

Memory, space and religion. The sacredness of the domestic interior architecture in a neighborhood of Aguascalientes, Mexico

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Abstract: The article discusses the relationship between religiosity and domestic spaces in the traditional neighborhood of San Marcos in Aguascalientes, Mexico, from the memories that some of its inhabitants have of the period 1926-1960. On what way religion affects the configuration of the interior? And, how it affects to daily people lives and their experience of living? Particularly because of the development of two events that influenced its inhabitants with regards the interior configuration of their houses: the Cristero movement and the establishment of the Order of Discalced Carmelite in San Marcos Temple. This neighborhood is an ideal laboratory to study the Catholicism in Aguascalientes: San Marcos Temple was also selected for the failed establishment of the Mexican Catholic Church, as part of President Plutarco Elias Calles' plans to erect, in 1925, a Nationalist Church; a process that unleashed much popular reaction and so on the ecclesiastical hierarchy, which led to religious persecution and configuration of devout demonstrations in domestic interiors.

Keywords: domestic sphere, religion, interior architecture, everyday life, sensory records, sacredness.

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I. INTRODUCTION

The exaltation of Christian spirituality, manifested through its various charisms within the Catholic Church in Mexico, raises the question of its rise as an indispensable element in the daily lives of its inhabitants, and, consequently, so important in the configuration of architectural interiors and their equipment. This article aims to show, in a general view, some of the factors (generally based on our interpretation) that influenced the configuration or perception of architectural interior spaces: so, it seeks to go beyond understanding the three-dimensional object in its physical nature (matter) and historical (time), to approach the understanding of the experience of the interior architecture, how spaces reflect beliefs, aspirations, motivations and uses.

The main element in this study was the social construction of the memory, it means, the memory that retain some of the inhabitants who lived in the neighborhood of San Marcos in Aguascalientes (Mexico), between 1926 and 1960, particularly their way of living and their religious experience in everyday life, supported on an ethnographic exploration, field work (interviews and photographs) and consultation of bibliographic material.

In the latter category, historical studies as those that examine contemporary religious aspects in relation to how are reflected in urban space or the domestic interior space, puts more or less emphasis on spatial appropriation with religious meaning, as a result of construction and concrete social practices, or the incorporation of buildings in the city, sets, equipment and religious ornaments as well as in the urban structure like on interior spaces, that give a sacred meaning to them. Authors like Mircea Eliade (2011) [1], Juan-Luis Pintos (1996) [2], Martin Heidegger (1994/1951) [3] and Nelson Tepedino (2011) [4] deal with what we might be called a "meta-discourse" that transcends the two previous possibilities to integrate them into reflections that expose the reciprocal determination of the sacral and spatial variables in way that, following Eliade (2011) [1] and Heidegger (1994/1951) [3], man exists only inhabiting a space.

In the case of Aguascalientes, a dynamic city in central Mexico with colonial origin (its foundation was authorized by King Felipe II in 1575) there are certainly studies that boards different aspects of behavior, religious beliefs, institutions and clerical and secular organizations, as well as phenomena of everyday religiosity like festivities (Padilla, 2001; Patiño, 2005; Zalpa & Patiño, 2007) [5][6][7], but without considering its connection with habitability like medium category, it means, halfway between anthropologies and sociologies of space (centered on subjects and their life experiences) and major building research programs (used to focus only

on the objectivity of architecture, with little or no attention in their inhabitants), so we can have some certainty that this is an understudied area in Aguascalientes.

II. PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

The text starts from some basic premises: in essence, its sense of history and historical research. For purposes of the subject matter in it, we do not see history as evolution, following the naturalistic model, or as something linear and teleological, but as a complex unity in diversity, full of contradictions, kicks, overlaps, continuities but also ruptures; that is, more like a spiral motion, which seems sometimes traced back to earlier stages but in a new situation are presented with new contours. Thus, periodization and cuts considered in the writing kept fully consistent with what it says, it would seem that "history repeats itself" at some point in his long career, but the circumstances in which a phenomenon or process occurs in more recent times, are essentially different. Still, on the problem that we will try we can see that structurally some elements of preview processes are present in such new situations although the specifics of this one's gives them a different aspect, it provides a new face to what had apparently taken place in the past. Consider this warning as a pretext to favorably predispose the reader.

To contextualize the problematic crux of our argument, we refer to Pintos (1996) [2] who finds two distinct perspectives in sociological studies of religious phenomena:

On one hand, quantitative empirical research maintained with abundant production that often work well on practices traditionally considered as "religious" (frequencies, correlations, time-series comparison attendance collective acts, sacramental practice, etc.) well on beliefs, attitudes and values specifically "religious" (God, Church, moral, etc.) or now more often compared to other not considered as such (Cultural, arts, sports, etc.). Furthermore, incorporating valuable research that comment or interpret the contributions of the "classics" [...], or trying to review some traditional arguments from empirical qualitative researches.

These trends, indicates Pintos (1996) [2], argue that historically the religious phenomenon has known three codes: a) the sacred / secular opposition; b) the salvation / damnation opposition; c) the immanence / transcendence opposition.

With the first encoding type, cosmological distinctions were established differentiating sacred spaces (prohibited, reserved, eminent, etc.) of the profane, living, common, usable, accessible space; the same happens with the sacred time, identified with cosmic time of the stars and their earthly perceptions (solstices and equinoxes) whose variations they are "sanctified" with parties that builds a "sacred calendar" based on a fundamentally cyclical conception, differentiated of time of the everyday, measurable, usable, controllable. Through this code, religions administered the worldliness from a position legitimated by the representation of the "numinous" and "tremendous".

But time comes (rather, the process), of desecration in which religious institutions have to face new procedures –called "scientists"– to define reality and her plausibility. Sacred beliefs are labeled as "superstitious" undermining the ability of domination of the clerical state and princes. A new code that maintains the system function of religion is needed. Theologians, selecting different elements of tradition, reconverted code in a moral code in which the "good / bad" generic binomial is expressed in the concepts of "salvation / damnation". The corresponding programming to this code has been developed throughout the 16th and 17th centuries [...]. The dilemma "Heaven / Hell" resets the time on the "eternity" despising the earthly, everyday time as vanity.

But since the 18th century begins the plausibility problems of this imaginary [...].

The function of representing the unrepresentable attributed to the system of religion requires a new code that allows to quit paradox about the reached results. The distinction of immanence and transcendence is thus established as a unit of differences [...]. The positive value is attributed to immanence and negative to transcendence [...]. Immanence guaranteed access to the daily experience of life; transcendence puts that experience in a new light and allows reflection.

Moved this to the Novohispanic Catholic Church, what Pintos (1996) [2] suggests is the displacement of religious Baroque program to the Illustrated Bourbonicregalism, and we would add that subsequent to the secular liberalism.

Thus, the results offered here could be located in the second of the trends identified by Pintos, in its variant of reviewing traditional thesis confirmed by qualitative research. In this case, three large fields run through this article, according as they have been worked by some "classics": the field of religion and the sacred, widely discussed by Eliade (1998) [8], Durkheim (2001) [9], Callois (2006) [10], and Rudolf (2005) [11]. Religion comes from latin *religiō*, *-ōnis* and in relation to different definitions, including TalalAsad(2003)[12], David Chidester (2014)[13], Donald S. López Jr. (2005)[14] or Adriano Alessi (1998) [15], we will refer in particular to what was mentioned by Nelson Tebbe (2017) [16] as the "system of beliefs and practices that concern the super man or the supernatural", already mentioned by Thomas Tweed (2008) [17] as "experience and concern for happiness". In relation to our case of study, the sacredness in Mexico, *Religion* is the attempt to

give an answer to the very existence of the world and life, building a worldview where faith is the total bet for finding this sense. For Catholicism, its basic principle is the salvation of man through the sacrifice of God's son in the figure of Jesus Christ through the Holy Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Church, whose leader is represented successively by the Pope; it is based on a creed, is supported by dogmas, rules by commandments and manifested through sacraments (representing the sacred), people need to believe in something but also need to see in what they believe. This is important because based on this worldview (belief or worldview), man shapes its relationship with the sacred, their integration into everyday life and therefore the configuration of his home living.

At the same time "the sacred" comes from Latin *sacrātus*, the *sacrum*, and it's defined as an object of worship, including concepts like *infinity* and *invisible* approached by Max Müller (Stone, 2002) [18] and Frank Byron Jevons (1896) [19], as sacred manifestation or hierophany, the manifestation of the sacred (Rudolf, 2008) [20]; we can also identify four different categories of the sacred: as social or individual action of feeling or belief that identify, as quality of the manifestation of God that applies for things or places, as a religious experience (phenomenon) or as an interpretation of symbols (Esparza, 2014: 41) [21]. For example, for the Catholic Church a hierophany it's the resurrection of Jesus Christ, the triumph of life over death, represented by the transfiguration of his body and blood into bread and wine: whoever believes in all this will never die and will live forever with the divinity represented as a trinity: Father, Son and the Holy Spirit.

The other is on the *space field*, in terms of the strict relationship between habitability and sacralization, from history and religious anthropology to urban and even some architectural studies, it has been the subject of numerous works, among them on the Hispanic American ambits the one's from Niño (2003) [22], Velasco (2008) [23], Parra (2003) [24], Hernández (2009) [25], Fábrega (2003) [26], Barrios (2004) [27], Samanez (2011) [28], Navarro (2010) [29], Sánchez Real (2006) [30], Sánchez Ferrer (1993) [31], Ojeda (2011) [32], Portal (2009) [33], Campos & López (2004) [34], Creus (2009) [35], and Quiroga (1999) [36].

According to the literature reviewed so that a space can acquire the status of sacredness, whether individual, social, qualitative, phenomenological or symbolic, it depends primarily on the relationship and the characteristics of its inhabitants, who are ultimately the ones who give or designate such condition or quality. To this inhabitant called *religious man*, that is, someone who builds his dwelling in relation to a belief, to a reason for being that has direction or vocation to divinity. It is the religious man who gives life and conserves on memory the sacredness to space. The experience of sacred space is lived as an abandonment of the everyday world, spiritual self-absorption leads to behavior of reverence manifested through a ritual and the ritual requires a scenario: the sacred interior architecture. This is subjective perception, which will be awarded on the basis of incorporation and the degree of religiosity in the life of each inhabitant.

Finally, on the field of memory, we understand it as social construction of the memory, something amply worked by M. Halbwachs (1950) [37], Halbwachs (2004) [38], Ch. Blondel (1928) [39], F. Bartlett (1932) [40], L. Vygotsky (1995/1931) [41], P. Nora (1992) [42], P. Ricoeur (2003) [43] y J. Bruner (1990) [44], of which there is an extensive bibliography (Mendoza, 2004; Montealegre, 2013; Lopo, 2010) [45][46][47].

III. SHORT METHODOLOGICAL NOTE

The interpretation presented here is constructed from fieldwork, ethnographic exploration consisting of a group of thirteen key informants in the neighborhood of San Marcos, following which, through tape interviews recorded in a total of thirty-five hours, it was obtained the direct testimony of the way they live their religious building to be (live) in relation to its habitat, which will later digitally transcribed; it was complemented by participant observation (the researcher is in one way or another immersed in the environment, especially if he's from the same cultural group), the lifting of a fieldwork and a photographic survey.

For the analysis of the entire ethnographic material it was used Katya Mandoki's work of on aesthetic practices and social identities, where the notion of aesthetics is understood in a different sense to the traditional, which associates to beauty; we departed, however, from the concept of social *esthesis*, understood as "sensitivity or open condition, or permeability of the subject on the context that is immersed" (Mandoki, 2006: 11) [48]. In this sense, the identity of the subject is crossed by numerous "overlaps of matrices" according to the context in which they live. Two of the distinct matrixes between interviewed people were the Religious and the Domestic, in which the interior equipment in homes was subject to positions, hierarchies, and accents of religious imagery. According to our understanding, sense of identity, through the social construction of the memory, it's assembled by processes acting (drama) and processes of enunciation (rhetoric), formed respectively by categories of Emphatic, Kinetics and Proxemics; and the Acoustics, Somatic, Lexical and Scopis records, all projected to both matrixes. With such network data generated on observation, interviews and other surveys are organized, while this framework was used to develop the interpretation.

IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Historiographical outline of the process of sacralization of urban space: from the inmate domesticity to the secularized habitability

The medium length history of the village and then city of Aguascalientes was marked, as in most cases in the New Spain, from sacralization to secularization processes "of" and "in" the urban space, including in the same aspect those owned to domestic spheres.

In recent research (Sifuentes and Parga, 2014) [49], supported by historical documentation from primary sources, we have proposed a framework on respect to religious practices in urban or architectural space, arguing that ‘



Figure 1. The villa of Aguascalientes, as it's shown in a pictorial cartography from 1730. Source: Historical Archive of the State of Aguascalientes, Photo Library, catalogue N° 008.

This process has been observed in two types of orders: the religious/sacred order and civil/secular order, whose influence has been felt in the "anthropic scopes", to architectural and urban levels (Sifuentes, 2014) [50]. Just like that, in the colonial town of Aguascalientes (Figure 1), urban and domestic habitability was consolidated with the erection of the first three convents of friars (San Diego, 1664; La Merced, 1665; San Juan de Dios, 1685), who were joined to a first hermitage (ca. 1570) and two previous versions of the parish church (third quarter of the 16th century), as to the third version of the parish (initiated in 1704), and to the village church of aborigines of San Marcos (1727), that together produced a first "parish division" of space which would have marked the convent buildings, as Quiroga affirmed in the case of Mercedarias foundations of Buenos Aires, "a rural religious space presence at strategic points for the Christianization, control and economic development of new and future rural and urban spaces" (Quiroga, 1999: 40) [36], besides setting the first neighborhoods in the case of the village of "AguasCalientes".

From this point, the organization and distribution of the supplies of all kinds (provisions, food, grains, water, etc.), urban services (patrols, lighting with lamps, waste disposal, cleaning, hospitals, hotels, etc.), administrative functions (customs checkpoints, post office, inquisition, courts, prisons, town hall, etc.), often determined by natural contingencies (storms, floods, droughts, epidemics, etc.), they were under the control of civil order, but on a spiritually way, they were governed by the ecclesiastical order. Beyond the structure provided by the Philipian code, which anyway was little known or worse executed by the founders, monastic foundations had a fundamental role in the urban organism.

Thereby, such establishments drawn in space an "urban cross", rather a blade, symbolizing the sacredness of the territory as a whole, like Pintos (1996) [2] says in his paraphrase: "the direction was provided from a compact whole", offering a total load of meanings for the Catholic faithful for both, the Spanish Republic and the Republic of Indians. But that "everything" was not at all a thing either irrelevant, on the contrary, like Eliade says: "In the homogeneous and infinite expanse, where there is no possibility of finding any demarcation, which cannot make any orientation, hierophany reveals an absolute 'fixed point', a 'center'" (Eliade, 1998; 2011) [8][1]. For the present case, the node was the parish church, as center of the four directions indicated by the sacred cross: at north the church and convent of San Diego; at south, a place of divine worship on the side of the neighborhood of Triana; at east, the church and convent of San Juan de Dios; and at west, the

church and convent of La Merced, whose extension towards the setting sun took to church and neighborhood of San Marcos, originally a suburb of the village, but gradually an indian village of the same name and later the homonymous neighborhood (Figure 2).

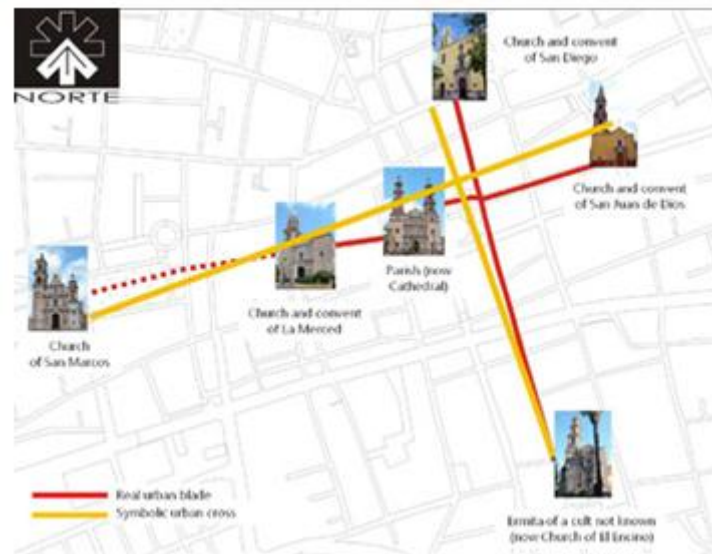


Figure 2. Sacred space marked for “ideal” and “real” urban cross at Aguascalientes City. Source: Marco Alejandro Sifuentes and Mario Esparza Díaz de León, 2015.

Accordingly, the process of sanctification of urban space was marked by:

- (1) The transition from a kind of a spiritualized introversion of faith that took refuge in a recluse domesticity, in a reverent retraction where gradually, and smooth or subtly, the belief was institutionalized on habit, while urban space retains its symbolic parish division, process occurred between 1664 and 1811, and, on this last year, a new provisional barrack division of the villa was imposed, under the Bourbonic rules of "police and good government", that temporarily restored the order lost after the revolution of Independence.
- (2) After conversion of habit on ritual, that have taken place between 1811 and 1878, a new division of space governed by civil and secular idea of hygiene and public ornament, following the liberal political programs and the emergence of the first hygienists, after the dismantling of ecclesiastical corporations, which reduced the religious practices to the ritualistic exercise exclusively within temples.
- (3) Until a process of a socialized extroversion of rite marked by a secularised habitability where urban social exhibitionism replaced the old values of the Catholic religiosity and therefore the rite became artifice, phenomenon especially observable between 1878 and 1926, and emblematically in the period of 1895-1908, lapse of building of the temple of San Antonio, as synthesis of this new type of pragmatic religiosity that characterized the positive and scientific society.

Then, the story of the relationship between religiosity and habitability in Aguascalientes from the 17th to the 20th centuries, precisely between 1664 and 1926, according to our interpretation, it was marked accordingly by these three urban narratives: The *Mythos*, stage of religious harmony ruled by the idea of a stratified Christian world but unified under the sign of the cross, whose spatial demonstration was, as we said, the parish division of space; the *Logos*, search stage and consolidation of a Bourbon state administrative unit, which took expression in the barrack division of space; the *Praxis*, stage of civil discord and pragmatism that became an elitist and exclusionary fragmentation of urban space, although on a conciliatory mood, which eventually became a crisis in 1926 with the explosion of the “Cristera War”, which consequence at the passage of time led to the return, under new contents, to a introverted and extremely domestic religiosity of some communities of parishioners, first by anti-religious harassment, later by spiritual confinement facing the "evil" of the century and worldly excesses abroad.

JacintCreus (2009) [35] supports our argument when it identifies new "fields of sin"; he says:

[...] the city, in this sense, was the paradigm of evil, because it housed within it all potential perverse and all the conditions for its implementation. Catholic reaction proposed different objectives and ways to neutralize the undesirable consequences of urban life: Temples "of atonement" as the Sacre Coeur in Paris, or the Sagrada Familia and Tibidabo in Barcelona, they had their moments of hatching late last century. And across Europe, the reaction to the "liberal excesses" originated a new popular religiosity, stricter, seeking a more "authentic" observance of the Gospel, in line with millenarian time's: it is a time of apparitions of the Virgin, for

example, but it is also a time of great increase in the number of vocations, both priestly like religious and missionary, with the parallel creation of new Institutes holders of new "charisma".

The translation of this new religiosity, facing the set of the "external" society –supposedly hostile– was the sacralization of certain areas, characterized by the "sanctity" and "exemplary" of its inhabitants, or, preferably, "clean" on the unwholesome external influences: thus "isolated" from the set.

Right on this explanatory context is where the process of sacralization of the domestic interiors of the District of San Marcos in Aguascalientes would take place in later years.

The religiosity of Aguascalientes and the neighborhood of San Marcos

Currently, the city of Aguascalientes, located in central Mexico (Figure 3) has a 92% of Catholics (INEGI, 2010) [50-51] of its total population, with approximately 90 public Catholic spaces of cult like the cathedral, churches, temples and chapels (Diocese of Aguascalientes) representing 1.12/km² (Government of Aguascalientes), numerous Catholic social groups (movements, brotherhoods, etc.) and endless festivities allusive to employers, traditions, anniversaries, etc.; the feast of Our Lady of the Assumption, patroness of the city, is by far the largest and most respected local festival, above the anniversary of the founding of the city, for example.



Figure 3. Aguascalientes City in central Mexico. Source: Mario Esparza Díaz de León 2015.

The suburb of San Marcos (Figure 4), old slum and later Indian village, protagonist in the historical development of the city, headquarter of San Marcos national fair and whose garden is an architectural emblem of local identity, it's an ideal site for the study of the Catholic Church in Aguascalientes because of its historical conditions; it was precisely the Temple of San Marcos the first place on nation, after Mexico City, appointed in 1925 to the establishment of the Mexican Catholic and Apostolic Church headed by the "patriarch Pérez", as part of President Calles plans for the establishment of a nationalistic Church (Padilla, 2001) [5].

The idea of a study on the influence of religion on the configuration of interior architecture in San Marcos, became due to the convergence of two decisive events in the construction of the religious identity of the neighborhood in the early to mid-twentieth century, as were the Cristero and post Cristero (or second Cristero) movements and pastoral work of the Order of Discalced Carmelites in the Temple of San Marcos in 1902-1960 (Gutiérrez, 1999) [52], which consequences allowed resume the interiority of the own religious expression of the 17th and 18th centuries in everyday domestic living of the 20th century.



Figure 4. Delimitation of the district of San Marcos. Source: Mario Esparza Díaz de León 2015.

First, the conflict between the State and the Catholic Church, known as The Cristera War, officially developed between 1926-1929 and prolonged (on a smaller scale) to almost mid-twentieth century, determinedly influenced the thinking and behavior of the local people because of the importance that religiosity represented in the daily events of their lives. With the restrictions imposed by the government towards the Church and its religious, worship and religious expression were limited and therefore the civilian population was on the need to take their responsibilities (religious) and play its role in some activities, mainly the evangelical work. By the recommendation of the bishop, he ordered the establishment of centers of catechesis in private homes immediate schools, divided by centers or neighborhoods; religious education (and thus all its literature and imagery) was transported from the Temple to the domestic interior. It is recommended modesty on women's clothes and called for special care in teaching Christian doctrine in home; reading the Gospels in homes was also promoted to counteract the anti-religious blurb. Because the temples were closed, they were improvised chapels inside homes; consecration, liturgical ceremonies and even the impartation of sacraments such as marriage, penance and the Eucharist celebrated right there, as Mercedes Macías Hernández said, on interview celebrated on September 18th, 2012.

With the closure of the temples, and thus moving the celebration of the sacraments underground homes, could say that the sacred space (churches and chapels) is desacralized and profane space (home) is sacralized. At this level came to influence the religious aspect in shaping the domestic space; the prohibition of public celebrations and private worship permission registered by the government, promoted the religious manifestation in the interior of the home, this emerged a concept that over time and with the religious charisma of the Discalced Carmelites, would go shaping and strengthening the identity of the interiors homes on site: thus the underground will become interiority. Religious demonstrations would take a more intimate scale and sacred space would move to the domestic space; religious imagery acquired another dimension: from public shrine to private. We can tell that image, as David Morgan's work on *Visual Piety* (1998: 3) [53], takes on home a dual purpose: at first place like "protection" on an invocative sense (rhetorical record), imploring and waiting of; and second, like "conviction", proselytism of faith, proclamation of own appropriation to share with others (dramatic record): the measurement of the results, is translated in the measure of the appropriation (Figure 5). "Visual piety cancels the dualistic separation of mind and matter, thought and behavior (...)". The government's goal was to end fanaticism and the effect was reversed, the control of the Church on the way of life of parishioners, and therefore on almost of all the inhabitants of the city, which it was decisive in the development of everyday life; church puts standards in dress, speak, act and study, and consequently in the way of life

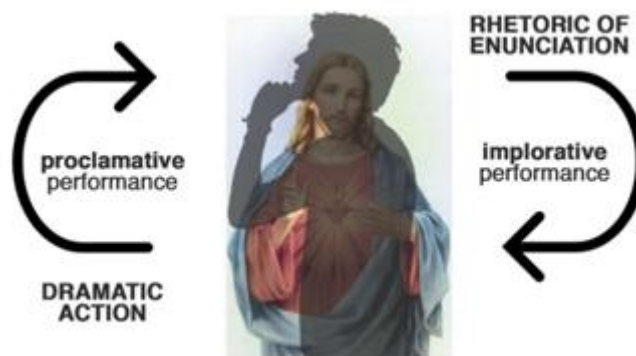


Figure 5. Dual concept for Religious Image. Source: Mario Esparza Díaz de León, 2015.

Man developing of daily life of the local people, as Tere Méndez Parga said, on interview celebrated on July 28th2012, the liturgics times had an irrefutable role: the year is governed on the basis of a religious calendar (and it complemented the setting for special equipment within the architectural interior), starting with December and Christmas, Mexican "posadas" and colocation of nativity; January and the Three Saint Kings: a traditional cake that usually ate in the dining room and not in the kitchen; February and the Virgin of Candelaria, tamales and prayers in the living room; March and April with the Holy Week (which deserves a whole chapter in relation to the norms and rules of dress and behavior) and the day of San Marcos, which although being patron of the place, its celebration was minimized due to the invasion that generated (and still generating) the National Fair of San Marcos on the site; May dedicated to offer flowers to the Virgin, it was all a formal ceremony for local people; June the celebration of the sacred heart of Christ; July with a big festival dedicated to the Virgin of Carmen; August to the Assumption Virgin; September and the celebration of the Virgin of Pueblito; October dedicated to St. Therese of Lisieux and St. Teresa of Avila, greatest figures of Carmelite Order, and finally November dedicated to all the saints. This generated all sorts of objects, clothes, reading and behavior that prevailed in the homes in the neighborhood creating domestic altars, praying the rosary together and placing

images (always the Sacred Heart of Jesus and Our Lady of Guadalupe) within domestic spaces were setting the interior areas.

A constant configuration example in domestic interiors (not tangible but conceptual, referring to the concept of spiritual strength and protection) was the enthronement of home to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, promoted by Pope Benedict XV from the 20's, with the intention of strengthening and protecting families in the privacy of their homes; this act was blessing of an image (graphic or sculpture) of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in an important area of the house (usually the living room) by a priest in the presence of the whole family; after leading some few words to remember the spirit and duties of the practice of piety; the priest recited with the whole family a formula of reparation and consecration, and at last, the place was consecrated. This image represented the divine protection to members of the family and was visited along evening, morning and night, as an act of endorsement and support in all activities. The rite could be repetitive and not unique, confirming the attachment of the population to the use of images and its meaning; the home of one of the interviewees, for example, was enthroned about twenty times and sometimes a commemorative plaque was placed, as Rafael Muñoz said, on interview celebrated on August 12th 2012. All this actions refers the rhetoric act of images inside local homes on a dual sense of protection and conviction that we talk before (see Fig. 5), an activity provoked (social conflict) and promoted even by the ecclesiastical authorities inside the collective imagination of San Marcos people and, of course, their social construction of reality; this kind of effects also are referred on Morgan's *Visual Piety* (1998) [53], especially on Warner Sallman's work *Head of Christ* of 1940 and its relationship with concepts like protection, guide or "education":

Pictures of Jesus are especially powerful for many when the image is more than a sign, more than a placeholder in discourse. When devout viewers see what they imagine to be the actual appearance of the divinity that cares for them, the image becomes an icon. The icon is experienced by believers as presenting some aspect of the real thing, shorn of convention, as if standing before the image is to enjoy the very presence of its referent. As an operation of perception that locates in an image the genuine character or personality of Jesus, the icon is the engine of visual piety (Morgan, 1998: 44) [53].

On the other hand, the presence of the Discalced Carmelites, who at that time were in charge of the Temple of San Marcos, was decisive in the neighborhood community to reinforce the concept of "interiority" in the collective spiritual imagination. His pastoral work marked strongly to the population, especially for its simplicity and austerity based on spirituality, prayer, intimacy and sacrifice. For his charisma were warmly welcomed by the locals and lived very closely with them; fomented devotion to the image of Our Lady of Carmen and encouraged participation in the secular Third Order, among other things. A very simple example of its influence is that during those years was very common the name of Carmen (relative to the Virgin of Carmen, patron saint of the Carmelites) for girls who were born and lived there; as mentioned by Miss Teresa Méndez Parga: "*The people were very devoted to the Virgin of Carmen, just enough to enlist the inhabitants of the block: Carmen Castorena, Carmen Ruvalcaba, Carmen Parga, Carmen Muñoz, Carmen López Márquez, Carmen Martín, in every house there was someone named Carmen in honor of the Virgin, of all ages*" (interviewed on July 28th 2012). His work in San Marcos left much of a mark, not only in material aspects, such as the placement of the Virgin of Carmen on the main altar, but in the spiritual aspect: the importance of prayer, the interior and defense value of faith, religious concepts that defined the identity of the faithful still preserved today; Carmelites were those who promoted the spiritual gathering, prioritizing interiority in religious acts rather than focusing on the externality of the festivities: this materialized in domestic interiors by moving all religious imagery and consequently the accompanying rites (rosary, angelus, family prayer) to the inside of the home, either in the living room (like a barrier) or in the privacy of a bedroom.

The permeability of religious concepts in domestic living in San Marcos

Based on the analysis of the preview factors, we have formulated a hypothesis about the construction of an inner wall in the spiritual imagination of the people of Barrio de San Marcos, supported in the concept of the seven mansions presented by St. Teresa of Avila (2000) [54] on her writing "Mansions or Interior Castle". How do people in the neighborhood integrates the concept of "dwelling" in their life? Answer seems simple but it is extraordinarily complex: not only through an architectural or urban manifestation (this could be a reason for other research topics) but in the configuration (conceptual) of their inhabit on interior architecture; the seven (7) rooms (dwellings) rather than physical spaces, but as intimate relationship between the inhabitant and religiosity, contained within a stage or area, their "internal castle", a chapel, a domestic altar or a state of mind, among others.

Table 1. Physical-spiritual relationship between the concept of Interior Castle and Sensory Records. Source: M. Esparza and M. A. Sifuentes, 2014, based on K. Mandoki (2006) [48].

DRAMATIC ACTION					
ROOMS	1. EMPHATIC (Concept) (Hierarchy)	2. KINETICS (Area) (Stage)	3. PROXEMICS (Manifestation) (Relation)		RHETORIC OF THE ENUNCIATION
1 First Room	Desire and Will Search for God	Catholic Religion	Philosophical	4. ACOUSTICS	
2 Second Room	Mankind Formation in the Church	Catholic Church	Formativa		
3 Third Room	Surrender Apostolate/ Congregation	Diocese/ San Marcos Temple	Apostolic	5. SOMATIC	
4 Fourth Room	Temptation Test and Growth	Habitability and Daily Life	Physical Interiority (Spatial)		
5 Fifth Room	Penitence and Charity Will and Experience	Daily Life/ Third Order	Physical Interiority and Spiritual	6. LEXICAL	
6 Sixth Room	Mystical Faith Prayer and Love	Personal Intimacy	Spiritual interiority		
7 Seventh Room	Ecstasy Perpetual contemplation	State of the soul	Spiritual interiority	7. SCOPIC	

Source: own elaboration based on Santa Teresa de Avila (2000) [54] and K. Mandolin (2006) [48].

In the table above we establish a correspondence between the rooms of the inner castle and sensory records of Katya Mandoki (2006) [48], where it can be seen that the “mansions” are contained in a ternary and quaternary arrangement of categories and records; respectively: the row that leads the table correspond to the categories of Drama: Emphatic, Kinetics and Proxemics, while the marginal right column corresponds to the records of Rhetoric: Acoustics, Somatic, Lexical and Scopic. The matrix thus produced provides various combinations, for example: cell “Emphatic (1) / Acoustics (4)” (corresponding to rooms 1 and 2) intended to mean the spirit of the parishioner to listen and be convinced by the word, in its urgent search for God, which takes place in catechesis and in the homily (Kinetics), sharing faith with other fellow (Proxemics); cell Kinetics (2) / Scopic (7) (corresponding to room 7), intends, however, move the devotee to see and contemplate or experience the ecstatic vision in a favorable scenario, for example a chapel or domestic shrine, an image of devotion or a moment of profound and intimate spiritual retreat, in relation to others or himself (Proxemics) and where some element of religious outfit are instituted as something sacred and with superior hierarchy (Emphatic). And so subsequently.

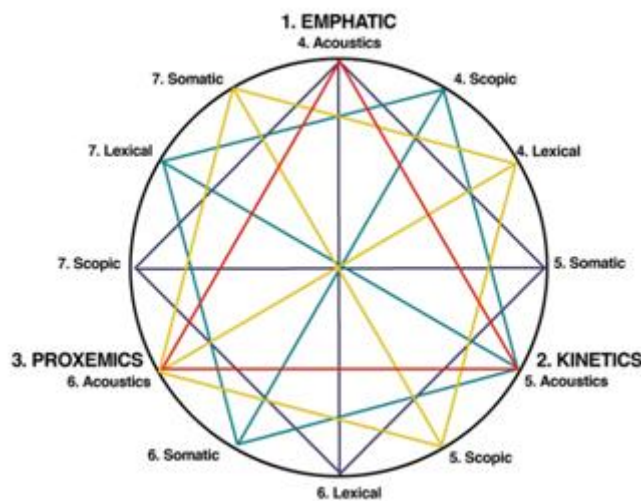


Figure 6. Virtuous Cycle of Sensory Records in accordance with the Seven Mansions of St. Teresa of Ávila. Source: Marco Alejandro Sifuentes based on Katya Mandoki (2006) [48].

But such “arrangement” implies that sensory registers are shifted by categories as continuous variables, constantly moving from one to another, depending on the circumstances and situation, as shown in Figure 6, in which three squares of four registers each (Acoustics, Somatic, Lexical and Scopic) move and rotate around a

triangle of three categories (Emphatic, Kinetics and Proxemics) movement generates a virtuous circle as a divine experience.

However, it is clear that domestic shrines and altars are not a result of the aforementioned historical factors or were a physical manifestation interior equipment characteristic of the time or place, regulated since the 16th century during the First Mexican Provincial Council in 1555 (Sánchez, 2009) [55], they are the scene of a philosophy of living with a deeply spiritual emphasis: the configuration of intangible interior (dwelling) into a tangible context (habitat). These manifestations can refute partially McDannell's premise (1995) [56] about "Christians do rather than what they think"; interior sacred space configuration is not just material matter, but a philosophical vision of life.

McDannell's work presents case studies that manifest the sense of religiosity on different fields like objects (bible), space (cemetery), symbolism (water) and scopic (body and clothes), their representations and meanings in the development of everyday life. On this work, a characteristic of neighborhood of San Marcos was the reclassification of architectural space. The relationship between the exterior and interior (product of religious persecution and insecurity that existed) was totally restricted by implementing solutions such as using double wooden door in the windows facing the street and installing iron protections between the central patio and porch access, as a visiting filter; other constant was the incorporation of religious imagery as the Sacred Heart of Jesus, motivation product of the first Diocesan Synod of Aguascalientes in 1919 (Martín del Campo, 2012) [57], the Virgin of Carmen and the Holy Teresa de Ávila and Therese of Lisieux, to name a few devotions, all these with a sense of "protection". Thus, this return to a sort of reverent introspection, but seems to be a similarity of confinement of domesticity, that in our interpretation would have occurred in the phase of religious harmony in the period 1664-1811, with its symbolic conception of the parish division of space, marked by the predominance of urban cross in shaping the social identity of the village and in the imagination of the people in their neighborhoods, however occurred in an extended civil discord phase, from 1926, product now of circumstances derived from religious harassment and the "evil" of the century (the "sinful" outside), when the processes of social segregation (that San Marcos temple was a frontier or border that divide popular from "decent people"), were in full swing and prevailed a fragmentary and pragmatic conception of space, which later was exacerbated by the hedonistic expansions of the National Fair of San Marcos.

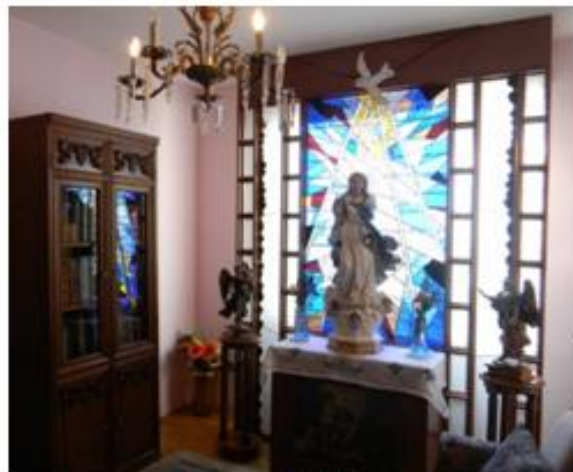


Figure 7. Interior domestic shrine. Photo: Mario Esparza Díaz de León, 2013.

V. CONCLUSIONS

Finally, these factors generated concepts that may affect the habitability of the interior spaces and therefore in its configuration. Although its architecture is the product of influences, styles, or historical precedent, the architectural interior is conceived as philosophies or worldviews that affect its inhabitants and their daily lives. Particularly considering that in the specific case of neighborhood San Marcos, this incidence was not reflected directly in the physical structure or equipment of their habitat, but in the perception of living space. So, this interpretation is supported based on the following considerations:

- The sacred is profane: with the prohibitions introduced by the government in relation to religious celebrations, domestic space becomes the scene of sacred acts, like the celebration of the sacraments: the profane sacred. As mentioned the priest Felipe Morones "*I went to the room of my house, temporarily converted into a humble chapel, where I had the great consolation of preserving the Blessed Sacrament of Jesus (...), it seemed said to me like a Zacchaeus "Its important staying at your home today (...)"*" (Morones, 1955: 22) [58].

- During the years of religious conflict, two basic factors in daily life are forced into hiding: spirituality and education. Catechetical centers moved into the houses, and this being the priority in the pastoral plan of the Diocese, housing became the main integrating element between Catholic formation and education.
- The clandestine becomes interiority: the forbidden becomes permissive based on a concept of privacy.
- The religious image takes on new dimensions: from social externality in temples and processions, to interiority and privacy of the household: the distance towards the sacred is shortened and customized.
- As a result of empirical work, a primary conceptual scheme of Religious Image reading it's conceived: two expressions: pray and express; implorative and proclamative acts are identified and analyzed separately by necessity although in reality on this case of study, both are integral and cyclic in one process, but whose sequence (because of the social historical situation of religious conflict) it's first emphasized on the proclamative performance to then transpose into the implorative performance, instead of pray first and depending on the results, proclaims, as logically and commonly happens.

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