Geographical Description of the Four Parts of the World* (1670):

It [Andalusia] is the most rich and fruitful country of all Spain; It is watered with the Rivers Betis, Anas, Tence, and Odier... This country boasts in its chief city Sevilla or Seville; the most beautiful of all this continent, of which the Spaniards say *chi non ha vista Seville, no ha vista maravillas*; that is, *He who hath not seen Seville hath not seen wonder*. It is in compass 6 miles, encompassed with stately walls and adorned with no less magnificent buildings as palaces, churches, and monasteries... the River Betis separates it into two parts, which are joined together by a stately bridge. From hence set forth their West Indies fleet, and hither they return to unlade the riches they bring from those parts... indeed this city, and Lisbon in Portugal may be said to be the chief cities for trade in this continent, the one having had the whole commerce of the West Indies, and the other of the East.¹⁷³

Local authors also asserted Seville's natural role as head of Spain's Atlantic territories. For example, José de Veitia Linaje's *Norte de la contratación de las Indias Occidentales* (The North of Trade to the Americas and the Caribbean)¹⁷⁴ alluded to the city of Seville as an economic and cultural north, or the figurative head, of the American colonies.¹⁷⁵ Sevillian author Fray Tomás de Mercado also noted the city's positive influence in overseas territories: "Was not Seville and all Andalusia before this event the utmost point and end of all land, and now it is the

¹⁷³Blome, *A geographical description of the four parts of the world taken from the notes and workes of the famous Monsieur Sanson, geographer to the French king, and other eminent travellers and authors*: 7-8.

¹⁷⁴Linaje here referring to the West Indies as an administrative unit, meaning America and the Caribbean. For this distinction see Walter Mignolo, *Local histories/global designs : coloniality, subaltern knowledges, and border thinking* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000). 130.

¹⁷⁵José de Veitia Linaje, *Norte de la contratación de las Indias Occidentales* (Sevilla: I. F. de Blas, 1672). 11.

middle to which come the best and most esteemed of the Old World...be be carried to the New.”¹⁷⁶

As will be discussed in further detail in the following chapter, many of those being carried into the New World were Sevillian merchants. Funding expensive expeditions across the Atlantic, merchants were dependent on Seville’s continued economic success. Most Sevillian merchants were more than willing to carry the narrative of Seville’s prominence into the New World. Historian Tamar Herzog notes their crucial role in creating and maintaining communication between Old and New World territories, noting that “The merchant guild of Seville, what was the main port of communication with the Americas, practically monopolized these discussions. Its members declared themselves both eye witnesses (to foreign merchants’ behavior) and expert witnesses (who knew merchants and could understand their behavior best).”¹⁷⁷ As merchants vied to secure their legacy in the New World, cities became the backdrop for settlers attempting to prove their citizenship and civility in the same way they (and their fathers) did in Seville, by investing in civic infrastructure which emphasized the primacy of the monarchy and church. Mexico City’s Metropolitan Cathedral and Lima’s Casa de Pilatos – both of which were replicas of Seville’s most prominent civic landmarks – provide powerful examples of the use of Sevillian identity in overseas territories.¹⁷⁸

However, as mentioned previously, most cities in Spanish-America did not directly resemble Seville, or any European city, to any great degree. Most prominent cities in Iberia existed for centuries prior to the discovery of the American continents, and thus their specific

¹⁷⁶ Pike, *Enterprise and adventure; the Genoese in Seville and the opening of the New World*: 32. Pike here quoting Fray Tomás de Mercado’s *Summa de tratos y contratos* published in Seville in 1587.

¹⁷⁷ Tamar Herzog, "Communities Becoming a Nation: Spain and Spain America in the Wake of Modernity (and Thereafter)," *Citizenship Studies* 11, no. 2 (2007): 156.

¹⁷⁸ There is a brief description of the Casa de Pilatos in Lima in Kelly Donahue-Wallace, *Art and architecture of viceregal Latin America, 1521-1821*, Diálogos (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008). 95-96.

spatial and architectural blueprints could not have been explicitly modeled in the New World. Also, many areas colonized by the Spanish were already urban, or organized into indigenous settlements, which often guided the specific trajectory of development in any given area. At the same time, the economic and cultural role of Seville in facilitating the Spanish colonial enterprise in the early modern period meant that Seville created a convenient language for large cities that sought imperial favor. Even though colonial cities were rarely direct replicas of Seville, their representation in urban cartography coincided with the theories of urban civility and social order put forth in the previous two chapters. As urban centers in the New World began to grow, largely through the investment of merchants from southern Spain, their urban prosperity found visual expression in urban cartography.

“Las Cosas Más Particulares de la Ciudad”: Performative Geography in Colonial Cities

As conquistadors expanded Spain’s territorial claims from northern Mexico to Tierra del Fuego, images which reflected the Habsburg vision of ordered and productive colonies became useful in quelling fears about the monarchy’s far flung financial investment. In the 1570s, Philip II inaugurated the first full-scale inquiry into New World geography, which culminated in Juan López de Valasco’s now famed *relaciones geográficas*. Though the outcome of this inquiry created a uniquely combined European and indigenous cartographic rendering of New Spain, it marked only the beginning of the process of outlining the geographic and human geography of New World territories.¹⁷⁹ Another attempt came only a few years after the monarch received the *relaciones geográficas*. In 1573 Philip II created a universal model for development in the

¹⁷⁹ A full rendering of the *relaciones geográficas* can be seen in Barbara E. Mundy, *The mapping of New Spain : indigenous cartography and the maps of the relaciones geográficas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

colonies entitled, *El orden que se ha de tener en descubrir y poblar* (Ordinances for the Discovery, New Settlement and Pacification of the Indies, popularly called the *Law of the Indies*). The *Laws* envisioned a set of regulations which could guide the development of cities both towards order (streets oriented to the four cardinal directions and city plazas), public health (located near fresh water sources), and fortification (never too far from sea). As we will see, urban cartography was a way for colonial cities to prove both their allegiance to Philip II's proposed model, as well as their connection to a monarchy across the Atlantic.

Though Spanish and Portuguese cartographers had been mapping the coastal regions of the Americas since the late fifteenth century, the desire to cartographically render New World territories steadily increased throughout the early modern period. The modest beginning of this interest has several variables. First, during the earliest stages of colonization, the Spanish monarchy took advantage of indigenous cartography in order to assess the complex tribute networks of the Aztecs and Incas. However, as agricultural and mineral production in the Caribbean, Mexico, and various regions of South America increased, aggressive mapping of colonial capitals and port cities gave the Spanish crown a more defined understanding of the economic capability of their new territories. Perhaps most importantly during the early modern period was the arrival of the English and French in North America and the Dutch in the South American regions of the empire. The often violent clashes with these maritime superpowers prompted the monarchy to fortify important coastal and inland cities throughout the seventeenth century.¹⁸⁰

¹⁸⁰ The arrival of the Bourbon monarchs in Spain, and a scientific impulse throughout all of Europe, in the eighteenth century prompted the crown to even further define their overseas territories. In the mid-eighteenth century Charles III permitted additional cartographic renderings of underrepresented regions of Spain's American territories – a political decision which his Habsburg predecessors would have found strategically errant. See Kagan and Marías, *Urban images of the Hispanic world, 1493-1793*: 87.

Unlike the sweeping cartographic renderings of the Atlantic by Parisian or Dutch cartographers, the Spanish Habsburgs favored regional, often artistic renderings of the empire.¹⁸¹ This difference was not one of sophistication, rather simple preference. Moving from the general to the specific was a common mnemonic in early modern geography. Through dissection, maps offered viewers the ability to bring all the people and places of the world into view, and also, into comparison. Even early portolan charts offered an intricate composite of navigational precision and knowledge of inland political possession, environment, confessional identity, and indigenous populations.¹⁸² (Figure Two)

This method derived largely from the Ptolemaic approach to geography employed by cartographers for centuries.¹⁸³ Written in the second century, Ptolemy's *Geographia* proposed meridians and parallels for breaking down the world into large-scale sections, and established a way of seeing the globe *both* in generalities and specifics. First, "world cartography" viewed the entire known world in a broad view, visually demonstrating a continuous landmass surrounded by water.¹⁸⁴ Once the world was appropriately visualized, "regional cartography" (what Ptolemy termed chorography) could effectively describe details such as great cities, notable peoples, rivers, etc. Ptolemy elucidated the study of world and regional geography by creating a visual mnemonic for geography:

The goal of regional cartography is an impression of a part, as when one makes an image of just an ear or an eye; but [the goal] of world cartography is a general view, analogous to making a portrait of the whole head. That is, whenever a portrait is to be made, one has

¹⁸¹ For this preference, see Richard Kagan, "Urbs and Civitas in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Spain" in *Envisioning the city: six studies in urban cartography*, ed. David Buisseret, *The Kenneth Nebenzahl, Jr., lectures in the history of cartography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 98-102.

¹⁸² See Figure two, Pascoal Roiz, Atlantic Ocean. 1633 [map]. Scale not given. Library of Congress, Geography and Maps Division. <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g9111p.ct002332>.

¹⁸³ Norman Joseph William Thrower, *Maps & civilization: cartography in culture and society*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

¹⁸⁴ Of course, Ptolemy's desire to visually link the world in one continuous landmass reflects the limits of geographic knowledge at the time.

to fit in the main parts [of the body] in a determined pattern and an order of priority. Furthermore the [surfaces] that are going to hold the drawings ought to be of a suitable size for the spacing of the visual rays at an appropriate distance [from the spectator], whether the drawing be of whole or part, so that everything will be grasped by the sense [of sight].¹⁸⁵ (Figure Four)

The realization of the American continents by Europeans in the fifteenth century refashioned the contiguous continental model proposed by Ptolemy. For most authors, America became the fourth part – Europe, Africa, Asia, and now America – what historian Ricardo Padrón calls a “mutually reinforcing, albeit fictional, geography, one that locates and characterizes both self and other.”¹⁸⁶ New geographic narratives had to reimage the limits of the ocean, the expectations of political possession, and incorporate indigenous peoples hitherto unknown to European intellectuals into Biblical histories.¹⁸⁷ Though texts, maps, and paintings slowly adopted a vision of the world notably different from medieval cosmologies, the approach remained rooted in Ptolemy’s world vs. regional approach to geography. Spanish geographer Gerónimo Girava exemplifies the process of revaluation in his *Cosmographia y Geographia* (1570). In his *nueva descripción* of the globe, Girava offered extensive description of ancient geographers and how they viewed their world. Girava also included a chronological history of European discoveries, with lengthy descriptions of Spain’s contribution to a new knowledge of the globe and its various human inhabitants. However, Girava’s work was not a reinterpretation of Ptolemy’s approach, rather an attempt to expand ancient geographers like Ptolemy into the modern, notably Spanish, discovery of the whole world (*esfera ó redondez de la tierra*). Girava’s

¹⁸⁵ J. L. Berggren, Alexander Jones, and Ptolemy, *Ptolemy's Geography : an annotated translation of the theoretical chapters* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

¹⁸⁶ Padrón, *The spacious word : cartography, literature, and empire in early modern Spain*: 21.

¹⁸⁷ Edmundo O’Gorman, *The invention of America: an inquiry into the historical nature of the New World and the meaning of its history* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961). 67, 131.

nueva descripción of the globe was, “according to the ancients, principally Ptolemy...[and] I hope to give the same light in the following” description. He goes on to recount the familiar dissection of the four parts of the world, giving “first the universal relationship of the parts of Earth and reason for their names, second their particular demographics (*repartimento*) in each of these parts, third the number and name of the provinces, fourth that of the most principle cities, fifth of the islands, sixth of the rivers, seventh of the mountains, and lastly the manner of life and customs in each region.”¹⁸⁸ To aid in memorization, Girava included a series of tables which gave exact coordinates to connect each description with an enclosed map.

Similar to Girava’s approach, authors and cartographers explaining Spanish colonial territories often focused their efforts on regionally specific visual and textual descriptions, usually paying particular attention to colonial cities. Similar to the way Juan de Mal Lara described Seville’s urban success through the appropriate use of the wealth from American trade,¹⁸⁹ the monarchy believed that investment in colonial infrastructure was the only way to secure the necessary institutions for an orderly and lucrative trade relationship with the colonies. The first set of royal instructions given to colonial administrator Pedrarias Dávila by King Ferdinand in 1513 attests to the monarchy’s interest in colonial urban development, as well as the uncertainty of its implementation. Ferdinand noted: “...for the manner of setting up the *solares* (residential lots) will determine the pattern of the town, both in the position of the plaza and the church and in the pattern of the streets, for towns being newly founded may be established according to a plan without difficulty. If not started with form, they will never attain

¹⁸⁸ Gerónimo Girava, *La cosmographia, y geographia del S. Hieronimo Girava Tarragones : en la qual se contiene la descripcion de todo el mundo, y de sus partes, y particularmente de las Indias, y tierra nueva* (Venecia: por Lordan Zileti y su companero, 1570). 55-56.

¹⁸⁹ In particular, Mal Lara’s description processed the reader through Seville’s great churches, hospitals, monasteries, public gardens, and clean streets.

it.”¹⁹⁰ Later, Charles V issued *cédulas* such as *Nuevas Instrucciones* (1526) and *Instrucciones y Reglas para Poblar* (1529) that attempted to both protect indigenous populations from decline by promoting infrastructural development among settlers in growing urban centers.¹⁹¹

The prevailing theory that cities were tantamount to civility also emerged in authors grappling with the how New World territories would be integrated Old World social, political, and religious organization. In the *Cause of the Magnificence of Cities*, Giovanni Botero relayed the desperate situation in Brazil:

These people dwell dispersed here and there in caves and cottages...and for so much as this manner of life, to live so dispersedly, causes these people to remain in that same savage mind of theirs, and roughness of manner and behavior; and brings therewith much difficulty and hindrance to preaching of the Gospel to the conversion of the infidels...and to bring them to knowledge and civility: [they] have used extreme diligence and care to reduce and draw them into some certain place together...where living in a civil conversation, they might more easily be instructed in the Christian faith and governed by the magistrate and ministers of the king.¹⁹²

Spanish author Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas expressed similar concerns in his *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos en las Islas y Tierra Firme* (1601). The *Historia* suggested that the cultivation of land and urban civility in the “old hemisphere” (here meaning Europe, and sometimes Asia) was superior to the “barbarous” civilizations in the Americas. Regarding the difference between American and European continents, Herrera

¹⁹⁰ Jay Kinsbruner, *The colonial Spanish-American city : urban life in the age of Atlantic capitalism*, 1st ed. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005). 11.

¹⁹¹ Dora P. Crouch, Daniel J. Garr, and Axel I. Mundigo, *Spanish city planning in North America* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1982). 23.

¹⁹² Botero, *On the Cause of the Magnificence of Cities divided into three bookes by Sig: Giouanni Botero, in the Italian tongue; now done into English by Robert Peterson*: 3.

reflected on the superior resources and urban organization of Europe as opposed to indigenous people who lived outside established communities:

Our continent [Europe] is more favored...In the other hemisphere [America]... They have no orange, lemon, pomegranate, fig, quince, nor olive trees, no melons, vines, and we exceeded them much industry, they having no use of iron, and very little of fire, which is of so great advantage. They knew nothing of fire-arms, printing or learning. Their navigation extended not beyond their sight. Their governments and politics were barbarous...Their mountains and vast woods were not habitable; the part inhabited was not so populous as our parts...In many of those mountains the people live like savages...living without any sovereign, laws, or settled habitation...When the Spaniards came to Peru, there was no place but Cuzco that was anything like a city; and as tame Creatures are more numerous than wild, and those that live in companies more than the solitary; so the people that live neighborly in towns, and cities, are more political than those that dwell like wild beasts in the woods and mountains.¹⁹³

For Herrera, what made indigenous populations barbarous was not their physical distance from Europe, rather their cultural distance. Due to the lack of appropriately cultivated land, populous cities, and political infrastructure, indigenous people lacked the capability of reaching the civility of the Old World. Philip II's introduction of the *Law of the Indies* in July of 1573 was an attempt to guide colonial settlement toward urban development, effectively shifting the New World from barbarity to civility.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹³ Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas, *The general history of the vast continent and islands of America, commonly call'd the West-Indies, from the first discovery thereof: with the best accounts the people could give of their antiquities*, 2d ed., 6 vols. (New York: AMS Press, 1973). 17-20.

¹⁹⁴ It is important to note, there were several attempts throughout Philip II's reign to compile a full body of legislation regarding the organization and government of the Indies. Certainly the publication of Law of the Indies presented the most codified and deliberate attempt to homogenize colonial cities, early modern scholars continued to elaborate on the subject for nearly a century after Philip II's death. It was not until León Pinelo's four volume *Recopilación de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias* (published in a nine book set under Pinelo's successor, Fernando Jiménez) that the Habsburg crown had a codified set of laws which remained relatively untouched until the eighteenth century. See Crouch, Garr, and Mundigo, *Spanish city planning in North America*: 26.

Complied only a few years after his famous visit to Seville in 1570, his successful quelling of the *morisco* uprisings in the Alpujarras mountains later the same year, as well as his victory over the Ottomans in the Mediterranean at the Battle of Lepanto in 1571, Philip II's *Law of the Indies* reflected the monarchy's desire to secure future success through a codified urban strategy.¹⁹⁵ For Philip II, New World cities needed quality buildings, fortifications, and linear city streets.¹⁹⁶ Threatening fines for poor performance, Philip II's *Laws* stated that "the Council of the Indies governors will not be satisfied by the mere fact of possession and continuity of rule and order from the start, and will make them responsible for its development." (Law, 102) The anticipation of colonial expansion of nascent cities manifested throughout the *Law*, which ordered that colonial cities leave "sufficient open space so that even if the town grows, it can always spread in the same manner" (Law, 110). Also, when growth did occur "it shall not result in some inconvenience that will make ugly what needed to be rebuilt, or endanger its defense or comfort." (Law, 117) The most compelling instructions were regarding infrastructural development. Beginning with the plaza and moving outward through large streets, Philip II envisioned colonial cities built in "good proportion" with unobstructed churches, monasteries, hospitals, administrative buildings, and institutions for city use. Necessary but unsightly lots for slaughter houses, fishers, and tanneries should be set away from public view, so as their "filth shall be easily disposed of." (Law, 122) Though each building described in the *Law* had specific instructions, Philip II ordered that the most important institutions, such as a city's cathedral, should be "separated from any other nearby building, or from adjoining buildings, and ought to

¹⁹⁵ For an abridged transcription of Philip II's Law of the Indies, see Dora P. Crouch and Axel I. Mundigo, "The City Planning Ordinances of the Laws of the Indies Revisited. Part I: Their Philosophy and Implications," *The Town Planning Review* 48, no. 3 (1977).

¹⁹⁶ Alejandra B. Osorio, *Inventing Lima : Baroque modernity in Peru's south sea metropolis*, 1st ed., The Americas in the early modern Atlantic world (New York, N.Y.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008). 3.

be seen from all sides so that it can be decorated better, thus acquiring more authority.” (Law, 124)

Philip II’s call for functional colonial cities mirrored Mal Lara’s account of Seville’s urban success. In Seville, Betis ushered New World wealth through the Guadalquivir River, a powerful allegory about the need for urban infrastructure as a bulwark against social unrest. In his account, Mal Lara described Seville’s establishment of civic and religious institutions such as ports, churches, amphitheaters, universities, hospitals, and grand palaces, as well as local imperial institutions, as necessary to managing the city’s vast population. Seville’s 1634 *Ordenanças* reiterated the perceived social contribution of urban infrastructure by ordering the continued maintenance of ports, public buildings, and city streets – what the city council considered a befitting beatification of an imperial city. The *Ordenanças* drew a direct connection between Seville’s urban infrastructure and social order by suggesting that the city had surpassed its ancient Roman predecessor: “It is in this later and more grand Republic which we today have.... in which can spring good laws, scared ordinances and holy order of the masses, which will preserve them with fairness and peace.”¹⁹⁷

Urban cartography of Spanish-American cities visually reflected the economic and cultural conversion of New World topography by adhering to Seville’s version of urban development outlined in Philip II’s *Laws*. As will be discussed later, even early sixteenth-century representations of Lima and Mexico City as little more than a central grid with plans for the most essential religious and political institutions reflected this nascent connection. By the early seventeenth century, most maps of Spanish-American cities had evolved into sophisticated, artful representations of Spanish urban design. One of the most striking examples of this vision was Juan Gómez de Trasmonte’s *Forma y levantado de la Ciudad de México* (Shape and Structure of

¹⁹⁷Salamanca, "Ordenanças de Sevilla " 8.

Mexico City) (Figure Four), an image copied by European cartographers throughout the seventeenth century.¹⁹⁸ Trasmonte was a Mexican-born civil architect commissioned by the crown, along with Belgian engineer Adrián Boot, to find a solution for Mexico City's consistent flooding in the seventeenth century. An experienced urban planner, Trasmonte was no stranger to such commissions, and had worked on Mexico City's drainage problem for several decades prior to his commission. Trasmonte also acted as head contractor on the construction and maintenance of the cathedrals in Mexico City and Puebla. Attempting to visualize a solution to Mexico City's consistent flooding, Trasmonte composed an image which attempted to more fluidly incorporate the Mexico City's unique canal system into its current infrastructure. What emerged from Trasmonte's visualization was not an exact representation of Mexico City, rather an idealized image of New Spain's most prolific metropolis. Painted in brilliant watercolors, the map functioned as part geographic expression of the city and its surrounding environments, and part expression of the city's Catholic orthodoxy and political relationship to the crown.

Though Mexico City had a long urban history, and indeed many of the pre-contact tribute networks remained intact after the arrival of the Spanish, Tenochtitlan was destroyed by the efforts of Cortés to defeat Aztec forces in the 1520s. Trasmonte reimagined the city, as well as the surrounding environment, as an ideal New World city. To the east he sketched the wall of San Lázaro and the Sierra de Santa Catarina, the mountains to the east of Mexico City. To the south he illustrated the neighborhoods of San Pablo and San Antonio Abad, as well as the aqueducts of Chapultepec to the south and Santa Fe to the east. In addition to features which were necessary for the canal's renovation, Trasmonte additionally outlined principal religious and political sites of importance. The most important sites were raised against the backdrop of a

¹⁹⁸ For Trasmonte's view, as well as a compilation of several other view of Mexico City in the early modern period, see, Lombardo de Ruiz, *Atlas histórico de la ciudad de México*, ed. Lombardo de Ruiz, Sonia Terán Trillo, and Mario de Torre, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Mexico: Smurfit Cartón y Papel de México, 1996), 1 atlas (2 v).

flattened cityscape, while others were only mentioned in Trasmonte's two map keys. In recognition of Philip II's *Law of the Indies*, the institutions signifying Mexico City's Spanish and Catholic identity - the city's cathedral, royal place, cabildo, and the university - dominated the cityscape with their exaggerated size, distinct coloring, and notable detail. The emphasis placed on the central plaza and attendant religious and political institutions mirrored Philip II's instruction that "In the plaza, no lots shall be assigned to private individuals; instead, they shall be used for the buildings of the church and royal houses and for city use." (Law, 126) In addition to the institutions which surrounded the city's central plaza, notable nunneries and monasteries, parish churches, as well as Mexico City's famed Alameda (public garden), were scattered throughout smaller plazas. The exaggerated detail of the city's principle institutions outside the central plaza reaffirmed Trasmonte's commitment to the Philip II's ordinances which instructed that "...smaller plazas of good proportion shall be laid out, where the temples associated with the principle church, the parish churches, and the monasteries can be built, [in] such [manner] that everything may be distributed in a good proportion for the instruction of religion." (Law, 118) Though Trasmonte's map makes minimal allusions to life outside the city's central grid, foreign cartographers (mostly English and Dutch) often purposely foreground the Mexico City's extensive barrios, colonial labor practices, and well as the profound ethnic diversity of the Spanish-American population (Figure Five).

Trasmonte's cartographic rendering of Mexico City was a visual rejection of Herrera's and Botero's descriptions of pre-Columbian society. It refashioned the landscape of the Aztec capital to reflect institutions which colonial administrators could recognize and govern - a topographical conversion that signaled Mexico City had embraced the necessary infrastructure for inclusion in the larger fraternity of Spanish cities. Similar to Mal Lara's emphasis on

highlighting institutions necessary for an imperial city, Trasmonte preferred to emphasize the parts of Mexico City which most allied with the monarchy's efforts to place colonial territories within a hierarchical, transatlantic relationship. In this way, Trasmonte's view of Mexico City was not just colonial, it was also performative. Richard Kagan notes the unidirectional nature of idealized urban images of colonial cartography, stating that "la relación entre la corografía¹⁹⁹ y las comunidades a las que servía no fue unidireccional. Si el género corográfico representaba una expresión cultural de los pueblos, también ofrecía a los pueblos un lenguaje que les permitía desarrollar, a través del tiempo, su propio sentido de identidad."²⁰⁰ Trasmonte's performative design of Mexico City visually emphasized a strong government, healthy economy, racial hierarchy, and religious orthodoxy.²⁰¹ However, similar to public performances, cartographic images provided a place where the political and spiritual connection to the Spanish crown could be visually solidified, thus making a colonial city a part of a larger community of cities across the empire.²⁰² As Kagan notes, this relationship was not solely for the benefit of the crown, but provided a language of inclusion for colonial cities whose monarch was across the Atlantic.

Cartographic images of Lima during the same time period reveal a similar performative geography in South America. Aggressive European powers on the periphery of Spanish colonial

¹⁹⁹ Kagan draws the term *corografía*, meaning regional description, from the distinction made by Ptolemy regarding the differences between regional and universal geography. See Richard Kagan, "La corografía en la Castilla Moderna. Género, Historia, Nación," *Studia Histórica. Historia Moderna XIII*(1995).

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 48.

²⁰¹ For very good works on this subject see; Linda Ann Curcio, *The great festivals of colonial Mexico City : performing power and identity*, 1st ed., Diálogos (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004); Alejandro Cañeque, *The king's living image: the culture and politics of viceregal power in colonial Mexico* (New York: Routledge, 2004); Osorio, *Inventing Lima : Baroque modernity in Peru's south sea metropolis*.

²⁰² Historian Patricia Seed argues that this impulse was present from the earliest years of Spanish conquest. Distancing themselves from the architectural possession of the English, as well as the perceived technological pioneering of the Portuguese, Seed argues that Spanish possession relied on a verbal expression of authority, the *Requirimiento*. Having a long history in the Iberian Peninsula, the *Requirimiento* functioned as a public profession of a genealogy of power in new territories. This expression of power was a means of integrating indigenous people into an Iberian social hierarchy in order to guide social interaction, and establish a new political authority in the New World. See Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of possession in Europe's conquest of the New World, 1492-1640* (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995); ———, "Taking Possession and Reading Texts: Establishing Authority of Overseas Empires," *William and Mary Quarterly* (1992).

territories prompted a broader defensive focus for cities such as Lima in the seventeenth century. A 1626 map of Lima's central gird exemplified this anxiety by envisioning the city's plaza mayor, cathedral, royal palace and principle monastery of Santo Domingo surrounded by cannons.²⁰³ (Figure Six) The image not only demonstrated Lima's ability to defend itself from foreign aggressors, it highlighted the institutions which the crown believed necessitated the most protection.

Lima's strategic role in the Pacific during the late seventeenth century prompted colonial administrators and the *Consejo de Indias* to consider the construction of a defensive wall (*murallas*) for protection against rival European power or potential indigenous uprisings around the south sea metropolis.²⁰⁴ This decision initiated a series of detailed cartographic images which local cartographers elaborated on for nearly a century after their original composition. Similar to Trasmonte's idyllic image of Mexico City, urban cartographic renderings sent from Lima to the *Consejo de Indias* from 1685-1688 revealed the desire of colonial officials to see urban development in the colonies, as well as the desire of *limeños* to depict their city as a south sea capital.

In 1682 Juan Ramón Koninick, a Flemish-Jesuit educated at the University of San Marcos and *Cosmógrafo Mayor del Reino del Perú*, created an austere version of the city in collaboration with military engineer Venegas Osorio.²⁰⁵ (Figure Seven) Largely over-budget, the grand fortification was only modestly realized over the several decades of construction.

However, the plans drawn up by Koninick provided a seminal outline for contemporary

²⁰³ Lima, Peru [map]. 1626. Scale not given. Portada del Archivo General de Indias.

<http://www.mcu.es/archivos/MC/AGI/index.html>. Mapas y Planos, Perú y Chile, 7.

²⁰⁴ Using Alejandra Osorio's terminology here. See Osorio, *Inventing Lima : Baroque modernity in Peru's south sea metropolis*.

²⁰⁵ Lima, Peru [map]. 1682. Scale not given. Portada del Archivo General de Indias.

<http://www.mcu.es/archivos/MC/AGI/index.html>. Mapas y Planos, Perú y Chile, 11. Also see Víctor Mínguez and Inmaculada Rodríguez Moya, *Las ciudades del absolutismo : arte, urbanismo y magnificencia en Europa y América durante los siglos XV-XVIII* (Castelló de la Plana: Universitat Jaume I, 2006). 349-50.

cartographers. Most importantly, a 1685 engraved elaboration by Fray Pedro Nolasco Meré affirmed Lima's identity as firmly rooted in Spanish assumptions about civic organization. (Figure Eight) The Nolasco engraving provided impressive (albeit unverifiable) detail of Lima's ordered streets, housing, public gardens and commons, all completely flush with the Rimac River. In the decorative cartouche, Nolasco made note of the city's impressive size and prevailing military architecture: "Lima, City of the Kings, Court and trading center of the Peru's empire, tightly bound (*ceñida*) and fortified with a walled fortress, conforming to the modern military architecture for encircling nine miles."²⁰⁶ A 1687 elaboration on Nolasco's engraving made significant changes to the decorative cartouche, most importantly the inclusion of the famed Pillars of Hercules, the originals of which supposedly adorned the entrance to Seville's public gardens.

Similar to Trasmonte's map of Mexico City, Nolasco exaggerated points of interest for his audience in the *Consejo de Indias*. The city's metropolitan cathedral, royal palace, and house of the cabildo were meticulously detailed and noted first in Nolasco's extensive key. The institutions also conformed to the orders laid out in the 1573 *Law of the Indies*. For example, Nolasco's cathedral towered above the square with noticeable steps leading to the main entrance, complying with Philip II's instruction that, "it (the cathedral) be somewhat raised from ground level in order that it be approached by steps, and near it, next to the main plaza, the royal council and *cabildo* and custom houses shall be built. [These shall be built] in a manner that would not embarrass the temple but add its prestige." (Law, 124) In addition to the most obvious markers of imperial authority, the engraving demonstrated Lima's various other religious and civic

²⁰⁶ *Ciudad de los Reyes, Corte y Emporio del Imperio del Perú, ceñida, y fortificada con muros y baluartes, conforme la moderna arquitectura militar que tienen de circunvalación nueve millas*. Lima, Peru [map]. 1685. Scale not given. Portada del Archivo General de Indias. <http://www.mcu.es/archivos/MC/AGI/index.html>. Mapas y Planos, Perú y Chile, 14.

institutions. Nolasco's extensive key included over thirty-five religious houses, five hospitals, at least four charity houses, and over five colleges and universities. Unlike Trasmonte's view of Mexico City, Nolasco made little note of the surrounding geography.²⁰⁷ Where such detail could have existed, Nolasco instead ornamented the engraving with an angle heralding the imperial dominion of the city with a trumpet draped with the Habsburg royal flag on the left and Lima's coat of arms on the right.

The *Consejo de Indias* welcomed both Koninick's austere version of Lima, as well Nolasco's more elaborated engraving, when considering the construction of Lima's defensive wall. In the end, the *Consejo* employed both images in their decision, Koninick's for the official wall design, and Nolasco's to more thoroughly outline what the city would look like when the construction was complete.²⁰⁸ However, Nolasco's map became a popular image in Lima after its release in 1685. Sometime in the late seventeenth-century, Bernardo Clemente Principe composed a hand-colored manuscript similar to Nolasco's image. (Figure Nine) Though little is known about Principe's purpose in creating a watercolor image of Nolasco's map, his rendering similarly located Lima's prominent buildings, water sources, and natural environment.²⁰⁹ Launching the image into further circulation was the inclusion of a printed version of the map in Francisco de Echave y Assu's *La Estrella de Lima convertida en sol* (1688), a local history which highlighted the good works the recently beatified Archbishop of Lima, Alfonso de

²⁰⁷ An extensive treatment of the surrounding environment is noticeably absent in Nolasco's engraving. Topographic-hydrographic or topographic-defensive maps often include impressive detail. See San Cristóbal de La Habana (1776), Santiago de Cuba (1669), Santo Domingo (1619), Puebla de los Angeles (1698), Acapulco (1730), Cartagena de Indias (1631 and 1665) to name only a few.

²⁰⁸ Kagan and Marías, *Urban images of the Hispanic world, 1493-1793*: 171-72.

²⁰⁹ Single leaf image; estimate dating of 1674 without accompanying manuscript. Little is known of acquisition. Image could have been before Nolasco's printed image. Lima, Peru [map]. 1685. Scale not given. Library of Congress, Geography and Maps Division. G5314.L5 1674 .P7.

Mogrovejo (1538-1606).²¹⁰ *La Estrella* took Nolasco's topographic version of Lima and turned it into a portrait which could accompany the textual description of the city's history. (Figure Ten) Each direction depicted beasts such as lamas, armadillos, parrots, and jaguars, all unique contributions of the discovery of Peru. The version also foregrounded important local figures like Rosa of Lima (1586-1617) and Turibius of Mongrovejo (1538-1606),²¹¹ Grand Inquisitor named by Philip II as the Archbishop of Lima and who also baptized popular local saints including Rosa of Lima and Martín de Porres (1579-1639).

Though Mexico City and Lima were the subject of numerous cartographic renderings throughout the early modern period, the crown was equally interested in smaller colonial towns. However, most New World towns lacked the funds to support the infrastructure of colonial capitals. Smaller agriculture and port cities, such as Trujillo in Mexico or Cartagena on the Atlantic coast, were forced to adjust, or even altogether disregard, the specifics laid out in Philip II's *Law of the Indies*. Some cities succumbed to their geographic reality altogether, abandoning the central grid so prominent in Mexico City and Lima. Others highlighted their city's ordered grid plan in stark contrast to the sometimes overwhelming natural environment in which they were surrounded. Despite these variations, smaller towns and cities most often found a way to demonstrate their functionality to the crown while at the same time demonstrating their conformity to their capital counterparts. For example, the *Planta de la Ciudad de Trujillo* (1687), a city founded in 1534 by Francisco Pizarro's fellow conquistador Diego de Almagro, envisioned a fortified, polygon city with an inlaid grid.²¹² Similar to the elaborative cityscapes of Trasmonte

²¹⁰ Lima, Peru [map]. 1688. Scale not given. Library of Congress, Geography and Maps Division. General Collections.

²¹¹ Turibius of Mongrovejo was beatified in 1679, but not officially canonized until 1726.

²¹² Easiest access to these map is through Hardoy's cartographic compilation of AGI references in Hardoy, *Cartografía urbana colonial de América Latina y el Caribe*. For further reference regarding analysis see ———, *Las ciudades en América Latina; seis ensayos sobre la urbanización contemporánea* (Buenos Aires: Paidós, 1972).

and Nolasco, the hand drawn map detailed important civic institutions such as the city's plaza, convent, college, hospital, and monastery, leaving the rest of the grid blank. A map of Cartagena de Indias around the same period possessed a similar sentiment to that of the Trujillo map. Though the cartographer was most concerned with plans for the city's new fortifications (indeed, the map possesses a pasted flap so as to obscure the fortification plans from the casual onlooker while in transport) the image revealed sensitivity to a cartographic model which represented specific urban elements. The central grid identified Cartagena's central church, governor's house, and plaza. Written across these institutions was an inscription indicating what the mapmaker noted as "the most extraordinary things within the city" (*las cosas más particulares de la ciudad*) of Cartagena .

Conclusion

Urban cartography of Spanish-America visually emphasized institutions which allied their cities with Catholic orthodoxy and the Spanish crown, an image which could unite them with notions of urban civility in Europe. Trasmonte and Nolasco rejected the association of Mexico City and Lima with pre-Columbian civilization, and instead presented a model which allied with the visual narratives about civic order put forth in Seville. Similar to Seville's visual emphasis on civic order through virtuous stewardship of American wealth, colonial infrastructure became an important marker of legitimacy in the New World. Urban cartography provided an arena for cities in Spanish-America to prove their essential contribution to Spain's efforts in the colonies while at the same time deemphasizing their non-European location. Trasmonte's obvious exaggeration of institutions which were designed to meet the needs of Mexico City's

———, *El proceso de urbanización en América Latina* (La Habana: Oficina Regional de Cultura para América Latina y el Caribe, 1974).

population became only more prevalent amidst the vast natural environment which surrounded the colonial metropolis. Similarly, Nolasco's elaboration on Koninick's map emphasized Lima's ordered streets, charitable institutions, and architecturally distinctive cathedral in order to reinforce the city's reputation as Spain's south sea metropolis. Both images deliberately omitted obvious realities which could compromise their reputation as Spanish-Catholic cities of the empire. Until the redistricting of many major colonial cities in the eighteenth century, little mention was made of the massive barrios which surrounded the central grid. Silhouetting major city's latticed gridiron were overcrowded barrios where the majority of free blacks, as well as poor Indians and Spaniards lived. Besides their unique racial diversity, the barrios lacked the orderliness and sanitation of the central grid, accommodating slaughterhouses, tanneries, corrals and the majority of the city's popular gaming and drinking establishments. The exclusion of these complicating realities only more thoroughly emphasizes the desire of colonial officials and local authorities to represent themselves in only the most recognizably ordered and formulaic images so as to affirm their inclusion in a transatlantic fraternity of cities.

The impulse to establish and develop colonial cities remained strong throughout the Habsburgs' reign. Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper argue that this relationship was not only economic, but also cultural: "The empire...offered civilization and spiritual connections to Christians living among conquered people. With settler populations spread out over large spaces across the ocean, Spain offered something more profound and universalistic than the culture of town or region."²¹³ This chapter has argued that cartographic representations were civic performances which provided a visual language of inclusion in an ethnically diverse and geographically disparate empire. However, this is not to suggest that cities never advocated for autonomy, or that the intentions of early settlers in the region were the same as colonial

²¹³ Burbank and Cooper, *Empires in world history: power and the politics of difference*: 126.

authorities. In fact, the civic pride that went along with many colonial cities eventually created conceptual space for feelings of patriotism towards Spanish-American cities, and later, autonomy from the Spanish crown.²¹⁴

²¹⁴ D. A. Brading, *The first America: the Spanish monarchy, Creole patriots, and the liberal state, 1492-1867* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 293-314.

FIGURE ONE

Vista de la Ciudad de Sevilla en el siglo XVI, 16th century

Alonso Sánchez Coello

Image can be found at: Museo de América, Madrid



FIGURE TWO

Portolan chart of the Atlantic Ocean and adjacent Continents, 1633

Pascoal Roiz

Image can be found at: Library of Congress, Geography and Maps Division

G9111.P5 1633 .R7



FIGURE THREE

Cosmographia, 1524 ed.

Peter Apian

Image visually demonstrates the difference between geography and chorography. Apian discussed several basic elements of cosmography in his work, illustrating them for the benefit of beginners. Here he visualizes Ptolemy's distinction between geography (visualized as the whole head) and chorography (regional topography; visualized as the detail of an eye or ear). Image can be found in the Special Collections Division of San Diego State University

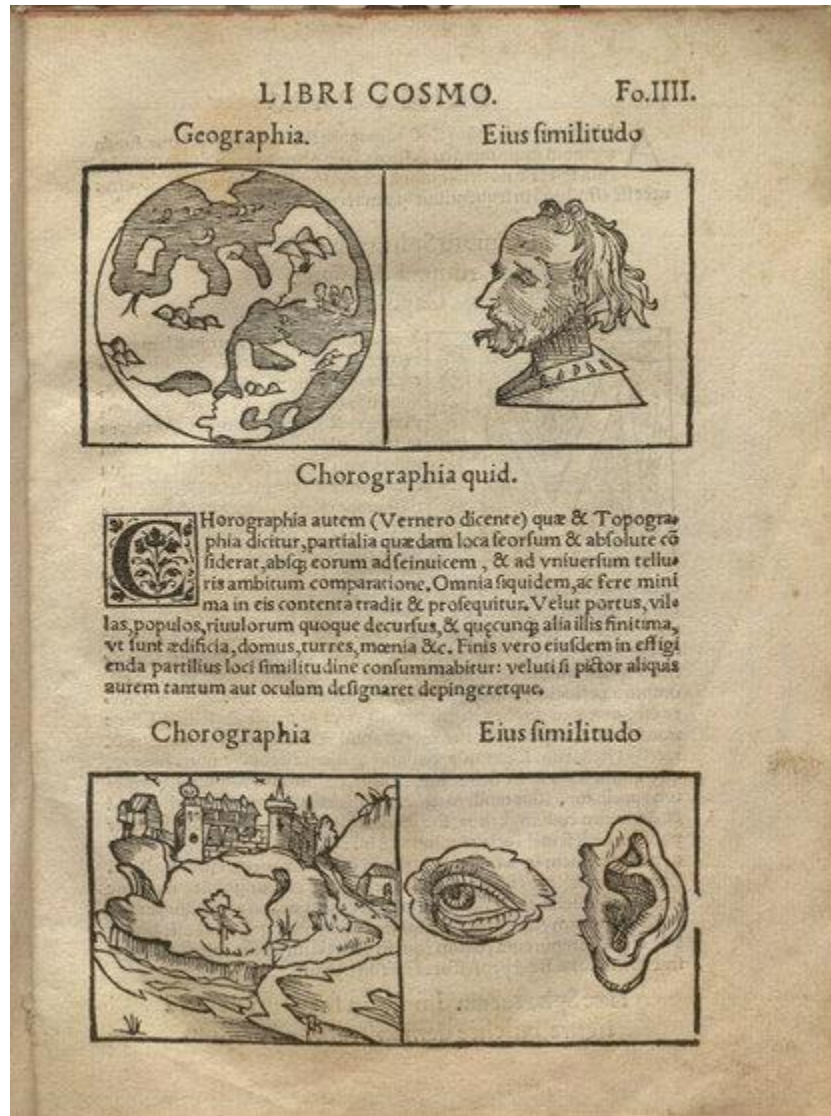


FIGURE FOUR

La Forma y Levantado de la Ciudad de México

Juan Gomez de Trasmonte, 1628

Museo Nacional de Historia, Mexico

Image can be found in: Saonia Lomardo de Ruiz, *Atlas Historico de la Ciudad de Mexico* (1996)

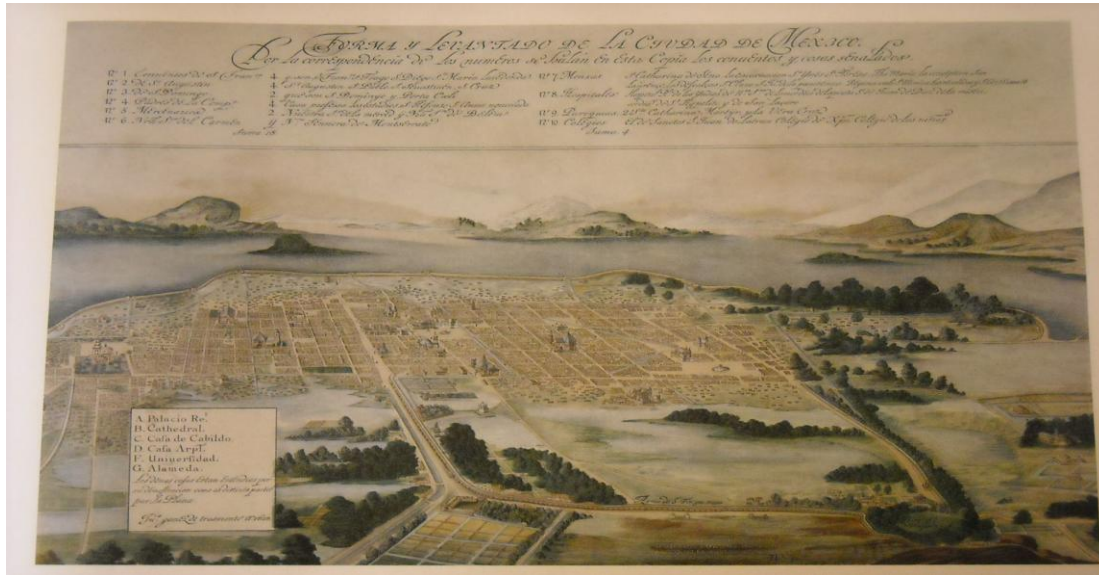


FIGURE FOUR in more detail.



FIGURE FIVE

Nova Mexico,

John Ogilby, *America*, 1671

Image can be found at: Palacio de Iturbide, Mexico City



FIGURE SIX

Lima (Ciudad de los Reyes)

1626

Image can be found in: Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla

Mapas y Planos, Perú y Chile, 7

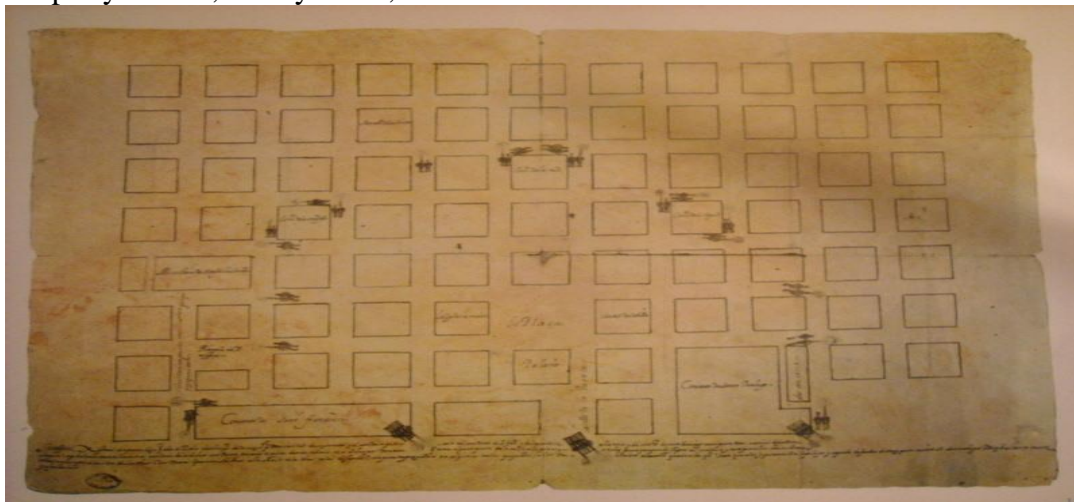


FIGURE SEVEN

Lima (Ciudad de los Reyes)

1682/5

Image can be found in: Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla
Mapas y Planos, Perú y Chile, 11



FIGURE EIGHT

Lima (Ciudad de los Reyes)

1685

Image can be found in: Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla
Mapas y Planos, Perú y Chile, 14



FIGURE NINE

Planta de la muy yllustre ciudad de los reyes corte del reino del Peru, c. 1684

Principe, Bernardo Clemente Principe

Library of Congress, Geography and Maps Division, General Collections



FIGURE TEN

Accompanying image for Echave y Assu's *La Estrella de Lima convertida en sol*, 1688

Image can be found in: Library of Congress, Geography and Maps Division, General Collections



CHAPTER FOUR

Mexico City's *Gran Complicidad* and the Great *auto de fe* of 1649

Herculean in both size and subject, Sir J.H. Elliott's *Empires of the Atlantic World* compares the social, administrative, and cultural development in Britain's North American colonies to that of Spain's vast American territories from the early contact period to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century revolutions. After a warning against static historical comparisons which make the New World too much like the Old, Elliott notes "it still remains plausible [however]...that the moment of 'fragmentation' - of the founding of a colony - constituted a defining moment for the self-imagining, and consequently for the emerging character, of these overseas societies."²¹⁵ For Elliott, colonial society, whether English or Spanish, responded equally to imported attitudes from the Old World, as well as local conditions in the New. However, each colonial settlement also represented a cultural "fragmentation" from Europe which maintained the hopes and dreams of colonial settlers. Though the realities of colonial life challenged these initial expectations, according to Elliott, the fragmentation set the trajectory of colonial "self-imagining" for generations after the initial contact periods.²¹⁶

This chapter will explore Elliott's theory by analyzing Seville's influence in the development of Mexico City during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The parallels between Mexico City and Seville are many. Both cities were important commercial nodes of the

²¹⁵ John Huxtable Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America 1492-1830* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006). xvii.

²¹⁶ For classic works on theory very practice in both English and Spanish conquest, see Morse, "The Urban Development of Colonial Latin America." And Francis Jennings, *The invasion of America : Indians, colonialism, and the cant of conquest* (Chapel Hill: The Institute of Early American History and Culture by the University of North Carolina Press, 1975).

empire, both maintained a pronounced cultural diversity, and both possessed a past which necessitated some creative historical revisionism. The connection between the two cities was evident even early in the sixteenth century. In the initial years of exploration and conquest, Seville provided a useful comparative framework for authors describing the Aztec capital to the monarchy. As the crown attempted to establish dependable trade with the New World, it was largely the work of Sevillian merchants who settled in Mexico City. This population, at the same time wealthy and newly ennobled, set the tone for a distinctly urban development in Mexico City in the early modern period. For the Spanish-American capital, Seville offered an urban model where merchants and nobles shared common interests and expressed (or “self-imagined”) their civic pride through lavish buildings, ceremonies, and public artwork. These efforts contributed to the public image of Mexico City as a colonial capital and created a conceptual space for inhabitants to prove their inclusion in the larger Hispanic empire.

This chapter will explore the legacy of this connection by analyzing a time in which Mexico City’s honor was supposedly threatened by a clandestine Jewish Portuguese population. Arising out of a rumored Jewish conspiracy known as the *gran complicidad*, Mexico City’s great *auto de fe* of 1649 highlighted contemporary concerns about the city’s profitability and influence. Through an analysis of Mexican creole Jesuit Mathias de Bocanegra’s *relación* of Mexico City’s 1649 *auto de fe*, this chapter will explore the ceremonial similarities between the 1649 *auto* in Mexico City and Seville’s public festivals. This comparison will reveal the continued influence, as well as cultural legacy, of Seville’s newly ennobled class of merchants as they crossed the Atlantic and set up familial networks between the New World and the Old. For example, capital investment and colonial credit from merchant families were equally as decisive for urban development in Mexico City as was imperial investment. The notable economic

component of the 1649 *auto* demonstrated that the city remained closely tied to its reputation as an economic pivot of the empire; a reputation put forth by Sevillian merchants after settling in the colonial capital since the 1520s. Through a public display which foregrounded Mexico City's economic and spiritual contribution to the crown, the 1649 *auto* attempted to abolish a supposed crypto-Jewish system of commerce which jeopardized not only the economic stability of New Spain, but the city's reputation as a colonial capital.

Mexico City: A Merchants' City

During the many months of negotiating alliances while marching inland from the base of the Yucatan Peninsula, Hernán Cortés advanced into Mexico with an eye set on the great Aztec capital rumored by his indigenous informants. Cortés' experience with Aztec trade outpost such as Cempoala and Tlaxcala convinced him that the rumored inland city possessed the precious metal, dyes, and food stuffs for which conquistadors had been searching since the initial sailing of Columbus nearly thirty years earlier. Contemporary Spanish chronicler Bernal Díaz relayed that, despite months of speculative anticipation of what awaited them beyond the mountain pass between the Popocatepetl and Ixtaccíhuatl Mountains (later renamed the Paso de Cortés), when Cortés and his men finally reached the Valley of Mexico in 1519, their first impression of Tenochtitlan was total astonishment:

During the morning, we arrived at a broad causeway...and saw so many cities and villages built in the water and other great towns on dry land; and that straight and level Causeway going towards Mexico we were amazed...on account of the great towers and

temples and buildings rising from the water, and all built of masonry. And some of our soldiers asked whether the things that we saw were not a dream.²¹⁷

In his letter to Charles V in April of 1522, we find Cortés himself equally bewildered by the immense size and commercial activity of the great city. Attempting to more thoroughly define the contours of Tenochtitlan, as well his essential role in quelling the violence which erupted after the death of Montezuma II, Cortés endeavored to give the king a greater idea of the dimensions of the indigenous city by comparing it with urban centers in Iberia. Though Cortés found nearly all Spanish kingdoms to be lacking cities that could match the splendor of the Aztec capital, his comparison between Tenochtitlan and Iberia cities was notably Andalusian. Cortés began his description of the size and fortification of the Aztec capital by stating that “This great city of Temixtitlan [Tenochtitlan] is built on the salt lake, and no matter by what road you travel there are two leagues from the main body of the city to the mainland... The city itself is as big as Seville or Córdoba.”²¹⁸ Cortés went on to marvel at the city’s wide streets, public squares, and open markets, stopping to point out that “There are many sorts of spun cotton, in hanks of every color, and it seems like the silk market at Granada, except here there is a much greater quality.”²¹⁹ However, Cortés’ most striking observation regarded Tenochtitlan’s principle temple in the Sacred Precinct, which he suggested only had one rival in terms of size, magnificence, and authority: “Among these temples there is one, the principle one, whose great size and magnificence no human tongue could describe... There are as many as forty towers... and the most important of these towers is higher than that of the cathedral of Seville.”²²⁰ José de

²¹⁷ Bernal Díaz del Castillo and Genaro García, *The true history of the conquest of New Spain*, 5 vols. (London: Hakluyt Society, 1908).

²¹⁸ Hernán Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*, trans. Anthony Pagden and John Huxtable Elliott (New Haven: Yale Nota Bene, 2001). 102.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 104.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, 105.

Acosta's *Natural and Moral History of the Indies* (1590) made similar comparisons when marveling at Tenochtitlan's great causeways, stating that "The wit and industry of the *Indians* invented a means to make a firm and assured bridge...passing over this bridge I have wondered, that of so common and easy a thing, they had made a bridge, better, and more assured than the bridge of boats from Seville to Triana."²²¹

Cortés' and Acosta's comparisons with Andalusia in general, and Seville in particular, reveal common opinions about the kind of economic center Tenochtitlan had been under Aztec rule, as well as what the city would become under Spanish control. Only Seville's cathedral, bridge, and population could enlighten readers about the authority of the great Aztec temples, roads, and causeways. Cortés and Acosta's letters and treatise also reveal expectations about the particular expertise necessary to manage future profits after initial settlement. From Columbus' earliest voyages, America was an economic venture, which entangled everyone from entrepreneurs to artisans in commodity chains that reached deep into Europe and the Americas.²²² Though some early trading ventures, such as the cacao market, piqued the Habsburgs' desire for colonial development in New Spain, it was the discovery of precious metal deposits that underwrote further ventures inland and increased interest in New World trade. In particular, the discovery of silver in Potosí and Zacatecas in 1545-6 established a lucrative trade of Mexican bullion and European wares which secured imperial commercial interest in the region for several centuries.

²²¹ Acosta, *Natural and moral history of the Indies*; *ibid.*, 243.

²²² For several informative articles on commodities such as silver, indigo, cochineal, tobacco, and coffee see Steven Topik, Carlos Marichal, and Zephyr Frank, *From silver to cocaine : Latin American commodity chains and the building of the world economy, 1500-2000* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006).

Organizing these increasingly lucrative resources fell equally to colonial administrators from Castile, as to waves of merchants from Seville.²²³ Historian Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert argues that the tight control over colonial trade exerted by Sevillian merchants was well-respected by most Europeans, who believed that “New Spain lay beyond the effective ambit of their commercial networks. Seville was, in the structure of European-colonial exchange, a threshold point beyond which transactions cost rose steeply, a factor that ensured its importance as a relay point for European-Indies trade.”²²⁴ As outlined in previous chapters, Seville’s new status as economic gateway had a distinct cultural component. Beyond well-known noble entrepreneurs in Seville such as Fadrique Enríquez de Ribera, Duke of Alcalá, and Alvaro Colón y Portugal, Count of Gelves, both of whom outfitted ships and engaged in the sale of American merchandise and slaves in Seville, successful local merchants entered the noble class with surprising frequency and ease in sixteenth-century Seville. After only a few years of service, merchants often gained minor noble titles (*hidalguías*), which helped them retain positions in municipal government in Spain. Merchants’ newly acquired wealth and status created conspicuous growth in Seville. Opulent houses, monasteries, and charitable institutions bore merchant family names and portraits, and their generous investments and bequeaths were essential in securing Seville’s reputation as an imperial city during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In 1543 Sevillian merchants’ reputation was confirmed legally through the establishment of the merchant guild (*Consulado*) which functioned equally as a tribunal for merchant disputes, as well as representative lobby for merchants’ interests in Seville.

²²³ In the early modern period, three types of merchants are referenced in Spanish-America: *comerciante* (large import-export merchants); *mercaderes* (men selling stock “over the counter”); *tratantes* (petty dealers in regional trade); *Comerciante* merchants, who are the subject of this section, had the money and experience to finance projects to other lower classed merchants, but also to ranchers, miners, and other entrepreneurs; thus signaling the direction of colonial growth in many areas. For reference see; Louisa Schell Hoberman and Susan Migden Socolow, *Cities & society in colonial Latin America*, 1st ed. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986). 47-76.

²²⁴ Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert, "From Agents to Consulado: Commercial Networks in Colonial Mexico, 1520-1590 and Beyond," *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* LVII, no. I (2000): 46.

With success, however, also came anxiety about foreign infringement in Seville's lucrative trade monopoly. In *Norte de la Contratación de las Indias Occidentales*, Spanish chronicler José de Veitia Linaje decried too much investment in the New World by foreign merchants who did not possess the same noble status as merchants from Castile:

Trading to the Indies, sending or carrying cargoes, to sell by wholesale or exchange for the product of that country, is no way prejudicial to gentility, for we see not only gentlemen, but the nobility of Castile deal in the Indies, and it is much to be lamented, that for want of our honoring and encouraging merchants, most of the trade is fallen into the hands of foreigners, who grow rich, and are ennobled with what we despise. There is an ordinance that India Traders [merchants] be favored in all places, and no way molested in Seville.²²⁵

The Habsburgs shared Linaje's vision of restricted movement to the New World, and established firm restrictions on travel between Seville and the colonies. As J.H. Elliott notes, the decision was largely pragmatic: "Once the crown committed to establishing permanent Spanish presence in the Indies, it was naturally concerned to curb the migration of these footloose adventurers, and encourage the transatlantic movement of potentially more reliable elements in the population."²²⁶ Despite tempering restrictions in favor of Sevillian merchants, the Habsburg restriction did not grant wholesale access to any Sevillian who called themselves a merchant. In fact, "pretend" merchants, meaning merchants who shipped goods registering under 300,000 maravedies (or, between 70 to 80 pounds of silver), could be denied passage, as their profits would be insufficient to appropriately invest (or tax) either in Spain or its colonial territories.²²⁷

As we will see in the following section, the reach of the Habsburgs' persistent restrictions was never absolute. There remained significant foreign involvement in New World trade

²²⁵ Linaje, *Norte de la contratación de las Indias Occidentales*: 81.

²²⁶ Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America 1492-1830*: 49.

²²⁷ Linaje, *Norte de la contratación de las Indias Occidentales*: 34. Norte

throughout the early modern period. Beginning with the massive Genoese migration to Seville in the sixteenth century, many foreign merchants found ways to subvert laws and smuggle contraband in and out of Seville. In fact, Portuguese merchants traded mostly unmolested throughout the Atlantic and South American coasts despite a theoretical ban in the sixteenth century. Even after the dissolution of the Iberian union of Castile and Portugal in 1640, Portuguese merchants continued to channel some of the slave trade through Seville until the late seventeenth century.²²⁸ Despite its limitations, the Habsburgs' restriction on transatlantic travel helps contextualize movement between Spain and the New World in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Similar to the vision of Cortés and Acosta, the Habsburg restrictions possessed a projected vision of Tenochtitlan which placed Spanish merchants largely in control of urban development.

The crown's interest in merchant involvement in Mexico City's architectural development was evident in the earliest expeditions to the Aztec capital. After the conquest of Tenochtitlan in 1521, the crown directed initial construction on institutions perceived as essential to sustained economic and religious growth in the region. The immediate construction of Mexico City's *traza* (central district), reified the city's primary purpose as a spiritual and cultural resource for the indigenous population, as well as a location from which to facilitate trade with Spain.²²⁹ Surrounding the city's Plaza Mayor (a massive precinct measuring in diameter of 217x128 yards – roughly the size of two football fields) were religious and civic institutions which marked this political, spiritual, and economic vision. For example, the first bishop of Mexico City, Juan de Zumárraga began construction on the first Catholic cathedral in the city in

²²⁸ Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America 1492-1830*: 110.

²²⁹ Traza was surveyed by Alonso García Bravo, who arrived in the Indies with the Darién expedition of 1514, but travelled to the Valley of Mexico in 1514 to provide reinforcements for Cortés in 1520. After the fall of Tenochtitlan, García surveyed the city and established a preliminary layout for what would become Mexico City's central traza (central district).

1521. By 1534 a new cathedral – much of which was built from the remains of the Aztec Sacred Precinct - sat atop the old principle temple which had so marveled Cortés.²³⁰ Though the original cathedral was a modest affair, city planners quickly laid plans for ornate additions, and in 1570 construction began on what would become one of the largest cathedrals in the world.²³¹ To represent imperial authority and encourage economic roots in Mexico City, city planners began immediate construction on the Ayuntamiento. Built on expropriated land from then colonial treasurer Alonso de Estrada, the building initially served as the town council chambers and municipal jail, as well as a central granary, municipal meat market, and a silver assay.²³² Though sources on the exact layout of the sixteenth-century edifice are scarce, we know that massive renovations occurred in the 1530s and 1580s, the latter of which resulted in a great colonnade for the city's commercial activities in the Parían (market building in the city's Plaza Mayor).

In addition to development directed by the crown, the early years of Spanish urban development in Mexico City also saw significant investment from Sevillian merchants. Most early commercial ventures chartered ships from the Guadalquivir to transoceanic entrepôts such as Nombre de Dios, Portobelo, Cartagena de Indias, Veracruz, and Manila (in the Pacific), only to return to Seville. This route ensured Seville's role as the final repository for colonial funds, as well as reinforced the prominent role of Sevillian merchants and the *consulado* in the

²³⁰ Donahue-Wallace, *Art and architecture of viceregal Latin America, 1521-1821*.

²³¹ There was no small amount of critique of Mexico City's first cathedral. For example, Salazar de Cervantes derided it "small, humble and poorly ornamented." It is important to note that, when the construction began, the *maestro mayor* of the new cathedral was a Spanish émigré, but the various guilds that brought the cathedral into existence were mostly creole. Such exclusivity derived largely from the desire to dominate powerful journeymen and craftsmen positions from competition with Indian, African or mixed-blood workers. Thus, many of the guilds and confraternities who worked on the massive architectural project attempted to keep the construction firmly out of the hands of the castas. The construction of the façade and interior of the cathedral, which lasted well in to the seventeenth century, employed a host of creole architects, painters and sculptors, many of whom continued on with elaborations on other projects throughout the following decades.

²³² Note that several of these institutions moved into their own building in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries. However, rather than wait on their establishment, the crown thought it best to establish them in one building until further development could occur.

management of colonial wealth. Increasingly throughout the sixteenth century, merchants in Seville began establishing family members as commission agents in New World capitals to protect their interests on the other side of the Atlantic trade network. For example, Bernardino Justiniano was an active seventeenth-century merchant and financier in Mexico City who financed trips between New Spain and the Philippines while maintaining close ties to his family of prominent bankers back in Seville, creating a very lucrative and influential transoceanic financial network which sustained several generations.²³³ As a testament to their perceived status in Mexico City, Mexican merchants petitioned for, and received, approval for a parallel *Consulado de México* to that of Seville in 1592-4. This legislation greatly influenced Mexican merchants' stature, influence, and investment in the city throughout the early modern period.²³⁴

235

The capital investment and colonial credit of merchant families in Mexico City were equally as decisive for urban development in the colonial capital as they were in Seville during the same time period. In particular, the purchase and development of real estate and charitable institutions functioned as a way for newly ennobled merchants to establish a legacy for following generations. Their significant financial contributions meant that wealthy merchants in Mexico City took their place next to imperial and religious leaders at church, in theaters, and at public festivals.²³⁶ Many merchants in Mexico City belonged to *cofradías* (religious brotherhoods), and

²³³ Hoberman, *Mexico's merchant elite, 1590-1660 : silver, state, and society*: 44.

²³⁴ The newest analysis of the *Consulado* in Mexico City is Guillermina del Valle Pavón, "Expansión de la economía mercantil y creación del Consulado de México," *Historia Mexicana* 51, no. 3 (2002). For a classic study on this topic, also see Robert Sidney Smith, "The Institution of the Consulado in New Spain," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 24, no. 1 (1944).

²³⁵ It is worth noting that due to Seville's monopoly on Spanish-American trade, the *consulado* status was rare in Mexico. For example, Vera Cruz, one of the main ports of entry for New Spain did not receive a *consulado* until 1795, well after the economic Bourbon reforms of the eighteenth century. For this, see Jackie R. Booker, *Veracruz merchants, 1770-1829: a mercantile elite in late Bourbon and early independent Mexico* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1993).

²³⁶ Kinsbruner, *The colonial Spanish-American city : urban life in the age of Atlantic capitalism*: 1-20.

aided in the organization of public activities such as Corpus Christi processions and civic festivals. Merchants were particularly favored for participation in charitable organizations, as their extensive financial expertise made them especially useful in revenue management. In addition, merchants in Mexico City founded schools, hospitals, adorned chapels, and provided the money to found new religious institutions.²³⁷ For example, the private donation of Mexico City merchant Diego de Caballero and his wife Doña Inés de Velasco founded the convent of Santa Inés for poor girls without dowries. In recognition of his generous contribution, Caballero commissioned a statue of himself to one day stand over his tomb at Santa Inéz.²³⁸ Funds from merchant coffers in Mexico City also founded the Convent of Santa Teresa la Nueva, the Hospital de la Misericordia, the Convent and Hospital of Espíritu Santo, and the Casa Profesa (Jesuit house), while bequests aided in the renovation of Mexico City's most important religious institutions, such as the famed Convent and Monastery of La Merced, the Monastery of San Francisco, and the Convent of Limpia Concepción.

Mexico City's *Gran Complicidad* and the great *auto de fe* of 1649

By the seventeenth century, Mexico City was a true metropolis. Built on the remains of the Aztec capital, the city became a symbolic triumph of Spanish Catholicism, commerce, and culture in the New World. Imperial and local commercial investment had succeeded in producing institutions which promoted a robust economy and an adherence to monarchical authority. Similar to their role in Seville, public rituals became a place to demonstrate Mexico City's

²³⁷ Hoberman and Socolow, *Cities & society in colonial Latin America*: 67.

²³⁸ Hoberman, *Mexico's merchant elite, 1590-1660 : silver, state, and society*: 237-38. Also see her previous article on the subject Schell Louisa Hoberman, "Merchants in Seventeenth-Century Mexico City: A Preliminary Portrait," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 57, no. 3 (1977): 501-02.

stability. Historian Alejandra Osorio notes that ceremonies “served the dual purpose of making the absent king present to his distant subjects and binding him and his subjects in a reciprocal pact that was made real through ritual.”²³⁹ However, Mexico City was not without its problems. In the seventeenth century, the city exploded with rumors and accusations against Portuguese merchants for crimes against both Catholicism and the monarchy. This section will explore Mexico City’s self-imagining during a time in which the social and economic stability of the city seemed threatened by foreign influence. The reaction of city officials to this crisis was similar to the reaction of Seville in 1570, which presented the crown with an image commiserate with its self ascribed status as an imperial capital. Demonstrated in Mexico City’s great *auto de fe* of 1649, the defense mounted by local artisans, inquisitors, and civic authority against the supposed conspiracy of Portuguese New Christians merchants revealed deep anxieties about Mexico City’s reputation as a legitimate city of Spain.

The motivation for the 1649 *auto* began in the early 1640s, when a priest reported hearing two of his Portuguese servants speaking derogatorily about the Holy Office. As the conversation unfolded, the priest realized that the two men were Jewish and had been hiding in Mexico City for fear of persecution in Iberia. Even more incriminating, the priest claimed that he overheard the men planning to burn down the *Casa de la Inquisición*, presumably to eradicate the names of other secret Jews in Mexico City from the inquisitorial record.²⁴⁰ The priest’s denunciation began a nearly eight year investigation which encompassed hundreds of residents and culminated in one of the largest public events in Spanish-America.

²³⁹ Alejandra B. Osorio, "The King in Lima: Simulacra, Ritual, and Rule in Seventeenth-Century Peru," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 84, no. 3 (2004): 449. Also on this subject see Cañeque, *The king's living image: the culture and politics of viceregal power in colonial Mexico*.

²⁴⁰ Seymour B. Liebman, "The Great Conspiracy in New Spain," *The Americas* 30, no. 1 (1973): 19-20.

Though damaging to many prominent families in seventeenth-century Mexico, the priest's accusations were not uncommon in Spanish-America during the early modern period. Beginning in the sixteenth century, the Habsburgs attempted to maintain tight control in overseas territories through extensive bureaucracy. The *cabildo* (municipal councils), *audiencia* (royal court), the viceroys, and *corregidores* (akin to governors) all became important instruments in normalizing state control in the colonies. Fearing religious contagion of the indigenous population from European heretics settling in New World territories, the monarchy established a permanent tribunal in Lima in 1569, and one in Mexico City in 1571. The Inquisition quickly became one of the largest and most extensive bureaucracies of the colonial state. Nevertheless, colonial anxiety about Spanish control in the New World, and rumors about conspiracies in colonial territories, abounded during the seventeenth century. In Lima, where colonial authorities perceived a more heightened continuation of indigenous religious practices, conspiracies tended to encompass New World fears regarding the utilization of pre-Columbian objects, as well as imported African expertise, among European colonists. Other conspiracies, such as Mexico City's *gran complicidad*, demonstrated more familiar anxieties about the genuine conversion of New Christians after the Jewish expulsion of 1492, as well as concerns regarding foreign infringement in New World trade.²⁴¹

The priest's close association between Portuguese, New Christians, and merchants in his description of the great conspiracy to burn down the *Casa de la Inquisición* derived from Castile's complicated relationship with both the Jewish population and Portugal in the late fifteenth century. Fears about a Jewish cabal in European commerce and the ruin of Christianity

²⁴¹ For colonial anxieties, see Irene Silverblatt, *Modern inquisitions : Peru and the colonial origins of the civilized world* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004). Kenneth Mills, *Idolatry and its enemies : colonial Andean religion and extirpation, 1640-1750* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997). A wonderful work which deals with the intersection of colonial anxiety and gender, see Irene Silverblatt, *Moon, sun, and witches : gender ideologies and class in Inca and colonial Peru* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987).

had deep roots in Spain (and wider-Europe) throughout the medieval period. This anxiety heightened even further when Ferdinand and Isabella issued the Jewish expulsion in 1492, initiating waves of forced conversions and inter-European migration of Spain's Jewish population. Fleeing forced conversions in Castile, many Jews found sanctuary in Portugal, one of the largest maritime powers in the Atlantic and Mediterranean. However, after Portugal initiated its own expulsion in 1497, many Jews converted to Christianity in an attempt to remain in the Iberian Peninsula. Though Castile was in control of the kingdom of Portugal from 1580 to 1640, the success of Portuguese merchants often garnered suspicion from the crown of Castile. Portugal pioneered lucrative oceanic routes in the New World, and many of Spain's aggressive economic inroads in the Americas (particularly in agricultural development such as sugar) mirrored Portuguese development in the Atlantic islands and Brazil. After the union of the crowns in 1580, Philip II promised to maintain Portuguese primacy in the Atlantic, and to preserve the independence of the conquered kingdom. Encouraged by Count-Duke Olivares, the royal favorite of Philip IV, Portuguese merchants and financiers became embedded in privileged positions in the Spanish court. Additionally, emboldened Portuguese entrepreneurs and financiers in cities such as Lisbon and Goa became an increasingly powerful presence in Peru, New Spain, and Asia separate from (though overseen by) the Spanish crown – a relationship which drew them closer to age-old stereotypes about Jewish (now New Christian) dominance over the world of finance. The fall of Olivares in 1643, paired with the Portuguese rebellion against the Spanish crown in 1640 meant that the relationship between Portuguese financiers, Spanish merchants, and the crown began to deteriorate.²⁴²

²⁴² It is worth noting that Portugal reflected a similar anxiety. For example, after the dissolution of the union of the crowns in 1640, merchants and financiers considered too close to the Habsburg monarchy could be subject to execution. Kamen, *Empire : How Spain became a world power, 1492-1763*: 405.

Arguably more than any other institution in the Americas, the Inquisition in the New World reflected the turbulent relationship between the two Iberian powers. Many Portuguese merchants and financiers who had invested in Spanish-American cities like Mexico City and Lima became additionally suspect after 1640. The wealth and influence of Portuguese families in both the Atlantic and Pacific made it difficult for colonial authorities to prosecute. The Inquisition was bound by no such imposition. In fact, the Spanish-American Inquisition continued their interest in investigating New Christians long after inquisitorial tribunals in Spain had shifted away from *converso* and *morisco* persecution in the seventeenth century.²⁴³ (Figures One and Two) The reasons for continued suspicion were as economic as they were spiritual. For cities such as Mexico City, the identification and persecution of Portuguese merchants and suspect New Christians became a way for Spanish merchants to further define their exclusive noble status in Mexico City. As discussed in previous chapters, Seville's *Consulado* acted as the main point of communication with the Americas. Its members, whose financial and familial interests were embedded in both Seville and Mexico City, declared themselves expert eye witnesses to foreign merchants' behavior because of their unique position as supposedly genuinely Spanish merchants, or what José de Veitia Linaje called the "nobility of Castile [who] deal in the Indies."²⁴⁴ When faced with the political dissolution between the crowns in Iberia, as well as the spiritual and financial threat of the *gran complicidad* in Mexico City, civic officials and the inquisitorial tribunal used the 1649 *auto de fe* as a public platform from which to proclaim Mexico City as a Spanish metropolis with a history rooted in the Biblical tradition of

²⁴³ For this, see Henry Kamen's five stages of Inquisitorial activity in ———, *The Spanish Inquisition : a historical revision* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998). In this work he notes the anti-*converso* persecution of 1480-1530; the quiet early 16th century; the high period of activity in the late 16th century (1560-1614); those who were tried were not of Jewish or Moorish origin (17th century); heresy no longer an issue during the 18th century. See, ²⁴⁴ Herzog, "Communities Becoming a Nation: Spain and Spain America in the Wake of Modernity (and Thereafter)," 156.

Europe. In this way, Mexican creole Jesuit Mathias de Bocanegra's *relación* of Mexico City's 1649 *auto* functioned in a similar way to Juan de Mal Lara's description of Philip II's *entrada* into Seville in 1570. While Mal Lara emphasized righteous stewardship of colonial wealth and historical triumph over religious heterodoxy, Bocanegra reified Mexico City's control over Spanish-American commerce by rejecting Portuguese economic influence in the city and rooting out spiritually errant practices associated with relapsed New Christians before they threatened the spiritual and economic health of the city.

Viewing inquisitorial activities in the New World as overlapping anxieties about religious, political, and economic stability in the colonies necessitates a re-viewing of the way historians analyze documents about the Inquisition in the early modern period. Historians tend to focus on the way *autos de fe* functioned as a public proclamation of Catholic devotion, both in Europe and the Americas.²⁴⁵ However this analysis often fails to acknowledge the way major cities throughout the empire utilized these events as demonstrations of their elevated status. For example, an *auto* celebrated in Toledo in 1486 witnessed 700 reconciliations in one day. The author described the procession as efficient and noted the quick progression from the church of St. Peter Martyr to the cathedral. With little ceremony, the author recounted the delivery of the sermon, reading of offences, and publicly allotted penance. The ordeal was concluded by two in the afternoon.²⁴⁶ Bocanegra described a far more dynamic atmosphere. While discussing the pomp of Mexico City's three day festivities, Bocanegra noted "the galaxy of invitees including the princes, the magistrates, the clergy, the religious, the tribunes, the judges, and the people of

²⁴⁵ For this see Francisco Bethencourt, "The Auto da Fé: Ritual and Imagery," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 55(1992); Maureen Flynn, "Mimesis of the Last Judgment: The Spanish Auto de fe," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 22, no. 2 (1991); Denise Helena Monteiro de Barros Carollo, "Auto-Da-Fé: A ceremony more than just words," *Revista de la Inquisición* 8(1998).

²⁴⁶ Helen Rawlings, *The Spanish Inquisition*, Historical Association studies (Malden,: Blackwell Publishing, 2006). 37-41.

quality... There were numberless crowds from all the cities... To see such care in supplying provisions, such lavishness in expense, such richness in splendor.”²⁴⁷ This trend continued throughout the seventeenth century. A *relación* for Madrid’s lavish 1680 *auto*, attended by Charles II, described grand processions, raised amphitheatres, precursory singing of Psalms, masses celebrated throughout the night, as well as the many ambassadors, nobility, gentry and ladies of quality who appeared in the balconies.²⁴⁸ Contemporary paintings of *autos* also suggest that the visual availability of the procession, sermon, and public reconciliation were the most important elements of the festivities. Pedro Berruguete famous late fifteenth-century painting *Auto-da-fé* was an early version of this perception. (Figure Four) His painting emphasized the status of Dominicans in the celebrations by placing members of the Order, most prominently St. Dominic, in the foreground of the scaffolding. Occupying only a small space on the right side of the painting, two unrepentant heretics - deemphasized by their extreme miniaturization - await execution. Additionally, Francisco Rizi’s famous painting of Madrid’s 1680 *auto de fe* in the Plaza Mayor favored the festive atmosphere, esteemed guests, and elaborate scaffolding rather than those being publicly sentenced.

The extreme size and extravagance of Mexico City 1649 *auto* suggests that the event had overlapping messages. Certainly the *auto* addressed the immediate concern of city officials about a potential conspiracy in the city, but the *auto* also signaled Mexico City’s ability to mount such a grand public defense during a time when the economic viability of the city was threatened. For this message - what Bocanegra called “the most sumptuous and splendid festivity that had been seen since the conquest of this New World” - city officials and the Inquisition spared no

²⁴⁷ Matías de Bocanegra, *Jews and the Inquisition of Mexico: The Great Auto de fe of 1649*, trans. Seymour B. Liebman (Lawrence: Coronado Press, 1974). 53.

²⁴⁸ Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition : a historical revision*: 208-09.

expense.²⁴⁹ The city spent a significant amount of funds on multiple stages draped in velvet with giant marble columns, friezes and paintings, and a four thousand yard canopy held up by over twenty-six hanging cables. Encouraging local artisanal participation, city officials held a public bid where local artisans could offer design schematics for the giant stage. The victor of the 1649 arena, Marcos de Moya (a *sevillano* carpenter who moved to Mexico City in the early seventeenth century), won the favor of city planners by creating a miniature wooden stage complete with “scaffolds, stairways, crosses, [a] throne, and the cupola with all the furbelows, finials, and figures of marble and ebony.”²⁵⁰

Mexico City’s 1649 *auto* fashioned an analogous message to Juan de Mal Lara’s description of Philip II’s *entrada* into Seville in 1570. Both narratives functioned as a public expression of the political and economic relationship between the city and the king, as well as a declaration of support for the monarchy in a time of crisis. For example, Mal Lara’s account of Seville’s *entrada* focused on the participation of municipal and imperial government as a way to signal the many regions dependent on the city for support, adding to Seville’s prestige both inside and outside of Iberia.²⁵¹ As discussed in the first chapter of this dissertation, the city’s monopoly on the Habsburgs’ “edifice of control”²⁵² included not only the *Casa de Contratación*, the *Consulado*, the *Casa de Moneda*, and central ports for the *Carrera de Indias*. Seville also had extensive municipal administration. Like many cities and towns in Castile, local government in Seville reflected the stability provided by a combination of tradition, autonomy, and monarchical

²⁴⁹ Bocanegra, *Jews and the Inquisition of Mexico: The Great Auto de fe of 1649*: 21.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 38.

²⁵¹ For more on this, see chapter “órganos de gobierno” in Domínguez Ortiz, *Historia de Sevilla : la Sevilla del siglo XVII*: 81-112.

²⁵² Term taken from O’Flanagan, *Port cities of Atlantic Iberia, c. 1500-1900*: 30.

authority.²⁵³ The city housed a *corregidor* (royal governor, in Seville called *asistente*), an *audiencia* (royal court), the *cabildo* (or ayuntamiento), as well as a host of lesser municipal positions. The far reaching effects of Seville's municipal institution were felt throughout the empire. For example, though Seville's *audiencia* was identical to that of the *chancillerías* in Valladolid or Granada it had a far wider jurisdiction, reaching all the way to the Portuguese frontier in Fregenal de la Sierra (on the boarder of Extremadura). In an acknowledgement of the city's supremacy in 1566, the crown designated Seville as an appellate court for the Canary Islands in cases too extreme to be overseen by the Audiencia de Canarias, a role which had been previously filled by Granada.²⁵⁴

Bocanegra similarly lauded Mexico City as a "western kingdom," "republic," "imperial metropolis," and "the universal capital of so many expanded provinces and the pivot of trade of so many kingdoms."²⁵⁵ Mexico City's administrative scope was in fact quite extensive.²⁵⁶ In theory, the jurisdiction of the colonial capital included not only Mexico, but much of Central America and all territory west of the Mississippi River, as well as West and East Indies territories. Highlighting this expansive jurisdiction, Bocanegra noted the city had "eyes that fly over all the earth, their vision reaching even to the Philippine Islands and Terranate (Tlaxcala)

²⁵³ Elliott, *Imperial Spain, 1469-1716*: 94-99. Also see Phillip Fox's very informative forthcoming dissertation, Phillip Fox, "The Limits of Spanish Absolutism: The Government of the Crown of Aragon, 1665-1746 " (Lawrence: University of Kansas, Forthcoming).

²⁵⁴Richard Kagan, *Lawsuits and Litigants in Castile: 1500 - 1700* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981). 96.

²⁵⁵ Bocanegra, *Jews and the Inquisition of Mexico: The Great Auto de fe of 1649*: 21.

²⁵⁶Anthony Pagden argues that, politically New Spain was an extension of Castile, or Greater Spain (*Magnae Hispaniae*), and thus no different (despite their legal status) from regions such as Aragon, Naples, or the Netherlands, each of which had principle cities which facilitated regional relations with the crown. I would argue that Mexico City considered itself connected more specifically to Castile, and did not consider such autonomy until at least the eighteenth century. See Anthony Pagden, *Spanish imperialism and the political imagination : studies in European and Spanish-American social and political theory, 1513-1830* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990). 91.

and have dominion in the West for more than 900 leagues from New Mexico to Realejo and Nicaragua.”²⁵⁷

Certainly one of the primary functions of Mexico City’s great *auto* was to assert the primacy of the Catholic religion in the city’s expansive jurisdiction. However, beyond threats of blasphemy, bigamy, and witchcraft represented in many colonial *autos*, the 1649 *auto* in Mexico City demonstrated additional concerns about economic stability after a supposed infiltration of relapsed judaizing New Christians from Portugal. Bocanegra’s description of the particular spaces utilized by civic and inquisitorial officials during the *auto* reveal the perceived inversion of the economic and religious relationships which unified Mexico City with the rest of the empire. Portuguese New Christians disadvantaged the crown by stealing money and resources from Spanish and Mexican (or Old Christian) merchant networks. At the same time, their alleged relapse into Jewish religious practices abetted concerns articulated in the Habsburg restrictions about foreign passage to the New World. The ritual reclaiming of economic spaces and the visual separation of accused Portuguese New Christian in the procession neutralize the supposed conspiracy while at the same time reaffirmed Mexico City’s defense of the crown’s interests the colony.

Transforming urban spaces had deep roots in the public rituals in Spain, particularly in Seville. Chapter two explored the way in which Juan de Mal Lara’s description of Philip II’s *entrada* in 1570 functioned as a public expression of the political and economic relationship between the city and the crown. In an effort to highlight the city’s superiority over other regions in Castile, the elaborate artisanal archways constructed in Seville’s Puerta de Goles, visually iterated a well-ordered city by performing Seville’s history, social hierarchy, economic success, and historical Catholic devotion. Central to this performance was the inclusion of institutions and

²⁵⁷ Bocanegra, *Jews and the Inquisition of Mexico: The Great Auto de fe of 1649*: 20.

people which provided the foundation for good governance and economic stability. Mal Lara described Seville's construction of ports, churches, amphitheatres, universities, hospitals, and grand palaces, institutions which, in Mal Lara's assessment, supported the "justice of the Republic" and provided the most reliable defense against social unrest.

For Bocanegra, the great *auto* of 1649 became a similar opportunity to demonstrate the cultural and economic scope of the colonial capital during a time of concern regarding Portuguese New Christian merchants. The strategic location of the 1649 *auto*, as well as the construction of the massive stage, visually personified Mexico City's inclusion in the empire by highlighting connections between the city and the Spanish crown. The most significant demonstration of this alliance was the festival location. After several months of debate, the Inquisition decided that the central stage would be located in the Plaza del Volador, adjacent to the city's central Plaza Mayor and home to one of the city's many public markets.²⁵⁸ The choice was visually strategic for its close proximity to royal institutions which facilitated colonial governance. The *audiencia* and the royal palace lay to the north, and could be easily seen by the elaborate stages. The principle gate and turret of Mexico City's university shadowed the stage to the east. To the west lay several apartment houses with plentiful windows and balconies for viewing, as well as the School of Porta Coeli, which would serve as the elite entryway during the procession. As a reminder of their participation in such a grand display, a public procession posted ornate invitations on the principle doors of the Holy Office, house of the archbishop, royal palace, town council, and throughout the well-traveled streets of San Francisco and Tacuba.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁸ Ibid., 41.

²⁵⁹ Ibid., 38.

The Plaza del Volador had an additional significance when contextualized in anxieties regarding foreign merchant activities. Similar to the neighboring Plaza Mayor, the Plaza del Volador was a key economic hub of the city. It also had the reputation of a “the thieves market,” and a meeting place for many members of the *gran complicidad*. Securing the Plaza del Volador as the location of the *auto* transformed the physical and conceptual landscape of the plaza into a symbolic reconquest, aimed at regaining authority over a space which had been usurped by foreigners, both religious (Jewish) and non-native (Portuguese). For example, after the accused and the Parade of Gentlemen made their way through Mexico City’s wide streets, they emerged on the stage of the Plaza del Volador. The principle stage, which could only be accessed with a special license, was rigged with trap doors, secret passage ways for elites, gradated seating for the “less elegant,” and separate entrances for crews and slaves. Once in the arena, civic and religious authorities were meticulously placed in raised seating, so as to signal the elevated importance of their institutions to the city. When praising the magnificence of the elevated stage, Bocanegra acclaimed Marcos de Moya’s architectural success both in its finery and for its “lack of confusion in the ingenious divisions.”²⁶⁰

Many of the participants in the procession symbolically rejected the use of the Plaza del Volador by Portuguese New Christians by wearing symbols of New Spain’s economic contribution to the empire on their physical person. The twelve guards who accompanied the Chief Warden of the Holy Office during the Procession of the Green Cross were handsomely dressed in “...brown camlets with mulberry-colored flowers trimmed with splendid silver frogs for the buttonholes, silver spangles and the cape covered with the same adornments including silver buttons, chain, sword case of the same covering, and a diamond hatband.”²⁶¹ The Governor

²⁶⁰ Ibid., 44.

²⁶¹ Ibid., 51.

of the Philippines, also present for the great spectacle, wore similar ostentation, with "...a black camlet trimmed with black braid and silver spangles, silver buttons, and a chain of filigree silver, a silver sword, diamond hatband, a jewel for the hat, the insignia of a familiar and the dress of the Order of Santiago..."^{262 263}

The choice of public officials to foreground silver decorations demonstrated a deliberate critique of Portuguese involvement in the Spanish-American economy.^{264 265} Though often resented by Castilian merchants, Portuguese financiers played a key role in the development of several of the Habsburgs' oceanic trade routes from 1580 to 1640. A memoir sent from Portuguese New Christian financiers in Amsterdam to Philip IV in the 1620s reminded the newly ascended monarchy of the scope of Portuguese investment:

To the East Indies countless ships laden with merchandise whose customs duties maintain the navy and enriching the kingdom; supporting Brazil and producing the machinery to obtain sugar for all Europe; maintaining the trade to Angola, Cape Verde and other colonies from which Your Majesty has obtained so many duties; delivering slaves to the Indies for their service, and journeying and trading from Spain to all the world.²⁶⁶

²⁶² Ibid., 52.

²⁶³ The use of a major export good in Atlantic commerce – in this case silver - as a symbol of alliance with the Spanish crown underscored a complex visual coding in colonial Mexico. Most pronounced in capital cities of Spanish-America, clothing became a marker of status in colonial society.²⁶³ Much like the color of one's skin, dress functioned as an exterior marker of social standing and aided in regulating distinctions between castas. Though very difficult to enforce, this type of social coding in theory engaged every level of Mexican urban life. Casta women were not allowed to wear Indian dresses, and black or mulatta women faced confiscation of property if caught wearing golden jewelry, pearls, or embroidered mantas in public. There were also strict regulations on the public attire of the viceroy and local bishops, as the mystery and power tied to their positions were intimately linked to their public dress. For a very informative comparative study on this subject see Bass and Wunder, "The Veiled Ladies of the Early Modern Spanish World: Seduction and Scandal in Seville, Madrid, and Lima."

²⁶⁴ For full list of exports see Hoberman and Socolow, *Cities & society in colonial Latin America*: 49.

²⁶⁵ Though Bocanegra uses silver to express the tremendous contribution of the great silver mines of Campeche and Zacatecas, the precious metal was often used by individuals wishing to critique the perceived squandering of Mexican silver in Europe investment. For example, a 1724 student procession in Mexico City lampooned the crown with a float featuring the king dressed as Apollo greedily celebrating the rich silver deposits of Mexico while refusing to share his wealth with the shabbily dressed actors below. See Curcio, *The great festivals of colonial Mexico City : performing power and identity*: 123-26.

²⁶⁶ Quoted in Kamen, *Empire : How Spain became a world power, 1492-1763*: 404.

Despite support from the Count Duke Olivares, Philip IV had been reluctant to accept such extreme economic dependence on the Portuguese, especially after Lima's 1639 *complicidad grande*, which led to the execution of ten supposed judaizers, all of which had alleged blood ties to Jewish-Portuguese merchants in Iberia. The Inquisition in New Spain feared that the waves of persecution in the Viceroyalty of Peru would cause crypto-Jews to seek refuge in northern commercial centers such as Mexico City and Veracruz. In 1641 a letter from the Consejo de Indias to Viceroy Marquis de Villena warned about a crypto-Jewish migration into New Spain and the possibility of insurrections such as those in Portugal and Brazil.²⁶⁷ These fears were confirmed when Spanish officials supposedly intercepted a coded letter dating to the same time period indicating that Portuguese crypto-Jews in the New World were diverting large sums of money to various synagogues in Europe.²⁶⁸ In this context, Bocanegra's persistent, often lengthy description of Mexican silver adornments signaled that the crown's share of bullion (the *quinto real*), which would be of heightened importance to the monarchy after the remission or theft of Portuguese funds, was plentiful and would continue to arrive in Seville as scheduled.

In juxtaposition to Mexico City's adorned civic leaders sat the accused, intentionally separate from the civic institutions which they had transgressed. Though the list of accused ranged from wealthy financier to shopkeeper, the Holy Office charged all but one with judaizing.²⁶⁹ The inquisitorial roster of the accused confirmed the supposedly close association between Portuguese merchants and relapsed New Christians after the Portuguese rebellion from the crown of Castile in 1640. Most of the accused were involved in some form of Atlantic trade, and nearly all had ties to Portuguese families in Iberia. When they emerged from the city's cathedral in preparation for the procession, all were denied any previous status gained from

²⁶⁷ Liebman, "The Great Conspiracy in New Spain," 24.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 23.

²⁶⁹ The Inquisition charged Francisco Razen, a lower clergy member from Normandy, with being a Protestant.

Atlantic trade. In its place, they wore the infamous *sanbenito*, which ranged in color and variation in accordance with their crime.²⁷⁰ The intricacies of the garments spoke directly to onlookers. They communicated the severity of the crime, intended sentence, and the reality of eternal punishment.²⁷¹ The garments would hang in Mexico City's metropolitan cathedral for years after the 1649 *auto*, marking an individual's "perpetual infamy."²⁷² Church officials would carefully measure and order them, so that the name of the accused faced the Plaza Mayor and *audiencia*. If damaged, the cathedral would incur the expense of replacing and repainting. Local artisans were also commissioned to reinforce their scaffolding and, if moved from one part of the church to another, church officials or inquisitors were required to perform special rituals (complete with witnesses) to bless the transition.²⁷³ Their position on the cathedral walls, excluded from the body of the church, would remind the congregation of the peripheral status of the accused, as well as their behavior. Bocanegra hauntingly foreshadowed this impending separation:

The bells of the Cathedral began their mournful clamor and they were joined by all those of the churches, the parishes, monasteries and hermitages of the city... These sad signs [of the bells] revived the souls of the devoted Catholics and the Church showed to her sons her feelings as it separated the sons from those who were outside of the pale.²⁷⁴

Bocanegra's description of the accused as separate from Mexico City's orthodox community (both Christian and civilized) is an idea which overlapped several complex discourses about history, race, and civic participation during the colonial period. Historian Tamar

²⁷⁰ Marvin Lunefeld, "Pedagogy of Fear: Making the Secret-Jew Visible at the Public Autos de Fe of the Spanish Royal Inquisition," *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies* 18, no. 3 (2000): 85.

²⁷¹ Jimena N Rodriguez, "Reconociendo los brutos la generosidad de sus amos: El vestido en el auto general de la fe de 1659," *Romance Quarterly* 57, no. 2 (2010).

²⁷² Anthropologist David Kertzer calls this process the creation of "public enemies." See David I. Kertzer, *Ritual, politics, and power* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988). 88.

²⁷³ This information is drawn from transcribed records in the Conway Collection in the Library of Congress.

²⁷⁴ Bocanegra, *Jews and the Inquisition of Mexico: The Great Auto de fe of 1649*: 34.

Herzog argues that citizenship emerged in the Spanish empire through performance, particularly through the maintenance of communal duties and public demonstrations of loyalty.²⁷⁵ Though boundaries certainly marked the difference between residents and foreigners, naturalization into a community was often not conferred by legal procedures due the constantly varied and changing population. According to Herzog, individuals expressed their inclusion “at the moment when people acted as if they felt attached to the community.”²⁷⁶ As discussed in chapter one, definitions of community rested notably on the idea of *policía*, a political imaginary which argued that urban life could survive only if law, order, and morality took precedent over individual interest. In Spain, *policía* emerged in city ordinances and public artwork as an idea which embodied “civilized” life through the strict adherence to local laws, customs, and the Catholic faith (Seville’s pervasive image of Justa and Rufina as aggressive defenders of Catholicism is a prime example of visualizing this imaginary). Bocanegra’s *relación* suggests that this performance held particular significance in Mexico City. Though birthplace, vassalage, and descent certainly defined the geographic parameters of the *gran complicitad*, more importantly Portuguese New Christians in Mexico City failed to abide by the behavior and morality of a Spanish city. Beyond secretly transferring Judaic practices into the New World, Portuguese merchants in Mexico City inverted the trade funds that were, in theory, contributing to the defense of Catholicism in Mexico City and throughout the empire.

As in Seville, the idea of *policía* emerged in Mexican artwork throughout the early modern period. For example, in 1695 Mexican-born artist Cristóbal Villalpando painted a *View of the Zócalo of Mexico City*. (Figure Six) Despite the plaza’s reputation for late night gambling,

²⁷⁵ Tamar Herzog, "Communities Becoming a Nation: Spain and Spain America in the Wake of Modernity (and Thereafter)," *Citizenship Studies* 11, no. 2 (2007): 154.

²⁷⁶ ———, *Defining nations : immigrants and citizens in early modern Spain and Spanish America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003). 7.

drinking, and public fornication,²⁷⁷ Villalpando's painting featured the central plaza (*zócalo*) filled with the city's most prominent religious and political institutions in the central grid. Vibrant oranges and yellows draw the viewer into a scene alive with activity. Brightly colored carriages foreground the opening of the plaza, finely dressed men and women mingle while they tour symmetrical booths selling goods, and children play around the plaza's central fountain. A row of colorfully attired shoppers step from horse-drawn carriages and leisurely engaging in regulated commerce. The city's central canal, usually flooded with animals, excrement, or the occasional dead body, was portrayed as a clean and efficiently utilized. Despite the dynamic foreground of the painting, the image is a visual trick. Villalpando's vibrant colors and excessive detail draw the viewer away from the damage done to the royal palace during a rebellion in 1692. Villalpando's choice to deemphasize the damaged building forced his viewer to focus on the economic recovery of Mexico City after the violent uprising, as well as the vitality of the creole community in the face of racial conflict.

Cristóbal Villalpando image of the city's Plaza Mayor, Bocanegra's account of the 1649 *auto*, and Seville's 1570 *entrada* demonstrate how textual and visual images can reveal early modern beliefs about the utility of urban space. Profits from Atlantic trade created unique classes of people in both cities, and the status of non-traditional elites such as merchants fostered particularly conspicuous infrastructural development on both sides of the Atlantic. Both Seville and Mexico City fostered civic construction which added new hospitals, prisons, theaters, sites of pilgrimage, noble houses and elite gardens. In Seville, important sites of Spanish authority were not only prominently displayed, but actively protected. We see a similar impulse in the above paintings, as well as Bocanegra's description of segregated communities in the 1649 *auto*.

²⁷⁷ R. Douglas Cope, *The limits of racial domination: plebeian society in colonial Mexico City, 1660-1720* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994). 36-37.

Mexico City and its principle institutions functioned as a physically confined space which helped people identify their status, rights, and duties. The impulse to strictly regulate these obvious markers of Spanish identity fell largely to the individuals whose status was dependent on their preservation. Maintaining public spaces not only preserved the city's reputation, but safeguarded urban life against social unrest and acted as a physical manifestation of the ideal hierarchy which supposedly governed a true Spanish city. When a city was threatened by religious and economic disruption - such as a rebellion in the Alpujarras Mountains in sixteenth century or relapsed New Christians from Portugal in the seventeenth century - civic and religious authorities in both cities took the opportunity to use public spaces to reiterate their commitment to the Spanish crown.

Bocanegra's description of Mexico City's unified stance against Portuguese commercial incursion also had to rationalize the demographic and architectural legacy of the previous indigenous empire. His extensive and laudatory description in the 1649 *auto* suggests that he, along with local officials, were aware of the need to present Mexico City as a distinctly Spanish space.²⁷⁸ In Seville, the similar combination of the city's Islamic past and exposure to an increasing global market created a unique and often contentious diversity of peoples and conflicting histories. Historian Amanda Wunder argues that, in an effort to unite this diversity, "...the politicians, patrons, architects, and artisans behind the construction of imperial Seville needed to decide how to handle the remnants of the past as they reconciled the ideal city of the imagination with the historical city on the ground."²⁷⁹ In Seville, we saw how local histories, public artwork, and strict city regulations, cast the city as an imperial metropolis. This new

²⁷⁸ Urban communities in the early modern world also collapsed sacred and secular spaces within the city (the opposite phenomena occurring in the provinces where sacred space was often located outside town walls). This proximity allowed for a unique intimacy with spaces associated with both authority and social hierarchy; a connection which was unique to urban centers. See William A. Christian, *Local religion in sixteenth-century Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981). 148-52.

²⁷⁹ Wunder, "Classical, Christian, and Muslim Remains in the Construction of Imperial Seville (1520-1635)," 192.

narrative recounted how the city was founded by Hercules and Julius Caesar, reconquered by Fernando III of Castile in 1248, built the grandest cathedral in Europe, became favored by Ferdinand and Isabella, and eventually gained recognition for its greatness by becoming the gateway to Atlantic treasure. Local authors argued that Seville was one of the most superior cities in the world, and the natural successor to Rome. Despite fierce opposition in the rest of Spain, the merchant class in Seville transformed into hereditary nobles and refashioned the city with construction projects which simultaneously displayed the city's close historical ties to antiquity, as well as its contemporary prominence. Having few comparable rivals within Spain, authors and artists imagined a city that was commercial, metropolitan, and fervently orthodox.

The architectural remains of Tenochtitlan, as well as the spiritual and cultural conversion requirements imposed by the Spanish crown, meant that civic leaders in Mexico City were beset with the same problem as their Sevillian counterparts. They also demonstrated a similar sensitivity in public festivals to historical refashioning to that of Seville. For example, though the 1649 *auto* remained focused on the perceived threat of Portuguese New Christians, the festivities attempted to publically unite Mexico City's Christian inhabitants against the economic and spiritual threat of foreign merchants. Bocanegra noted "In order that no one should miss this assembly or be envious of so much glory, invitations were issued to the Indian communities of Santiago and San Juan in the form of Republics with their governors and chiefs for positions in which the Holy Tribunal judged that they might be useful."²⁸⁰ Residing in the peripheral barrios of the city's central traza, the inhabitants of Santiago and San Juan were some of the most impoverished districts in the city. The poverty which beset Mexico City's barrios was not unique. Outside of the central grid of most Spanish-American cities, the majority of poor

²⁸⁰ Bocanegra, *Jews and the Inquisition of Mexico: The Great Auto de fe of 1649*: 48.

Indians, free blacks and poor Spaniards lived together (much to the dismay of colonial authorities) in overcrowded barrios.

Unlike Spanish cartography which often excluded these complicating realities in order to create a homogenized image, public festivals in Mexico City made a point to include prominent barrio residence (particularly indigenous neighborhoods) in public displays which visually reinforced their inclusion in the community. This inclusion reiterated the crown's supposedly natural dominance through public displays such as mock battles which reenacted key conflicts between native peoples and conquistadors, or public oaths of allegiance from caciques and return promises of protection from the king. In a public display of alliance during the 1649 *auto*, Bocanegra described how caciques in colorful adornments carried "the effigies and the boxes of bones to the place of the stakes and then they took their places with their communities on the stage."²⁸¹ ²⁸² During their procession to the stage, caciques were accompanied by five companies of infantry as escort, similar in size and decoration as local city officials and inquisitors.

Though often viewed as a forced participation by modern historians, the deliberate inclusion of indigenous leaders signifies a genuine attempt to incorporate indigenous peoples into a political and cultural hierarchy.²⁸³ Historian Susan Kellogg has documented the necessity of balancing the traditional privileges of the caciques with the desire of the Spanish crown to

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 48.

²⁸² Though not discussed here, Bocanegra goes on to note that the Indians, castas, slaves, as well as the "stammering and the rude" who did not have an official role within the procession crowded the base of the elevated stage and watched the grand procession of both the accused and the local elites from the streets. Their lack of representation, however, spoke to their rightful place within the community. Though they were not meant to run, organize, or participate in the official festivities, their physical proximity to the grand theater and procession reflected their position within Mexico City's social hierarchy – supporting the Spanish elites. For this kind of inclusion, see Edward Muir, *Civic ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981). 203.

²⁸³ This idea is derived from the work of Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper, who argue that empires often employed "politics of difference" which worked to coercively incorporate diverse populations, especially those peoples whose difference is made explicit under its rule. This frame of analysis is especially promising for Spanish-American cities that accepted difference (*sistema de castas*, or racial caste system) and created a social and economic hierarchy to accommodate them. Burbank and Cooper, *Empires in world history: power and the politics of difference*: 162-70.

incorporate indigenous peoples into a colonial system of government through legal protections and ceremonial displays of alliance:

Hegemony develops not because people have agreed to their own subjugation but because the dominating power has been able to institute or substitute practices and beliefs which eventually appear normal and natural... hegemony is not simply imposed; it is a product of complex processes of conflict, negotiation, dialogue, and accommodation, even in colonial situations.²⁸⁴

However, in order to make these alliances believable, Mexico City intellectuals were forced into a similar historical refashioning to that of Seville. Arising largely out of the desire of Mexican creoles to defend themselves against Iberian intellectuals that cited their lack of sophistication and culture as the basis for the political exclusion, creole intellectuals engaged in often elaborate and overwrought patriotism which lauded both the quality and unity of Mexico City's diverse inhabitants.²⁸⁵ As in Europe, connecting local history to Biblical tradition or evidence of early Christian roots in the region (or both) created the most laudatory history. Chief advocate for this revisionism in Mexico City was creole intellectual and royal cosmographer Carlos Sigüenza y Góngora (1645-1700). In his *Theatro de virtudes políticas* (Theater of Political Virtue, 1680) Sigüenza y Góngora makes surprising links between the historical accomplishments of the "Mexican Empire" and contemporary creoles by suggesting that both shared a common history. Sigüenza y Góngora reiterated this assertion in the *Theatro* while describing the royal entry of Tomás Antonio de la Cerdá y Aragón, the new viceroy to New Spain, into Mexico City in 1680. As the new viceroy ceremoniously "conquered" the city by entering under a triumphal arch, Sigüenza y Góngora described how the constructed archway

²⁸⁴ Susan Kellogg, "Hegemony Out of Conquest: The First Two Centuries of Spanish Rule in Central Mexico," *Radical History Review* 53(1992): 29. Also see her very informative book ———, *Law and the transformation of Aztec culture, 1500-1700* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995).

²⁸⁵ For this, see Charles Gibson, *Spain in America* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1966).

was not decorated with the accomplishments of Castilian kings, but rather Aztec emperors.²⁸⁶

Despite the obvious problems with legal status and continuity, Sigüenza y Góngora bridged the divide between creoles and Indians by engaging in a similar discourse as other European authors attempting to establish the link between Biblical tradition and the indigenous population of North and South America. For Sigüenza y Góngora, the connection was a reinterpretation of the Roman maritime deity Neptune into a son of Shem (a son of Noah), whom he believed was part of a nomadic people who settled Carthage and then crossed the Atlantic to become progenitor of many New World peoples.²⁸⁷ Though the trajectory was spectacular even at the time, it effectively connected the Old World with the New through a history which had legitimized Europeans claims to religious, cultural, and political authority for generations.

Seville's lucrative art trade in Latin America during the colonial period suggests that Sigüenza y Góngora was not alone in imagining a community of Old and New World peoples. The exportation of artwork created in Seville for New World patrons was notable, and should be credited with at least a cursory influence in colonial schools of painting in the sixteenth and seventeenth century.²⁸⁸ Famous artists such as Francisco de Zurbarán and Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, the same artists responsible for much of the civic artwork in Seville during the same time period, supplied works to colonial patrons who used them to adorn the walls of churches, private homes, and sites of pilgrimage. As discussed previously, the foundation of Seville's School of Painting under Luis de Vargas and Pedro Campaña in the sixteenth century (refashioned as the Sevillian Academy by Francisco Pacheco in the early seventeenth century)

²⁸⁶Pagden, *Spanish imperialism and the political imagination : studies in European and Spanish-American social and political theory, 1513-1830*: 92-93.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 95.

²⁸⁸ This influence is still debated, see Donna Pierce, Rogelio Ruiz Gomar, and Clara Bargellini, *Painting a new world : Mexican art and life, 1521-1821* (Denver: Frederick and Jan Mayer Center for Pre-Columbian and Spanish Colonial Art, Denver Art Museum, 2004).

made a notable contribution to Seville's early modern prominence by recasting the city's past and promoting its economic and cultural centrality to the Castilian monarchy. Propelling Seville's artistic academies forward was the desire to re-imagine Seville as an imperial capital. The rivalry between wealthy patrons such as Don Fernando Enríquez Afán de Ribera, the Duke of Alcalá, and Gaspar de Guzmán, the Count of Olivares in the early seventeenth century, often provided the funds necessary to promote Seville's prominence in the empire, as well as its rightful place among other Spanish intellectual centers such as Toledo and Salamanca.

The number of painted canvases exported to Spanish-America from Seville in the seventeenth century indicates the active presence of these artists (as well as their works) in the New World. Between the years 1647-1665, over 1,500 canvas paintings boarded ships for the colonies in Latin America.²⁸⁹ Comparing contemporary Sevillian collections to those imported to the New World, art historian Duncan Kinkead has concluded that, in addition to a great number of devotional works, New World patrons expressed a conspicuous demand for images of Biblical patriarchs and historic emperors. Kinkead argues that patriarchal figures had a particular resonance in the New World, where identity was constantly being established. While Seville favored images such Hercules and Fernando III of Castile which spoke to the city's specific historical narrative, the adoption of Biblical patriarchs in New World art suggests that Sigüenza y Góngora's theory had gained some traction in explaining the providence of New World peoples. While discussing the desire of New World patrons to own images of Biblical patriarch, Kinkead notes:

The patriarchs were the twelve sons of Jacob listed in Genesis 49 and Exodus 1. They become identified with the twelve tribes of Israel which, according to Hebraic tradition, parted, with the result that ten became lost – the legendary Ten Lost Tribes. Soon after

²⁸⁹ This number does not include the equally vibrant sculpture trade occurring during the same time period.

the discovery of the Amerindian peoples, there was speculation that these natives of the Americas were the descendants of the Lost Tribes. The theory was widely supported in the 17th century. Thus the patriarchs became a subject closely associated with the New World.²⁹⁰

Bocanegra, a Mexican creole intellectual who lived during the height of this visual and textual historical reimagining, would have been familiar with these popular theories. His decision to include a lengthy description of indigenous leaders in the 1649 *auto* signals how he was able to present Mexico City as a unified community despite differences in history, dress, cultural tradition, and legal status. For Bocanegra, Mexico City stood as the head of a unified kingdom. Similar to the histories that had unified Seville, the integrated past and present of Mexico City meant that all residence should stand united against the usurpation of its economic resources by foreign merchants and secret heretics. Bocanegra spoke to the effectiveness of this display by noting that “There is no question that Christian fervor and piety prevailed on this occasion, causing all – men, women, children, slaves, Indians and unmannerly people - to utter voices and shouts in proclamation of our Catholic faith.”²⁹¹

Conclusions

By presenting Mexico City as a well-ordered and Catholic city, city officials in the colonial capital fortified its relatively new Spanish civic identity. Additionally, the public display of religious and political authority in the 1649 *auto de fe* allowed city officials to define parameters of citizenship through imagery and physical space, and present their New World city

²⁹⁰ Duncan Kinkead, "Juan de Luzón and the Sevillian Painting Trade with the New World in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century," *The Art Bulletin* 66, no. 2 (1984): 306. Also see ———, "The Last Sevillian Period of Francisco de Zurbarán," *The Art Bulletin* 65, no. 2 (1984).

²⁹¹ Bocanegra, *Jews and the Inquisition of Mexico: The Great Auto de fe of 1649*: 65.

as a legitimate part of to the Spanish empire. The spatial and conceptual boundaries established during Mexico City's *autos* bared striking similarity to public festivals in Seville, and should be analyzed within the context of economic and cultural investment by Andalusian merchants. Defined by a diverse architectural and cultural cityscape, as well as an economy essential to the success of the Spanish crown, both cities used civic festivals to publically regulate boundaries and assert regional influence. Historian Alejandro Cañeque suggests that these public mnemonics not only represented social and racial ordering, they made hierarchy physically present on the buildings and people that defined the city's political order.²⁹² Bocanegra noted the power of this ritual act when he suggested that the 1649 *auto* brought forth a similar "natural court" to one described in Mal Lara's account of Philip II's *entrada*. Bocanegra stated that the great *auto* meant that "the Faith is revindicated [sic], religion applauded, errors corrected, heresy refuted, truth acclaimed, Christ triumphant, and our law victorious."²⁹³ Similar to merchants' newly ennobled status in Seville, the rituals of Mexico City's *auto* were self-conscious. They reflected a city that was not only new to the kingdom of Castile, but distant from the royal court. As merchants from southern Spain dominated the populations in both cities, the public rituals which demonstrated Mexico City's urban identity were similar in concept and design to those in Seville; bringing errors to public attention and providing mnemonic models indicating who threatened the social and economic success of the capital city.

²⁹² See Cañeque, *The king's living image: the culture and politics of viceregal power in colonial Mexico*: 1-11.

²⁹³ Bocanegra, *Jews and the Inquisition of Mexico: The Great Auto de fe of 1649*: 22.

FIGURE ONE

Percentages based on data gathered from 181 *sanbenitos* hanging in Mexico City's Cathedral from 1528-1630. Documents reside in the Conway Collection at the Library of Congress.

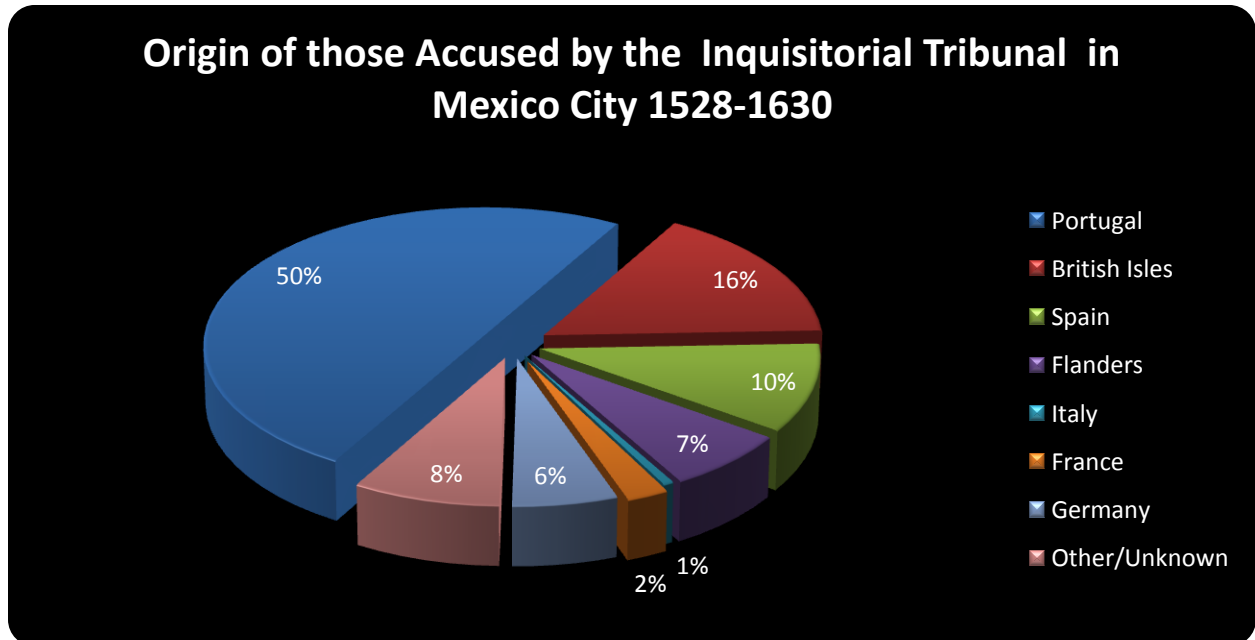


FIGURE TWO

Percentages based on the same 181 *sanbenitos* hanging in Mexico City's Cathedral from 1528-1630. Documents reside in the Conway Collection at the Library of Congress.

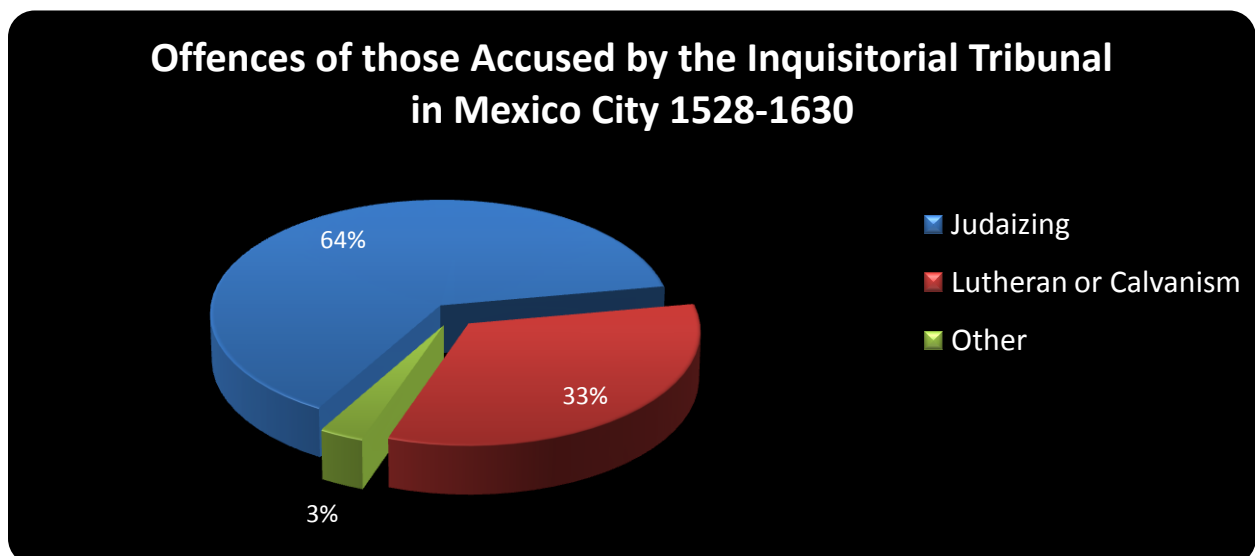


FIGURE FOUR
Pedro Berruguete, *Auto-da-fé* (c. 1500)
Prado, Madrid



FIGURE FIVE

Franco Rizzi, *Auto-da-fe on the Plaza Mayor of Madrid* (1683)

Image can be found at: Museo de Prado, Madrid

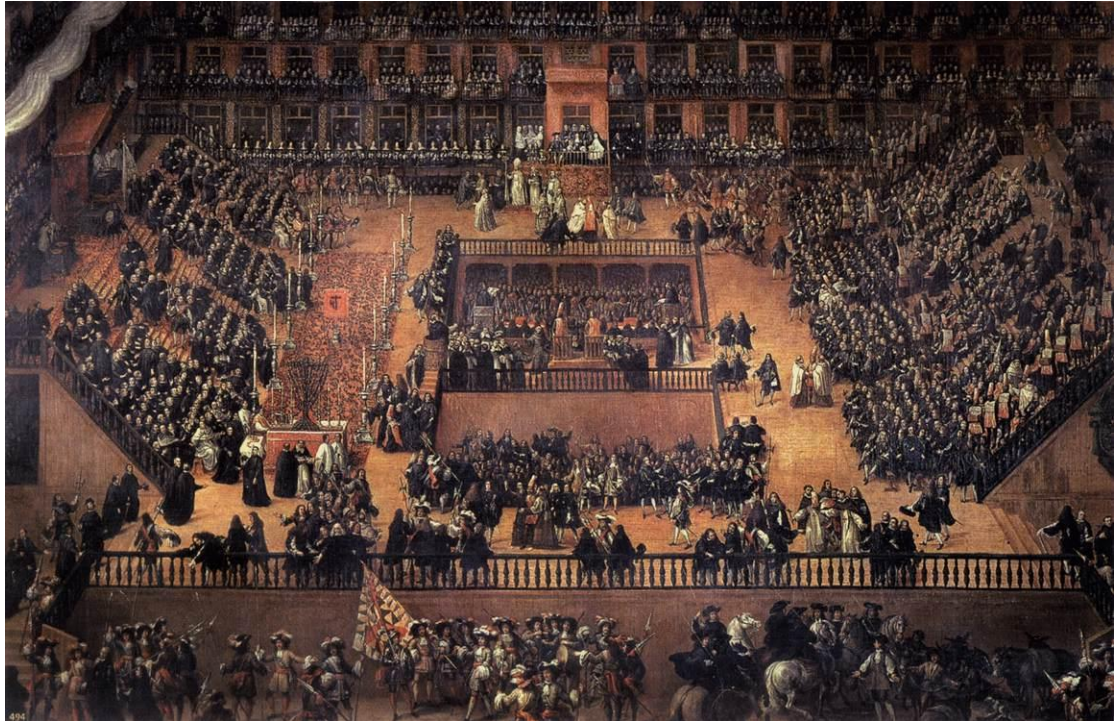


FIGURE SIX

Cristóbal Villalpando, *View of the Zócalo of Mexico City* (1695)

Image can be found at: Corsham Court, Wiltshire England



CONCLUSION

New Directions

“Even imperfect comparisons can help to shake historians out of their provincialisms, by provoking new questions and offering new perspectives.”²⁹⁴

Sir J.H. Elliott
Empires of the Atlantic World

As conquistadors, merchants, and colonial officials moved across the Atlantic to settle New World territories, they brought with them a range of cultural, intellectual, and religious presumptions. These presumptions, specific to the period and providence of their proprietors, set the foundation for many urban centers which came to dominate the economic and social trajectory of colonization. In an attempt to unpack some of these presumptions, this dissertation asked a simple question: can we locate a common visual and textual imaginary which unified the Habsburgs’ diverse populations throughout the Atlantic World during the early modern period? Through a tapestry of sources ranging from festivals to city ordinances and cartographic renderings, this dissertation has argued that cities in Spain and the New World became more than nodes of commerce for the Spanish empire. Rather, urban culture offered a useful, performative imaginary for political and cultural cohesion in an empire for which the sun never set. For cities on both sides of the Atlantic, urban identity became a performance which could reify inclusion into a larger, trans-Atlantic social and political body.

By placing current historiography and contemporary sources on urbanization, colonization, and identity into unique historical comparison, this dissertation began to ask new

²⁹⁴ Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America 1492-1830*: xviii.

questions regarding how Europeans recast the physical, social, and economic landscape of both the Old and New World. For example, this dissertation agrees with historians who argue that cities created spaces to normalize new relationships of authority between settlers and indigenous peoples. However, looking to both sides of the Atlantic during the early years of urban settlement in the New World, I found that Spanish-American cities betrayed preconceived ideas about urban culture that had roots in the southern Andalusian city of Seville, one of the most recognized Spanish cities of the early modern world. Scholars often fail to connect these two contemporaneous urban movements because Seville's immediate influence was largely limited to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Despite Seville's limited monopoly over Spanish imperial trade, which made it one of the largest and most economically prosperous cities in Europe, the city's self-ascribed status as an imperial city was well-known in early modern Spain, and directed urban settlement during the most formative years of Spanish-American colonization.

An important aspect of this dissertation has been to evaluate Seville's prominence as early modern Europeans would have conceived it, even if such perceptions puzzle us today. Despite contemporary claims to imperial favor, Seville was never the official imperial capital under the Spanish Habsburgs. Thus, its early modern prominence requires explanation. This dissertation has argued that the itinerancy of the Habsburgs until the late sixteenth century created a brief period in which several kingdoms in Spain maintained cities which vied for royal favor. Even when Philip II permanently settled the royal court in Madrid in 1561, several cities in Spain maintained a fierce competition to claim a prominent place in the empire well into the following century. This idea has established the foundation for further research on Seville's early modern success, particularly regarding why Seville prevailed while other notable cities in Spain

declined in importance after the establishment of Madrid as the official capital. For example, how was it that Luis de Peraza's *Historia de la Ciudad de Sevilla* (History of the City of Seville, c. 1535) so viciously denounced Toledo's potential as an imperial capital, and blamed the city for the years of Christian struggle after the Muslim invasion in the eighth century? Why was it that Toledo continued to decline in imperial favor when the city maintained an active urban program similar to Seville's during the same time period?

The first chapter of this dissertation addresses some of these questions by arguing that a key component of Seville's success was the foundation of a newly ennobled class of merchants after the establishment of the *Casa de Contratación* in 1503. The decision of the monarchy to place the economic center of the empire in Seville created an influx of new wealth in the city during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The consistent arrival of colonial goods and wealth in Seville fostered a spirit of competition among nobles, many of whom tried to secure their legacies through conspicuous displays of wealth. As the merchant class transformed the physical landscape of Seville into an imperial capital, local authors and artists revised the city's history to foreshadow Seville's contemporary prominence.

In addition to Seville's large merchant class, the congenial competition between titled nobles such as local antiquarian Don Fernando Afán de Ribera, Duke of Alcalá, and royal favorite Don Gaspar de Guzmán, Count-Duke Olivares, deserves far more consideration in assessing Seville's early modern success. For example, when acting as governor of Seville's Alcázar in the early seventeenth century, Olivares immersed himself in the intellectual community of the city, patronizing artists and poets like Francisco Pacheco and Francisco de Rioja. During this time, Olivares flaunted his wealth and intellect by commissioning artwork (including his portrait by Francisco Pacheco which is regrettably lost) and amassing one of the

greatest private libraries in seventeenth-century Europe, including 2,700 printed books and 1,400 manuscripts.²⁹⁵ During this time Olivares sponsored and attended meeting either at his private residence or at Alcalá Renaissance palace, the Casa de Pilatos, where local artists, historians, and poets engaged in a vibrant culture of letters. Sir J.H. Elliott noted how the relationship between the two men turned congenially competitive: “Olivares, four years the junior of Alcalá, was not the kind of man to let himself be outdone in friendly rivalry. If Alcalá was a great book-collector, he would be a greater; if Alcalá was a brilliant patron, he would none the less outshine him.”²⁹⁶

A more thorough exploration of the intellectual rivalries among Seville’s small but active titled nobility would contribute to our understanding of what drove Seville’s success during the early modern period. Perhaps even more significantly, exploring how the patronage of city fathers shaped the visual and textual narrative of Seville’s urban program would allow us to more thoroughly conclude how urban civility became normalized as the most stable form of social organization during the early modern period. As Olivares and Alcalá patronized debates about statecraft and commissioned artwork which valorized leadership and community, authors such as José de Veitia Linaje were calling Seville the economic and cultural “north” of Spain’s overseas territories. In addition, Spanish-American patrons maintained a lucrative trade with Sevillian artists. Many ships carrying trade goods to American cities also carried artwork from the same commissioned artists who collaborated with Olivares and Alcalá.

Another important aspect of this dissertation has been the way festivals became public performances which could signal, both to the monarchy and to city residence, that a city was a healthy and contributing arm of the empire. Philip II’s *entrada* into Seville in 1570 and Mexico City’s *auto de fe* of 1649 were particularly useful comparisons because both events demonstrated

²⁹⁵ _____, *The Count-Duke of Olivares : the statesman in an age of decline* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986). 24.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 21.

the way cities presented their identity during a time of crisis. Additional research and contextualization of these events could further emphasize their significance. For example, contemporaneous to Philip II's visit to Seville in the 1570s, the monarchy's concern over the Ottomans in the Mediterranean prompted a mass relocation of the *morisco* population away from coastal cities. The resulting Alpujarras Rebellion (1568-71) was an anxious reminder of cultural and religious instability in the region long after the quelling of the Comuneros Revolt in the 1520s. Despite Philip II's notorious reclusiveness, the monarchy famously visited Seville during the rebellion in order to present an alliance between the monarchy and one of the largest and most lucrative cities in Castile. Through art and performance, the city expressed its loyalty to the visiting monarchy. Mythological and historical figures such as Hercules and Fernando III of Castile created a teleology of good government over the course of centuries, culminating in the reign of Philip II. Additional public displays emphasized how Seville was a model steward of the monarchy's wealth, ensuring the king's defense of Catholicism both in Spain and the New World.

Imperial anxieties in Spain also had significant reverberations in the Americas, setting the foundation for Mexico City's great *auto de fe* of 1649. After the union of Castile and Portugal in 1580, Portuguese merchants and financiers began to seek positions in the Spanish court. In the seventeenth century, Portuguese merchants from Lisbon and Goa became a powerful presence in Peru, New Spain, and Asia. At the same time, the activities of Portuguese merchants and financiers as suspect New Christians inspired by anti-Jewish stereotypes, prompting fears about a Jewish plot for dominance over the world of finance. The Portuguese rebellion against the Spanish crown in 1640 and the fall of Olivares in 1643 seemed to confirm those fears. The resolve of Mexico City officials to thwart this grand conspiracy by harnessing the visual power

of an *auto de fe* was a reflection of this anxiety. Whereas the *auto* created a similar visual language (and performance) of inclusion to that of Seville nearly a century earlier, the conspiratorial context of the *auto* generates important historical questions about trans-Atlantic anxieties on the part of the Habsburgs during the first two centuries of colonial settlement.²⁹⁷

This dissertation has also generated new questions about subjects infrequently engaged by historians, in particular the study early modern geography and natural history. I would like to conclude this dissertation with an outline for a future project which will rely on my previous research, but also looks forward to new possibilities in historical analysis. I am particularly interested in expanding my research to include the way images for foreign lands and people acquainted Europeans with world geography during the early modern period. This dissertation approached this subject with broad strokes, focusing primarily on the way professional authorities (cartographers, professional merchants, colonial officials, etc.) created visual, trans-Atlantic urban models. However, in the wake of Atlantic exploration and the circumnavigation of the globe in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Europeans began a process of reforming a globe notably different from medieval cosmologies. The Biblical conception of the O-T map of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologia* (printed in 1472) slowly gave way to Ptolemy's geometric grid of longitude and latitude, and later Abraham Ortelius' expansive atlas *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (beginning publication in 1570), which combined Ptolemaic precision with a sensitivity to new geographies revealed through exploration.²⁹⁸ By the end of the sixteenth century, four definitive parts of the world emerged: Europe, Africa, Asia, and America.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁷ Models for future research on colonial conspiracies will be based on the work of Irene Silverblatt. Most notably Irene Silverblatt, "New Christians and New World Fears in Seventeenth Century Peru," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 43, no. 3 (2000); ———, "Religion and Race in the Emerging Modern World: Indians, Incas, and Conspiracy Stories in Colonial Peru," in *Practicing Catholic: Ritual, Body, and Contestation in Catholic Faith*, ed. Bruce Morrill, Joanna Ziegler, and Susan Rodgers (New York: Palgrave/MacMillan, 2006).

²⁹⁸ Isidore of Seville's T-O map in *Etymologia* is a tripartite disk surrounded by a circumfluent ocean; Asia is at the top half, while Europe and Africa occupy the lower right quadrants, each are given a name of a son of Noah. For a

As knowledge about the various peoples of the world increased, a range of images relating to geography – such as decorative maps, travel narratives, cheap prints, natural histories, and books of wonder – streamed off presses to inform Europeans about the physical and environmental features of the globe. Printed cartographic images often embellished the novelty, variety, and strangeness of foreign lands by emphasizing foreign peoples, dress, animals, and plant life.³⁰⁰ Influenced by the style of popular Dutch cartographers such as Willem Bleau and Fedrik de Wit, map makers and printers throughout Europe created similarly decorative designs which gave visual characteristics the emerging four parts of the globe. For example, in 1734 Spanish cartographer Pedro Murillo Velarde composed a map of the Philippines for the Bourbon monarchy which visualized both the physical geography of the islands, surrounded by the social and environmental renderings of daily life for both Europeans and indigenous residence throughout the Philippines. Velarde commented on his effort in Juan Francisco de San Antonio's *Crónicas de la Apostólica Provincia de San Gregorio* (Chronicles of the Apostolic Province of San Gregorio, 1738): "In it I put all the pueblos, points, inlets, ports, shoals, reefs, courses, sailing directions, rivers, forts, and distances, was possible in so difficult a matter and within the scale. And in a description of a few lines, and in the figures at the margin, as in Egyptian hieroglyphics,

very strong description of Isidore of Seville's O-T map, see David Woodward, "Maps and the Rationalization of Geographic Space," in *Circa 1492 : art in the age of exploration*, ed. Jay A. and the National Gallery of Art (U.S.) Levenson (Washington and New Haven: National Gallery of Art ; Yale University Press, 1991). For Ptolemy, see Thrower, *Maps & civilization : cartography in culture and society*. There are several outstanding texts on Abraham Ortelius, though I find the most instructive Paul Binding, *Imagined corners : exploring the world's first atlas* (London: Review, 2003). For Ortelius' maps more generally, see M. P. R. van den Broecke, *Ortelius atlas maps : an illustrated guide*, 2nd rev. ed. (Houten: HES & De Graaf, 2011).

²⁹⁹ For introductory works on this subject see, O'Gorman, *The invention of America: an inquiry into the historical nature of the New World and the meaning of its history*; Lewis and Wigen, *The myth of continents : a critique of metageography*. Binding, *Imagined corners : exploring the world's first atlas*.

³⁰⁰ For some interesting works on this subject, see Benjamin Schmidt, "Inventing Exoticism: The Project of Dutch Geography and the Marketing of the World, circa 1700," in *Merchants & marvels : commerce, science and art in early modern Europe*, ed. Pamela H. Smith and Paula Findlen (New York: Routledge, 2002); Eddy Stols, Thomas Werner, and Johan Verberckmoes, eds., *Naturalia, Mirabilia & Monstruosa en los Imperios Ibéricos (siglos XV-XIX)* (Minderbroedersstraat: Leuven University Press, 2006); Nicholas Dew, "Reading Travels in the Culture of Curiosity: Thévenot's Collection of Voyages," in *Bringing the world to early modern Europe: travel accounts and their audiences*, ed. Peter C. Mancall (Boston: Brill, 2007).

I relate the most memorable things therein contained, as extensively as can be done in such concise words and figures...³⁰¹ Velarde imagined the Philippines responding to the demand for cartographic images which visualized the closely associated elements of geographic knowledge: physical landscape, people, and environment. Calling his accompanying illustrations “hieroglyphic” (a pre-literate artistic tradition) further emphasized the role of images in the visual language of cartographic renderings.

In addition to cartography, knowledge about geographic images entered European homes first through expensive fully illustrated (often colored) cartographic atlases which highlighted the worldly knowledge of their patrons. However, as woodcuts gave way to the precision of intaglio printing in the late sixteenth century, the availability of cheaper, more detailed maps and prints fueled the desire for knowledge about the four emerging parts of the globe.³⁰² Cheap single sheet maps, atlases, travel narratives, and natural histories ranging from wondrously exotic sea creatures to newly discovered plants and animals, created a robust marketplace texts, images, and objects designed for non-professional interest in the world and its many different locals.³⁰³

Preliminary research has revealed that world geography emerged as much as a domestic curiosity in the natural world as it did a professional pursuit among university scholars and royal administrators. This education was fostered largely through visual mnemonics meant to engage every person, regardless of age, sex, aptitude, or income. For example, cheaply printed “how to” manuals written by apothecaries, artisans, and natural philosophers advocated amusing activities

³⁰¹ For a full transcript of this chronicle, see Juan Francisco de San Antonio, "Crónicas de la apostólica provincia de San Gregorio de religiosos descalzados de N.S.P.S. Francisco de la Pilipinas, China, Japón, etc.," in *Documentary Sources of Philippine History*, ed. G. Zaide (Manila: National Bookstore Publications, 1990).

³⁰² David Landau and Peter W. Parshall, *The Renaissance print, 1470-1550* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994). 240-44.

³⁰³ Pamela H. Smith, "Collecting Nature and Art," in *Engaging with nature : essays on the natural world in medieval and early modern Europe*, ed. Barbara Kiser Hanawalt, Lisa J. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2008). So many possibilities here! Perhaps wait and see what you use in next section (and emphasis on curiosity), then come back and see what is necessary to add here.

such as drafting and coloring maps at home, as well as and memorizing “natural” geo-ethnic and cultural differences in tutorials which combined artistic instruction and geography. For example, Francisco Martinez’ *Prontuario Artistico* (Artist Manual, eighteenth century) outlined the usefulness of drawing and coloring maps and prints in the education of Spanish children (*la juventud Española*), advocating they learn how to outline the four continents and their cartographic iconography so they would be able to express any map, object, assumption or idea (*delinear, or expresar algun[sic] mapa, objecto, asunto [sic] ó idea...*) in their studies at home. Beyond a pedagogical home amusements or decoration, these domestic activities neatly divided the globe into the continental structure of Europe, Asia, Africa and America, divisions which categorized various human communities into “useful” comparative frameworks

By exploring texts and images in the environments for which they were intended (domestic settings), this research could reevaluate early modern homes as places where questions about the natural world and geography were both posed and investigated. This research also has potential to engage with fundamental questions regarding the formation of racial categories on both sides of the Atlantic. For early modern Europeans, dots representing distant cities in Asia or the Americas were placed in new visual relationships with Europeans, their borders drawn largely due to the process of colonization. This process of composition and comparison created what Benedict Anderson calls a “totalizing classification,” which allowed Europeans so effectively “fill in” the maps with stories and images from explorers, military forces, and surveyors.³⁰⁴ For an individual looking at a map in the seventeenth century, the image functioned as a spatial framework through which they could order their knowledge of the world.

³⁰⁴ Benedict R. O’G Anderson, *Imagined communities : reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*, Rev. ed. (London ; New York ;: Verso, 2006). 170-77.

However, this process was not static. As foreign geography and natural histories came more into focus for Europeans, their gaze turned inward. Backyards become spaces of wonder and inquiry, inherently worthy of study and interest by their inhabitants and visitors. At a proceeding of the Royal Society of London, Richard Waller presented a specimen chart of colors, which he argued that everyone should make and carry with them so as always to be ready to accurately identify interesting plants, animals, and insects in a running journal. Authors and publishers began compiling inventories which declared the study of local geographies comparable to the wonder of foreign lands. For example, while Don Tomas Lopez' *Atlas Elemental Moderno* (Basic Modern Atlas, 1792) advocated teaching children the various parts of the globe through a combination of texts and engraved maps, contemporaneous works such as Joseph Torrubia's *Aparato para la Historia Natural Española* (System of the Natural History of Spain, 1754) and Guillermo Bowles' *Introducción a la Historia Natural y á la Geografía Física de España* (Introduction to the Natural History and Physical Geography of Spain, 1782) advocated for the wonders of Spain as distinct and unique from other regions of the world. As Europeans grappled with what it meant to appropriately visualize their own backyards, local cartography and natural histories became important elements of regional identity, and young men travelling abroad were censured if not conversant in the geographic and natural wonders for their homelands. Thus, exploring the intersection between art, geography, and identity can help us further define the complex process of Anderson's "totalizing classification" in *all* four parts of the globe.

Bibliography

- Acosta, José de. *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*. edited by Jane Mangan, Walter Mignolo and Frances López-Morillas Durham: Duke University Press, 2002.
- Adler, Elkan Nathan "Auto De Fe and Jew." *Jewish Quarterly Review* 13, no. 3 (1901): 392-47.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Rev. and extended ed. New York: Verso, 1991.
- Anderson, Benedict R. O'G. *Imagined Communities : Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Rev. ed. London ; New York ;: Verso, 2006.
- Aristotle. *Politics*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Library, 2001.
<http://etext.virginia.edu/toc/modeng/public/AriPoli.html>.
- Bass, Laura, and Amanda Wunder. "The Veiled Ladies of the Early Modern Spanish World: Seduction and Scandal in Seville, Madrid, and Lima." *Hispanic Review* 77, no. 1 (2009): 97-144.
- Bender, Thomas, and Alev Cinar. "The City: Experience, Imagination and Place." In *Urban Imaginaries: Locating the Modern City*, edited by Thomas Bender and Alev Cinar. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007.
- Berggren, J. L., Alexander Jones, and Ptolemy. *Ptolemy's Geography : An Annotated Translation of the Theoretical Chapters*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Bethencourt, Francisco. "The Auto Da Fé: Ritual and Imagery." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 55 (1992): 155-68.
- Binding, Paul. *Imagined Corners : Exploring the World's First Atlas*. London: Review, 2003.
- Bleichmar, Daniela. *Visible Empire : Botanical Expeditions and Visual Culture in the Hispanic Enlightenment*. Chicago ; London: The University of Chicago Press, 2012.
- Blome, Richard. *A Geographical Description of the Four Parts of the World Taken from the Notes and Workes of the Famous Monsieur Sanson, Geographer to the French King, and Other Eminent Travellers and Authors*. London: Printed by T. N. for R. Blome, 1670.
- Bocanegra, Matías de. *Jews and the Inquisition of Mexico: The Great Auto De Fe of 1649*. Translated by Seymour B. Liebman. Lawrence: Coronado Press, 1974.
- Booker, Jackie R. *Veracruz Merchants, 1770-1829: A Mercantile Elite in Late Bourbon and Early Independent Mexico*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1993.
- Botero, Giovanni. *On the Cause of the Magnificence of Cities Divided into Three Bookes by Sig: Giouanni Botero, in the Italian Tongue; Now Done into English by Robert Peterson*. London 1606.
- Bowers, Kristy Wilson. *Plague and Public Health in Early Modern Seville*. Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2013.
- Brading, D. A. *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and the Liberal State, 1492-1867*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Broecke, M. P. R. van den. *Ortelius Atlas Maps : An Illustrated Guide*. 2nd rev. ed. Houten: HES & De Graaf, 2011.

- Brooks, Lynn Matluck. *The Dances of the Processions of Seville in Spain's Golden Age*. Teatro Del Siglo De Oro. Estudios De Literatura 4. Kassel: Ed. Reichenberger, 1988.
- Brown, Jonathan. *Images and Ideas in Seventeenth-Century Spanish Paintings* New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1978.
- . *Painting in Spain: 1500-1700*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.
- Brown, Jonathan, and Richard Kagan. "View of Toledo." *Studies in the History of Art* 11 (1982): 19-29.
- Buisseret, David. "Spanish Colonial Cartography, 1450-1700." In *The History of Cartography: Cartography in the European Renaissance*, edited by David Woodward. 1143-71. Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 2007.
- Burbank, Jane, and Frederick Cooper. *Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010.
- Burke, Peter. "How to Be a Counter-Reformation Saint." In *Religion and Society in Early Modern Europe 1500-1800*, edited by Kaspar von Greyerz. Boston: George Allen & Unwin, 1984.
- Butler, Judith. "Doing Justice to Someone: Sex Reassignment and Allegories of Transsexuality." *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 7, no. 4 (2001): 621-36.
- . *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge, 1990.
- Cañeque, Alejandro. *The King's Living Image: The Culture and Politics of Viceregal Power in Colonial Mexico*. New York: Routledge, 2004.
- Caro, Rodrigo. "Antigüedades Y Principado De La Ilustrísima Ciudad De Sevilla ". Sevilla, 1634.
- Caro, Rodrigo *Antigüedades Y Principado De La Ilustrísima Ciudad De Sevilla* Sevilla: A. Grande, 1634.
- Casey, James. *Early Modern Spain : A Social History*. New York: Routledge, 1999.
- Cherry, Peter. "Santas Justa Y Rufina: Una Nota Iconográfica." In *En Torno a Santa Rufina: Velázquez De Lo Íntimo a Lo Cortesano*, edited by Benito Navarrete Prieto, Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez, Peter Cherry and Carmen Garrido. Sevilla: Centro Velázquez, 2008.
- Childers, William. "'Granada': Race and Place in Early Modern Spain." In *Spectacle and Topophilia: Reading Early Modern and Postmodern Hispanic Cultures*, edited by David R Castillo and Bradley J. Nelson. 19-42. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2011.
- Christian, William A. *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981.
- Classen, Albrecht. "Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture." In *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age*, edited by Albrecht Classen. vii, 757 p. Berlin ; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009.
- Connell, William F. *After Moctezuma: Indigenous Politics and Self-Government in Mexico City, 1524-1730*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011.
- Cope, R. Douglas. *The Limits of Racial Domination: Plebeian Society in Colonial Mexico City, 1660-1720*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994.
- Corteguera, Luis. *For the Common Good: Popular Politics in Barcelona, 1580-1640*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002.
- . "King as Father in Early Modern Spain." *Memoria y Civilización* 12 (2009): 49-70.

- . "Visions and the Soul's Ascent to God in Spanish Mysticism." In *Looking Beyond: Visions, Dreams, and Insights in Medieval Art and History*, edited by Colum Hourihane. 255-63. University Park: Penn State University Press, 2010.
- Cortés, Hernán. *Letters from Mexico*. Translated by Anthony Pagden and John Huxtable Elliott. New Haven: Yale Nota Bene, 2001.
- Covarrubias Orozco, Sebastián de. *Tesoro De La Lengua Castellana O Española*. edited by Ignacio Arellano and Rafael Zafra Madrid: Universidad de Navarra, 2006.
- Crosby, Alfred W. *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900*. 2nd ed. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Crouch, Dora P. , and Axel I. Mundigo. "The City Planning Ordinances of the Laws of the Indies Revisited. Part I: Their Philosophy and Implications." *The Town Planning Review* 48, no. 3 (1977): 247-68.
- Crouch, Dora P., Daniel J. Garr, and Axel I. Mundigo. *Spanish City Planning in North America*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1982.
- Cueto, Ronald. "The Great Babylon of Spain: Politics, Religion and Piety in the Seville of Velázquez." In *Velázquez in Seville*, edited by Michael Clarke. 29-36. Edinburgh: National Trustees of the National Galleries of Scotland, 1996.
- Cuneo, Pia F. "Jörg Breu the Elder's Death of Lucretia: History, Sexuality and the State." In *Saints, Sinners and Sisters: Gender and Northern Art in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, edited by Jane L. Carroll and Alison G. Steward. Burlington: Ashgate, 2003.
- Curcio, Linda Ann. *The Great Festivals of Colonial Mexico City : Performing Power and Identity*. Diálogos. 1st ed. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004.
- Davis, Natalie Zemon. *Society and Culture in Early Modern France : Eight Essays*. Cambridge: Polity, 1987.
- Dew, Nicholas. "Reading Travels in the Culture of Curiosity: Thévenot's Collection of Voyages." In *Bringing the World to Early Modern Europe: Travel Accounts and Their Audiences*, edited by Peter C. Mancall. 39-60. Boston: Brill, 2007.
- Díaz del Castillo, Bernal, and Genaro García. *The True History of the Conquest of New Spain*. 5 vols London: Hakluyt Society, 1908.
- Domínguez Ortiz, Antonio. *Historia De Sevilla : La Sevilla Del Siglo Xvii*. Colección De Bolsillo. 3a ed. Sevilla: Secretariado de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla, 1986.
- Donahue-Wallace, Kelly. *Art and Architecture of Viceregal Latin America, 1521-1821*. Diálogos. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008.
- Durer, Albrecht. *The Writings of Albrecht Durer*. London: Philosophical Library, 1958.
- Ehlers, Benjamin. *Between Christians and Moriscos : Juan De Ribera and Religious Reform in Valencia, 1568-1614*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006.
- Elliott, John H. "The Seville of Velázquez." In *Velázquez in Seville*, edited by Michael Clarke. 15-22. Edinburgh: National Trustees of the National Galleries of Scotland, 1996.
- Elliott, John Huxtable. *The Count-Duke of Olivares : The Statesman in an Age of Decline*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986.
- . *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America 1492-1830*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006.
- . *Imperial Spain, 1469-1716*. New York: New American Library, 1977.
- Espinosa, Aurelio. *The Empire of the Cities : Emperor Charles V, the Comunero Revolt, and the Transformation of the Spanish System*. Boston: Brill, 2009.

- Farfán, Fernando de la Torre. *Fiestas De La S. Iglesia Metropolitana, Y Patriarcal De Sevilla : Al Nuevo Culto Del Señor Rey S. Fernando El Tercero De Castilla Y De Leon*. Sevilla: En casa de la Viuda de Nicolàs Rodriguez, 1671.
- . *Fiestas Que Celebro La Iglesia Parrochial De S. Maria La Blanca, Capilla De La Sta. Iglesia Metropolitana Y Patriarcal De Seuilla*. Sevilla: por Juan Gomez de Blas, 1666.
- Flynn, Maureen. "Mimesis of the Last Judgment: The Spanish Auto De Fe." *Sixteenth Century Journal* 22, no. 2 (1991): 281-97.
- Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish : The Birth of the Prison*. 2nd Vintage Books ed. New York: Vintage Books, 1995.
- . *The History of Sexuality*. 1st Vintage Books ed. New York: Vintage Books, 1980.
- Fox, Phillip. "The Limits of Spanish Absolutism: The Government of the Crown of Aragon, 1665-1746 ". Lawrence: University of Kansas, Forthcoming.
- Garrera, Magali M. "Affections of the Heart: Female Imagery and the Notion of the Nation in Nineteenth-Century Mexico." In *Women and Art in Early Modern Latin America*, edited by Kellen Kee McIntyre and Richard E. Phillips. 47-72. Boston: Brill, 2007.
- Gibson, Charles. *Spain in America*. New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1966.
- Girava, Gerónimo. *La Cosmographia, Y Geographia Del S. Hieronimo Girava Tarragones : En La Qual Se Contiene La Descripcion De Todo El Mundo, Y De Sus Partes, Y Particularmente De Las Indias, Y Tierra Nueva*. Venecia: por Lordan Zileti y su companero, 1570.
- Góngora, Diego Ignacio de. *Historia Del Colegio Mayor De Sto. Tomás De Sevilla*. Vol. 2, Sevilla: E. Rasco, 1890.
- Griffin, Clive. *Los Cromberger : La Historia De Una Imprenta Del Siglo Xvi En Sevilla Y Méjico*. Madrid: Ediciones de Cultura Hispánica, 1991.
- Guzmán, Gaspar de *Memoriales Y Cartas Del Conde Duque De Olivares*. edited by John Huxtable Elliott and José F. de la Peña 2 vols. Vol. 1, Madrid: Alfaguara, 1978.
- Hardoy, Jorge. "European Urban Forms in the Fifteenth to Seventeenth Centuries and Their Utilization in Latin America." In *Urbanization in the Americas from Its Beginnings to Present*, edited by Richard Schaedel, Jorge Hardoy and Nora Scott Kinzer. 215-49. Chicago: Mouton Publishing, 1978.
- Hardoy, Jorge Enrique. *Cartografía Urbana Colonial De América Latina Y El Caribe*. 1a ed. Buenos Aires: Instituto Internacional de Medio Ambiente y Desarrollo-IIED-América Latina : Grupo Editor Latinoamericano, 1991.
- . *El Proceso De Urbanización En América Latina*. La Habana: Oficina Regional de Cultura para América Latina y el Caribe, 1974.
- . *Las Ciudades En América Latina; Seis Ensayos Sobre La Urbanización Contemporánea*. Buenos Aires: Paidós, 1972.
- Harris, Katie. *From Muslim to Christian Granada : Inventing a City's Past in Early Modern Spain*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007.
- Hatfield, April Lee. *Atlantic Virginia : Intercolonial Relations in the Seventeenth Century*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.
- Herrera y Tordesillas, Antonio de. *The General History of the Vast Continent and Islands of America, Commonly Call'd the West-Indies, from the First Discovery Thereof: With the Best Accounts the People Could Give of Their Antiquities*. 2d ed. 6 vols New York: AMS Press, 1973.

- Herzog, Tamar. "Communities Becoming a Nation: Spain and Spain America in the Wake of Modernity (and Thereafter)." *Citizenship Studies* 11, no. 2 (2007): 151-72.
- . "Communities Becoming a Nation: Spain and Spain America in the Wake of Modernity (and Thereafter)." *Citizenship Studies* 11, no. 2 (2007): 151-72.
- . *Defining Nations : Immigrants and Citizens in Early Modern Spain and Spanish America*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003.
- Hill, Christopher. *Change and Continuity in Seventeenth-Century England*. Rev. ed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991.
- Hoberman, Louisa Schell. *Mexico's Merchant Elite, 1590-1660 : Silver, State, and Society*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1991.
- Hoberman, Louisa Schell, and Susan Migden Socolow. *Cities & Society in Colonial Latin America*. 1st ed. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986.
- Hoberman, Schell Louisa. "Merchants in Seventeenth-Century Mexico City: A Preliminary Portrait." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 57, no. 3 (1977): 479-503.
- Homza, Lu Ann. *The Spanish Inquisition 1478-1614: An Anthology of Sources*. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2006.
- Hurtado, Pedro de Zamora. "The Situation in Seville, 1652." In *Early Modern Spain: A Documentary History* edited by Jon Cowans. 172-75. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003.
- Jennings, Francis. *The Invasion of America : Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest*. Chapel Hill: The Institute of Early American History and Culture by the University of North Carolina Press, 1975.
- Kagan, Richard. "Cities of the Golden Age." In *Spanish Cities of the Golden Age : The Views of Anton Van Den Wyngaerde*, edited by Richard Kagan. 69-83. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.
- . *Clio & the Crown : The Politics of History in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009.
- . "Clio and the Crown: Writing History in Habsburg Spain." In *Spain, Europe and the Atlantic World: Essays in Honor of John H. Elliott*, edited by Richard Kagan and Geoffrey Parker. 73-100. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- . "Clio and the Crown: Writing History in Habsburg Spain." In *Spain, Europe and the Atlantic World: Essays in Honor of John H. Elliott*, edited by Richard Kagan and Geoffrey Parker. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- . "La Corografía En La Castilla Moderna. Género, Historia, Nación." *Studia Histórica. Historia Moderna* XIII (1995): 47-59.
- . *Lawsuits and Litigants in Castile: 1500 - 1700*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981.
- . "Urbs and Civitas in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Spain ". In *Envisioning the City : Six Studies in Urban Cartography*, edited by David Buisseret. The Kenneth Nebenzahl, Jr., Lectures in the History of Cartography, 75-108. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.
- Kagan, Richard L. *Spanish Cities of the Golden Age : The Views of Anton Van Den Wyngaerde*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.
- Kagan, Richard, and Fernando Marías. *Urban Images of the Hispanic World, 1493-1793*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000.

- Kamen, Henry. *Empire : How Spain Became a World Power, 1492-1763*. 1st American ed. New York: Harper Collins, 2003.
- . *The Spanish Inquisition : A Historical Revision*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.
- Kellogg, Susan. "Hegemony out of Conquest: The First Two Centuries of Spanish Rule in Central Mexico." *Radical History Review* 53 (1992): 27-46.
- . *Law and the Transformation of Aztec Culture, 1500-1700*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995.
- Kennedy, Christopher M. *The Evolution of Great World Cities : Urban Wealth and Economic Growth*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011.
- Kertzer, David I. *Ritual, Politics, and Power*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988.
- Kinkead, Duncan. "Juan De Luzón and the Sevillian Painting Trade with the New World in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century." *The Art Bulletin* 66, no. 2 (1984): 303-10.
- . "The Last Sevillian Period of Francisco De Zurbarán." *The Art Bulletin* 65, no. 2 (1984): 305-11.
- Kinsbruner, Jay. *The Colonial Spanish-American City : Urban Life in the Age of Atlantic Capitalism*. 1st ed. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005.
- Kunoth, G. "Pacheco's Apotheosis of Hercules." *The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* no. 27 (1964): 335-37.
- Landau, David, and Peter W. Parshall. *The Renaissance Print, 1470-1550*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.
- Lange, Matthew, James Mahoney, and Matthias vom Hau. "Colonialism and Development: A Comparative Analysis of Spanish and British Colonies." *Chicago Journals* 111, no. 5 (2006): 1412-62.
- Lazure, Guy. "Possessing the Sacred: Monarchy and Identity in Philip II's Relic Collection at the Escorial." *Renaissance Quarterly* 60, no. 1 (2007): 58-93.
- Lewis, Martin W., and Kären Wigen. *The Myth of Continents : A Critique of Metageography*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.
- Liebman, Seymour B. "The Great Conspiracy in New Spain." *The Americas* 30, no. 1 (1973): 18-31.
- Linaje, José de Veitia. *Norte De La Contratación De Las Indias Occidentales*. Sevilla: I. F. de Blas, 1672.
- Lunenfeld, Marvin. "Pedagogy of Fear: Making the Secret-Jew Visible at the Public Autos De Fe of the Spanish Royal Inquisition." *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies* 18, no. 3 (2000).
- Mal Lara, Juan de. *Recibimiento Que Hizo La Muy Noble Y Muy Leal Ciudad De Sevilla a La C. R. M. Del Rey Don Felipe N. S., Con Una Breve Descripción De La Ciudad Y Su Tierra*. Obras Completas. edited by Manuel Bernal Rodríguez. Vol. 2, Madrid: Biblioteca Castro, 1570.
- Maravall, José Antonio. *La Cultura Del Barroco : Análisis De Una Estructura Histórica*. 6a ed. Barcelona: Editorial Ariel, 1996.
- Martín, Adrienne Laskier. *Cervantes and the Burlesque Sonnet*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991.
- Mignolo, Walter. *Local Histories/Global Designs : Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.

- Mills, Kenneth. *Idolatry and Its Enemies : Colonial Andean Religion and Extirpation, 1640-1750*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.
- Mínguez, Víctor, and Inmaculada Rodríguez Moya. *Las Ciudades Del Absolutismo : Arte, Urbanismo Y Magnificencia En Europa Y América Durante Los Siglos Xv-Xviii*. Castelló de la Plana: Universitat Jaume I, 2006.
- Monteiro de Barros Carollo, Denise Helena. "Auto-Da-Fé: A Ceremony More Than Just Words." *Revista de la Inquisición* 8 (1998): 120-33.
- Morgado, Alonso. *Historia De Sevilla*. Sevilla: en la imprenta de Andrea Pescioni y Iuan de Leon, 1587.
- Morovelli de Puebla, Francisco. *Apología Por La Ciudad De Sevilla, Cabeza De España*. Sevilla 1629.
- Morse, Richard M. "The Urban Development of Colonial Latin America." In *The Cambridge History of Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Muir, Edward. *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981.
- . *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*. 2nd ed. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Mumford, Lewis. *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations, and Its Prospects*. [1st ed. New York,: Harcourt, 1961.
- . *The Culture of Cities*. New York,: Harcourt, 1938.
- Muñana, José de. *Sevilla Ilustrada Y Defendida Por Las Gloriosísimas Vírgenes E Invictísimas Mártires Sus Hijas Y Tutelares Patronas Sancta Justa Y Sancta Rufina* Sevilla 17th century.
- Mundy, Barbara E. *The Mapping of New Spain : Indigenous Cartography and the Maps of the Relaciones Geográficas*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.
- Nalle, Sara. "A Saint for All Seasons: The Cult of San Julián." In *Culture and Control in Counter-Reformation Spain*, edited by Anne J. Cruz and Mary Elizabeth Perry. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992.
- O'Flanagan, Patrick. *Port Cities of Atlantic Iberia, C. 1500-1900*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2008.
- O'Gorman, Edmundo. *The Invention of America: An Inquiry into the Historical Nature of the New World and the Meaning of Its History*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961.
- Osorio, Alejandra B. *Inventing Lima : Baroque Modernity in Peru's South Sea Metropolis*. The Americas in the Early Modern Atlantic World. 1st ed. New York, N.Y.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.
- . "The King in Lima: Simulacra, Ritual, and Rule in Seventeenth-Century Peru." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 84, no. 3 (2004): 447-74.
- Owens, Judith, Greg T. Smith, and Glenn Clark. *City Limits : Perspectives on the Historical European City*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010.
- Pacheco, Francisco. "El Arte De La Pintura." Translated by Zahira Veliz. In *Artists' Technique in Golden Age Spain: Six Treaties in Translation*, edited by Zahira Veliz. 56-59. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Pacheco, Francisco, Pedro M. Piñero Ramírez, and Rogelio Reyes Cano. *Libro De Descripción De Verdaderos Retratos De Ilustres Y Memorables Varones*. Sevilla: Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1985.
- Pacheco, Francisco, and F. J. Sánchez Cantón. *Arte De La Pintura. Ed. Del Manuscrito Original, Acabado El 24 De Enero De 1638*. Madrid: Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, 1956.

- Padrón, Ricardo. "A Sea of Denial: The Early Modern Spanish Invention of the Pacific Rim." *Hispanic Review* 77, no. 1 (2009): 1-27.
- . *The Spacious Word : Cartography, Literature, and Empire in Early Modern Spain*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.
- Pagden, Anthony. *Spanish Imperialism and the Political Imagination : Studies in European and Spanish-American Social and Political Theory, 1513-1830*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990.
- Pavón, Guillermina del Valle. "Expansión De La Economía Mercantil Y Creación Del Consulado De México." *Historia Mexicana* 51, no. 3 (2002): 517-57.
- Peraza, Luis de. *Historia De La Ciudad De Sevilla* Sevilla 1685.
- Perry, Mary Elizabeth. *Crime and Society in Early Modern Seville*. Hanover: University Press of New England, 1980.
- . *Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990.
- Pierce, Donna, Rogelio Ruiz Gomar, and Clara Bargellini. *Painting a New World : Mexican Art and Life, 1521-1821*. Denver: Frederick and Jan Mayer Center for Pre-Columbian and Spanish Colonial Art, Denver Art Museum, 2004.
- Pike, Ruth. *Aristocrats and Traders: Sevillian Society in the Sixteenth Century*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1972.
- . *Enterprise and Adventure; the Genoese in Seville and the Opening of the New World*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966.
- . *Linajudos and Conversos in Seville : Greed and Prejudice in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Spain*. American University Studies. IX, History. New York: Peter Lang, 2000.
- Portus, Javier. *Iconografía De Sevilla 1650-1790*. Madrid: Focus, 1989.
- Pumfrey, Stephen, and Paolo Rossi. *Science, Culture and Popular Belief in Renaissance Europe*. edited by Maurice Slawinski New York: St. Martin's University Press, 1994.
- Quintanadueñas, Antonio de. *Santos De La Ciudad De Sevilla Y Su Arzobispado: Fiestas, Que Su Santa Iglesia Metropolitana Celebra* Sevilla: por Francisco de Lyra, 1637.
- Rawlings, Helen. *The Spanish Inquisition*. Historical Association Studies. Malden,: Blackwell Publishing, 2006.
- Rodriguez, Jimena N. "Reconociendo Los Brutos La Generosidad De Sus Amos: El Vestido En El Auto General De La Fe De 1659." *Romance Quarterly* 57, no. 2 (2010): 105-15.
- Ruff, Julius R. *Violence in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1800*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Ruiz, Lombardo de. *Atlas Histórico De La Ciudad De México* [in Spanish with text also in English.]. edited by Lombardo de Ruiz, Sonia Terán Trillo and Mario de Torre 2 vols. Vol. 1, Mexico: Smurfit Cartón y Papel de México, 1996. 1 atlas (2 v).
- Ruiz, Teofilo. "Elite and Popular Culture in Late Fifteenth Castilian Festivals: The Case of Jaen." In *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, edited by Barbara Hanawalt and Kathryn Reyerson. xx, 331 p. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994.
- . "They Symbolic Meaning of Sword and Palio in Later Medieval and Early Modern Riatal Entries: The Case of Seville." *Memoria y Civilización* no. 12 (2009): 13-48.
- Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. 1st Vintage Books ed. New York: Vintage Books, 1979.
- Salamanca, Juan Varela de. "Ordenanças De Sevilla ". Sevilla, 1634.

- San Antonio, Juan Francisco de. "Crónicas De La Apostólica Provincia De San Gregorio De Religiosos Descalzados De N.S.P.S. Francisco De La Pilipinas, China, Japón, Etc." Translated by G. Zaide. In *Documentary Sources of Philippine History*, edited by G. Zaide. 299-341. Manila: National Bookstore Publications, 1990.
- Schmidt, Benjamin. "Inventing Exoticism: The Project of Dutch Geography and the Marketing of the World, Circa 1700." In *Merchants & Marvels : Commerce, Science and Art in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Pamela H. Smith and Paula Findlen. 347-69. New York: Routledge, 2002.
- Scott, Joan Wallach. *Gender and the Politics of History*. Gender and Culture. New York: Columbia University Press, 1988.
- Seed, Patricia. *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640*. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- . "Taking Possession and Reading Texts: Establishing Authority of Overseas Empires." *William and Mary Quarterly* (1992): 183-209.
- Serrera, Juan Miguel, Alberto Oliver, and Javier Portús. *Iconografía De Sevilla 1650-1790*. Sevilla: El Viso, 1989.
- Silverblatt, Irene. *Modern Inquisitions : Peru and the Colonial Origins of the Civilized World*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2004.
- . *Moon, Sun, and Witches : Gender Ideologies and Class in Inca and Colonial Peru*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987.
- . "New Christians and New World Fears in Seventeenth Century Peru." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 43, no. 3 (2000): 524-46.
- . "Religion and Race in the Emerging Modern World: Indians, Incas, and Conspiracy Stories in Colonial Peru." In *Practicing Catholic: Ritual, Body, and Contestation in Catholic Faith*, edited by Bruce Morrill, Joanna Ziegler and Susan Rodgers. New York: Palgrave/MacMillan, 2006.
- Smith, Pamela H. "Collecting Nature and Art." In *Engaging with Nature : Essays on the Natural World in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, edited by Barbara Kiser Hanawalt, Lisa J., 115-35. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2008.
- Smith, Robert Sidney. "The Institution of the Consulado in New Spain." *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 24, no. 1 (1944): 61-83.
- Stols, Eddy, Thomas Werner, and Johan Verberckmoes, eds. *Naturalia, Mirabilia & Monstrosa En Los Imperios Ibéricos (Siglos Xv-Xix)*. Minderbroedersstraat: Leuven University Press, 2006.
- Studnicki-Gizbert, Daviken. "From Agents to Consulado: Commercial Networks in Colonial Mexico, 1520-1590 and Beyond." *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* LVII, no. I (2000): 41-68.
- Thrower, Norman Joseph William. *Maps & Civilization : Cartography in Culture and Society*. 3rd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007.
- Tiffany, Tanya J. "Visualizing Devotion in Early Modern Seville: Velázquez's "Christ in the House of Martha and Mary"." *Sixteenth Century Journal* 36, no. 2 (2005): 433-53.
- Topik, Steven, Carlos Marichal, and Zephyr Frank. *From Silver to Cocaine : Latin American Commodity Chains and the Building of the World Economy, 1500-2000*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2006.
- Vives, Juan Luis *The Education of a Christian Women: A Sixteenth Century Manual*. Translated by Charles Fantazzi. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.

- Webb, Diana. *Saints and Cities in Medieval Italy*. Manchester Medieval Sources Series. New York: Manchester University Press, 2007.
- Webster, Susan Verdi. *Art and Ritual in Golden-Age Spain : Sevillian Confraternities and the Processional Sculpture of Holy Week*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998.
- Woodward, David. "Maps and the Rationalization of Geographic Space." In *Circa 1492 : Art in the Age of Exploration*, edited by Jay A. and the National Gallery of Art (U.S.) Levenson. 83-87. Washington and New Haven: National Gallery of Art ; Yale University Press, 1991.
- Wunder, Amanda. "Classical, Christian, and Muslim Remains in the Construction of Imperial Seville (1520-1635)." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64, no. 2 (2003): 195-212.
- . "Murillo and the Cononisation Case of San Fernando, 1649-52." *Burlington Magazine* 143, no. 1184 (2001): 670-75.