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Worlds Within Worlds: The Institutional Locations of Global Connections in Early Modern Seville

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"Not a city but a world." This was how the poet Fernando de Herrera described the city of Seville in the sixteenth century.[1] In the sixteenth century the Iberian Peninsula became the imperial headquarters of the first global empire as Spanish conquistadores spread across the Atlantic and toppled the Aztec and Inca Empires in the Americas and established their stronghold in the Pacific in the port of Manila. As this global empire unfolded, Seville, a city located on the banks of the Guadalquivir river, fifty miles from the Atlantic, became the hub of this network, providing a nexus with Spain's transatlantic and transpacific traffic and the rest of Europe. Seville's centrality was confirmed with the establishment of the *Casa de Contratación* (House of Trade) in 1503, the administrative, legal, and commercial headquarters of the empire. The *Casa de Contratación* issued all licenses for people and goods moving between Spain and the Americas. Estimates of the quantities of exotic goods and precious metals extracted from the Americas vary, but it is thought that by the mid-seventeenth century 250,000 tons of silver had passed through the imperial hub of Seville.[2] In the sixteenth century Seville was truly a global city, and this was also reflected in its population. As goods arrived from the Americas, traders came from other parts of [Catholic] Europe; French, Flemish and Portuguese communities were established in the city. Seville, which had been a part of the Islamic Almohad Caliphate until 1248, was home to a large *morisco* (converted Muslim) population, until their expulsion in 1609.[3] In the sixteenth century the enslaved population of Seville was the largest in Europe, estimated at 6,327 in a population of 85,538 in 1565, the majority of which were black, but this number also includes Muslims and *moriscos*.[4] Seville also had substantial free black and *mulatto* (mixed race) population and was home to mix of people and goods from around the world.[5] Seville's vibrancy as a rapidly expanding trade emporium was captured in the painting by Alonso Sánchez Coello (1531 - 1588), which depicts the bustle of people, goods, and maritime transport on the Guadalquivir. Seville's religious and charitable institutions loom in the background of Sánchez Coello's painting. This paper will examine

[1] Fernando de Herrera, "Soneto a Sevilla," in Federico Carlos Sáinz de Robles, *Historia y antología de la poesía española del siglo XII al XX* (Madrid: Aguilar, 1955), 648.
[2] Patrick O'Flanagan, *Port Cities of Atlantic Iberia, c. 1500-1900* (Aldershot: Routledge, 2008), 52.
[3] From 1502 Muslims were forced to convert to Christianity.
[4] Ruth Pike, *Enterprise and Adventure, The Genoese in Seville and the Opening of the New World* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966), 172.
[5] Ibid., 186.

the ways in which Seville's religious and charitable institutions were the beneficiaries of New World wealth and had complex entanglements with the business of Spain's global empire.

If Seville in the sixteenth century was not a city but a world, then nowhere was this better reflected that in the Franciscan Convent at the heart of the city, known as the *Convento de los Franciscanos de Sevilla*, or simply the *Casa Grande*.[6] The *Casa Grande* was a world within a world in Seville. It was an important hub in the Seville's civic and global networks. It was the home of the Franciscans, a religious group that already established global connections by the sixteenth century.[7] The Franciscans were at the frontiers of Christian expansion in the Middle Ages, and they had arrived in Seville (*Ishbiliya*, as it had been known in Arabic) in 1249, one year after Fernando III defeated the city's Muslim rulers.[8] The *Casa Grande* was established as the regional headquarters, and the institution swiftly received royal privileges.[9] Due to the *desamortización* (confiscation) of religious institutions in the nineteenth century there is no trace of the *Casa Grande* in Seville today, but it was for centuries a central institution for Seville's connections. It administered the Franciscans' near Atlantic activities in the Canary Islands from the fifteenth century and became the gateway for Franciscans traveling across the Atlantic in the sixteenth. The *Casa Grande* consisted of a church and convent complex and contained within its walls a missionary training school, the *Colegio de San Buenaventura*. It also hosted a series of confraternities (*cofradías*), which cemented their civic-religious affiliations by buying chapel space within the church.[10] These confraternities were lay brotherhoods which served a range of religious and economic functions for Seville's increasingly diverse population. Of these, the confraternity of the True Cross (*cofradía de la Vera Cruz*) was the oldest and was a daughter institution of the Franciscan Order. This article examines the transactions of the Casa Grande and the *cofradía de la Vera Cruz* to demonstrate the role these religious institutions played in processing Seville's global connections.

The *Casa Grande* provided hospitality to missionaries traveling to the Americas and played a multifaceted role in the logistics of transatlantic travel. It acted as an intermediary travel agent organizing licenses with the *Casa de*

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[6] For floor plans see figures one and two in appendix.

[7] See Julia McClure, *The Franciscan Invention of the New World* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

[8] Similarly, a Franciscan convent was established in the Alhambra palace shortly after its conquest.

[9] The *Casa Grande* was the head of the Franciscan Custody of Seville (part of the Province of Castile) until 1499 when it became the headquarters of the newly formed Province of Andalusia (*Bética*). It was granted royal privileges by Fernando IV in 1348, Enrique II 1409, the Infante Juan II in 1411, the king Juan II in 1446, and by Felipe IV in 1642 and 1643. *Archivo de la Provincia Bética* (APB), 42/17 (a-f).

[10] The term confraternity and brotherhood (*hermandad*) are often used interchangeably, for consistency I will use confraternity.

Contratación on behalf of the friars.[11] In 1505 the *hospedería de indias* was established inside the convent, thanks to the efforts of Fray Sebastian Martin, to provide lodgings and provisions in Seville for those traveling to the New World.[12] The presence of this *hospedería* indicates one of the ways in which the *Casa Grande* was the site of global connections. Letters exchanged with the *Casa de Contratación*, preserved in the *Archivo de Indias*, show the expectation that missionaries traveling to the Americas would be lodged in the *Casa Grande* while they waited for their passages to be arranged.[13] These records show that the *Casa de Contratación* helped the Franciscans of the *Casa Grande* in this financially to provide this auxiliary support. For example, in 1531 Fray Juan de Parades and Fray Francisco de Sevilla had all of their expenses met by the *Casa de Contratación* as they stayed in the *Casa Grande*.[14] In 1539 the Council of the Indies wrote to Fray Juan de la Cruz, Guardian of the *Casa Grande*, asking him to receive two friars (Pascual Bravo and Fray Pedro de la Cruz) and to sustain them until the arrival of the other Franciscans due to travel to the New World.[15]

The pressure on the *Casa Grande* to gather Franciscans for the missions grew as the Spanish territories expanded in the Americas. In 1535 the guardian of the *Casa Grande* was asked to name two or three religious personnel who could travel with Pedro de Mendoza in his expedition to explore the Río de la Plata (Argentina).[16] In 1544, a Royal *Cédula* asked the *Casa Grande* to host Franciscans following the advance of Francisco de Orellana across the province of *Nueva Andalucía*.[17] In the same year another Royal *Cédula* was requested that the Franciscan Order recruit ten more friars from across the Province of Castile to join the two that were already assembled and waiting in the *hospedería de indias* to expand the mission in Peru.[18] In 1545 a Royal *Cédula* was issued to the *Casa Grande* Guardian, Fray Pedro de Azpeitia, thanking him for the help that he had given to Fray Juan de la Cruz and the other Franciscans who had traveled recently to Peru.[19] This *Cédula* could be evidence of warm relations between the *Casa Grande* and the *Casa de Contratación*, but it might also be evidence that the Franciscans needed encouraging to continue to provide for the missionaries traveling to the Americas as it also urged the Franciscans to continue this support. The guardian of the *Casa Grande* received another Royal *Cédula* the same year (1545), which ordered him to provide for Fray

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[11] *Archivo General de Indias* (AGI), INDIFERENTE,423, L.20, F.777^{r} - 777^{v}.

[12] María José del Castillo Utrilla, *El Convento de San Francisco, Casa Grande de Sevilla* (Sevilla: Diputación Provincial, 1988), 24.

[13] AGI, Indiferente, 1956, L.1, F.27^{r} -28^{r}.

[14] AGI, Indiferente, 1961, L.2, F.85^{r} - 85^{v}.

[15] AGI, Indiferente, 1962, L.6, F.159^{r} - 159^{v}.

[16] AGI, Buenos_Aires,1, L.1, F.65^{v} -66^{r}.

[17] AGI, Indiferente,1963, L.9, F.108.

[18] AGI, Indiferente,423, L.20, F.746^{r}.

[19] AGI, Indiferente,1963, L.9, F.226^{v} -227.

Pedro de Mondragón and his group of missionaries who were traveling to New Andalusia to following the conquests recently made by Francisco de Orellana.[20]

The exchanges between the *Casa Grande* and the *Casa de Contratación* indicate the ways that the Franciscan institution was entangled with the business of the Spanish Empire. The crown issued Royal *Cédulas* to the *Casa Grande* to provide more missionaries for the Americas, and it issued Royal *Cédulas* to the *Casa de Contratación* to use revenues coming from the Americas to cover the costs of the *Casa Grande*. For example, in 1545, the same year that it had demanded that the *Casa Grande* provide for missionaries to accompany new territorial conquests in the Americas, a Royal *Cédula* was issued to the officers of the *Casa de Contratación* ordering it to buy 100 *fanegas* of wheat from the estate of the deceased to give to the monastery of San Francisco de Seville to cover the costs that this institution incurred by providing hospitality for those traveling to the Americas.[21] The *Casa Grande* could also write to the *Casa de Contratación* directly to cover costs incurred in providing missionaries. In this way the *Casa de Contratación* provided some insurance for the *Casa Grande*. For example, in 1547 the guardian of the *Casa Grande* asked the *Casa de Contratación* to donate all the money that would have been used to pay for the journey consumable (*matalotaje*) of the Franciscans who were destined to travel to the Americas but were not able to due to sickness.[22]

The *Casa Grande* was not only expected to provide hospitality for those going to the Americas but also those returning. In this role, it did not only house Franciscans but also some of the Amerindians traveling across the Atlantic. Early modern European histories seldom mention the presence of Amerindians, but in the sixteenth century alone more than two thousand people who were classified as *indios* traveled to Seville.[23] From 1503 the Amerindians were classified as vassals of the Spanish crown and legally could not be enslaved. But in reality, they were subject to multiple forms of subjugation and captivity.[24] The legitimacy of the Spanish Empire rested upon the crown's obligation to convert the newly encountered peoples and missionaries such as the Franciscans were in close contact with the Amerindians. Franciscans were also expected to continue their missionary role in the Iberian Peninsula. In 1527 the guardian of the *Casa Grande* was issued a Royal *Cédula* to receive two of the twelve Amerindians that had been sent from the Hispaniola to instruct them in the Catholic faith.[25] The Franciscans' *Casa Grande* was not unique in this and similar requests were also sent to the Dominicans and Jeronomites in Seville.

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[20] AGI, Indiferente,1963, L.9, F.181^{v}.
[21] AGI, Indiferente,1963, L.9, F.181.

[22] AGI, Indiferente,1964, L.10, F.154^{v} -159.
[23] As Nancy E. van Deusen explains, this category included people from Portuguese territories. See Nancy E. van Deusen, "Seeing *Indios* in Sixteenth-Century Castile," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 69, no. 2 (2012): 205 – 234.
[24] For more on this see Nancy E. Van Deusen, *Global Indios, Indigenous Struggle for Justice in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2015).

[25] AGI, Indiferente, 421, L.12, F.211^{v}.

Little is known about the lives of these Amerindians inside the walls of these convents in Seville, but the crown continued to keep track of their lives.[26] In 1530 the Franciscans received another *Cédula*, which checked on the health and progress of those Amerindians that had been entrusted to its care.[27] They were evidently still there in 1531, when a *Cédula* was issued to the *Casa de Contratación* asking them to pay twenty ducats of *limosnas* (alms) for the upkeep of the two Amerindians who had been sent to live there to receive religious education from the Franciscans.[28]

The enterprise in the Americas was part of the quotidian life within the walls of the *Casa Grande*. Even those Franciscans who remained in Seville and did not travel to the Americas were expected to play a role in converting the Amerindians. In 1538 the Queen of Spain sent a letter to the *Casa Grande* asking that they set aside time to pray daily for the work of converting the Amerindians.[29] Again, the Franciscans were not unique in this and similar requests were also sent to the monasteries of the Trinity, Augustinians, Dominicans, and the Carthusians. Religious institutions reconfigured scales of spatial distance: prayers said in the spiritual powerhouse of the *Casa Grande* could be transmitted to support the missions in the Americas.[30]

Religious institutions facilitated the export of religious ideologies across the Empire, but they also facilitated the import of financial revenue. Charitable donations to religious institutions were an important way in which people in the Spanish Empire were able to send back profits to their home communities, leading to the enrichment of religious institutions. Traces of the transactions of the *Casa Grande* reveal it was a substantial financial institution embedded in the economy of the transatlantic world. In addition to negotiating with the *Casa de Contratación* regarding the costs incurred in provided hospitality to facilitate transatlantic movement, it received revenue from the Americas in other ways especially in the form of charitable donations and testamentary legacies. The earliest account records for the *Casa Grande* relate to the pious works (charitable investments), made by one of the convent's main patrons, Juan Fernández Rebolledo, around the year 1573.[31] The money that Juan Fernández Rebolledo invested in the *Casa Grande* came from the New World. When Rebolledo died, the *Casa Grande* Guardian pursued money left in his will through the *Casa de Contratación*.[32] However, not all of the New World wealth

[26] For more on the general lives of Amerindians in the Iberian Peninsula in the sixteenth century see van Deusen, "Seeing *Indios* in Sixteenth-Century Castile."
[27] AGI, Indiferente, 1961, L.2, F.16.
[28] AGI, Indiferente, 1961, L.2, F.49.

[29] AGI, Indiferente, 423, L.18, F.140^{v} -141^{r}.
[30] This spiritual transcendence of geographic space for the purposes of preaching evolved further in the seventeenth century, most famously with the Mary of Jesus of Ágreda, a member of the female branch of the Franciscan Order, who was claimed to have bilocated from her convent in Castile to preach directly to the Jumano Indians of New Mexico.
[31] APB, 42 /1.

[32] AGI, Panama,237, L.11, F.148R-148^{v}.

that was deposited in the *Casa Grande* was acquired licitly; in 1536, the *Casa Grande* was caught up in a dispute regarding unregistered jewels that had been brought from the Americas without license and were said to be stored within its walls.[33] While the discourse of religious charity created opportunities for transferring private wealth back to Spain, the religious status of institutions did not make them immune from investigation for illegal imports.

The *Casa Grande* redistributed some of the wealth it received from charitable donations across the city of Seville and the Province of Andalusia. Within Seville, it distributed charity to satellite institutions, notably the *Hospital del Amor*.[34] The *Casa Grande* also redistributed charity across the Franciscans' global network. The earlier records are limited, but there are documents from the end of the eighteenth century. María José del Castillo Utrilla calculates that the number of alms that came from the Americas between 1796 and 1800 rose to 3,174.632 *reales* and 8 *marevedís*, and that 370.717 *reales* of this amount was then redistributed to Franciscans in Jerusalem.[35] It was common for money collected as alms in the Americas to be sent across the Mediterranean to the Holy Lands.

The *Casa Grande* was an important node in a global network and it radiated a global message. At the entrance to the *Casa Grande* there was a chapel (*capilla portería*) which had an altar dedicated to the stigmata of St Francis which communicated to all those visiting the convent the Franciscans' core beliefs.[36] For the Franciscans, the stigmata symbolized that Francis was the simulacrum of Christ and the Franciscans were the new Apostles, committed to going throughout the world to spread the word of God. The layout of the *Casa Grande* was replicated in Franciscan convents across America. Between the convent and the church there was an *atrio*, an open-air courtyard for preaching outside, and a *capilla posa*, an open chapel. Both of these structures became central to the designs of Franciscan convents in the Americas. In the Americas, these outdoor spaces were used for the mass conversions of Amerindians.

Around the *atrio* was the *via cruz* (which became known as the Stations of the Cross), a tradition that had been brought by the Franciscans from the holy land to commemorate the Passion of Christ. Franciscans had developed the "cult of the Passion" to commemorate the pain and suffering of Christ in human form (incarnate) by focusing on the events of his trial, torture and execution in Golgotha, the events which constitute Holy Week (*Semana Santa*) of the Christian liturgical calendar. The *via cruz* in the *Casa Grande* helped the Franciscans to propagate the cult of the Passion in Seville and to transmit it to the New World. The Franciscans also facilitated the spread of the cult of the Passion by helping to develop daughter institutions which were devoted to the

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[33] AGI, Indiferente, 1962, L.5, F.4^{v}-5

[34] APB, 42/36.

[35] Castillo Utrilla, *El Convento de San Francisco,* 22.

[36] María José del Castillo Utrilla, "La hospedería de indias y el atrio de la Casa Grande de San Francisco de Sevilla," *Actas Journadas II de Andalucía y América* (Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos de Sevilla): 893-398, 397.

embodied re-enactment of the Passion in penitential processions during holy week. These institutions were known as penitential confraternities and they developed across Spain and the Americas from the sixteenth century.[37]

The *Casa Grande* bridged relationships between the city and the world by hosting series of affiliated confraternities, which rented chapels off the main cloister of the church. It was part of an institutional ecosystem which reflected the global city of Seville. It hosted different types of confraternities, all of which had socio-economic as well as religious dimensions. Some of the confraternities were formed by people of similar trades, and were similar to guilds, such as the *Cofradía de San Eligio o de los plateros* whose members were silversmiths devoted to crafting the silver deposited in the city from the Indies. Confraternities were also formed by people of the same social groups and could reflect local neighborhoods or places of origin within and beyond Spain. The *Casa Grande* housed a selection of such confraternities.[38] The *Cofradía de los Burgaleses* was founded in 1522 for the Sevillian residents from Burgos, in the north of Spain, the majority of them cloth merchants (*comerciantes de paños*).[39] The *Hermandad de La Piedad o Los Vizcainos* (*Vizcaínos de la Piedad*) was established for the Basques in 1540. The *Casa Grande* supported confraternities that enabled foreigners (*forasteros*) to access Seville's civic life. The Chapel of San Luis de los Franceses was established in 1581 for Seville's French community (predominantly merchants). The Portuguese formed the *Hermandad de Cinco Llagas*, which later became the *Hermandad de San Antonio*.

By hosting confraternities, the *Casa Grande* offered a gateway for outsiders to access the civic life of Seville and become part of the city. Members gained social status and access to valuable social networks and economic insurances. This social status and stake in the civic community was consolidated through the confraternal distribution of charity and participation in the civic processions. This avenue for social status and a stake in civic society offered by confraternities was valuable since Spanish society and its communities were notoriously exclusive. As Tamar Herzog summarizes, "Spanish community was a closed structure that did not admit new members into it" and there was no

[37] Antonio Rumeu de Armas estimates that there were around 2000 confraternities in Spain by the end of the seventeenth century; see Antonio Rumeu de Armas, *Historia de la previsión social en España: cofradías, gremios, hermandades, montepíos* (Madrid: Editorial Revista de derecho privado, 1944). For confraternities in the Americas see Susan Webster, "Research on Confraternities in the Americas," *Confraternities*, 9, no. 1 (1998): 13–24. For their importance for Amerindians and Africans see Nicole Von Germeten, *Black Blood Brothers: Confraternities and Social Mobility for Afro-Americans* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006). For more on the global roles of confraternities, see Christopher F. Black and Pamela Gravestock. *Early Modern Confraternities in Europe and the Americas: International and Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).

[38] See also María José del Castillo Utrilla, "Capillas de las Naciones en el convento de San Francisco Casa Grande de Sevilla," *Laboratorio de Arte: Revista del Departamento de Historia del Arte,* no. 18 (2005): 237-244

[39] Situated in the chapel of the Bugaleses or the Immaculate Conception.

legal mechanism for joining Spanish society.[40] Confraternal membership had a socio-economic value, and members invested in these confraternities. Confraternal investments constituted a substantial revenue stream for the *Casa Grande*, who benefitted financially from their support of confraternities. For example, the first cessation of space within the *Casa Grande* for the Chapel of San Antonio cost the Portuguese 30,000 ducats, and a further 1,400 were later added.[41] The benefits of joining confraternities, especially those attached to the spiritual powerhouse of the *Casa Grande* were clear since members gained institutional support, spiritual sanctions, and a place in Seville's civic body.[42] The *Casa Grande* was rewarded for the opportunities it offered to those who traveled to Seville to make their fortunes in the New World and was named as a beneficiary in some of the testaments preserved by the *Casa de Contratación*. For example, Diego Súarez was a mulatto from Seville who traveled freely to the New World. When he died in the *Valle de Vito*r in Arequipa in the Viceroyalty of Peru in 1599, he left donations for the *Casa Grande* and to one of its confraternities, the *Cofradía de San Buenaventura y Animas* of the *Casa Grande*.[43]

The *Casa Grande* and its confraternities received and distributed charity, connecting wealth generated through global imperial processes with local socio-economic life. In early modern Seville, giving charity was an important way in which both new and old elites negotiated their position in society and made claims about their importance.[44] Confraternities were important nodes in these charitable networks. Confraternities were dedicated to particular acts of charity, which created socio-economic and spiritual connections between more affluent groups and the city's poor. In this way, confraternities served an essential social role in a society where the gap between the rich and poor was rapidly increasing. The charity funded by confraternities also provided vital services for the burgeoning number of poor in Seville. As wealthy merchants traveled to Seville, so too did the poor, who migrated to the city in the hopes of gaining access to the fabled fortunes of the New World.

If Seville in the sixteenth century was not a city but a world, and that world was reflected within the *Casa Grande*, the chapel dedicated to the *cofradía de la Vera Cruz* was yet another world within. The *cofradía de la Vera Cruz* was officially established in the *Casa Grande de San Francisco* in 1448.[45]

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[40] Tamar Herzog, "'A Stranger in a Strange Land': The Conversion of Foreigners into Community Members in Colonial Latin America (17th- 18th Centuries)," *Social Identities, Journal for the Study of Race, Nation and Culture*, 3, no. 2 (1997): 247-264, 257.

[41] Castillo Utrilla, *El Convento de San Francisco,* 90.

[42] This could take the form of financial or legal aid. For example, the brotherhood could mediate in disputes with other institutions in the city, as was the case in 1690 when the *Hermandad de San Antonio* mediated in a dispute between members and the *comercio de las indias*. APB, 44/7.

[43] AGI, Contratación, 255. N.1, R.5.

[44] See also Amanda Wunder, *Baroque Seville, Sacred Art in a Century of Crisis* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2017).

[45] The main resource for visualising this is the description written by Alonso Sanchez Gordillo around 1630. Abad Gordillo, *Religiosas estaciones que frecuenta la religiosidad sevillana*, ed.

It was the first penitential confraternity in Seville, and the first to institute disciplinary processions.[46] Their early chapel was situated next to the *portería*, but in 1478 it moved for more space to the main cloister, which was conceded officially in 1541. Like the *Casa Grande*, the nineteenth-century *desamortización* led to the fragmentation of the institution's source record, making micro-historical study more difficult. However, the confraternity's archive, and other archives across Seville, enables us to construct an impression of the ways in which this confraternity that was housed inside the *Casa Grande* was another important institutional location of global connections in early modern Seville.

The *cofradía de la Vera Cruz* rented chapel space from the Franciscans like the other confraternities in the *Casa Grande*, but it had deeper connections with the Franciscan Order. On 28 May 1543 in Logroño the Franciscan Order issued a *cédula* which extended the grace of the Franciscan Order to the *cofradías de la Vera Cruz*, confirming the way in which these confraternities were daughter institutions of the Franciscan Order. It is for this reason that the *cofradía de la Vera Cruz*, which was based in the *Casa Grande*, has *Seráfica* in its full title, as this denotes its institutional affiliation with the Franciscan Order.[47] The *Vera Cruz*'s commitment to the Franciscans of the *Casa Grande* is reflected in the confraternity's account books. In addition to regularly paying for masses to be said in the *Casa Grande*, the confraternity paid 10,000 *maravedís* for the hospital (*enfermería*) of the *Casa Grande*.[48] The confraternity also paid 21,973 *maravedís* for the Franciscans' *Casa Grande* School, the *Colegio de San Buenaventura*, 18,834 *maravedís* for Franciscan friars of the *Casa Grande* in general, and 20,000 *maravedís* (two years' salary) for the *Casa Grande* hospital.[49] These transactions indicate the symbiotic relationship between religious orders and their confraternities. Confraternities benefited from their affiliation with religious orders by sharing in their spiritual community, which also conferred legitimacy and authority to their spiritual economy. The religious orders benefited from this relationship financially and socially, through their extended connections with the city.

Jorge Bernales Ballesteros (Seville: Consejo General de Hermandades y Cofradías de la Ciudad de Sevilla, 1982).

[46] It could have begun as early as 1380, since in 1630 Alonso Sanchez Gordillo wrote that it was over 250 years old. Abad Gordillo, *Memorial de la Historia y Cosas Eclesiásticas de Sevilla,* cited by Germán Rubio, *La Custodia Franciscana de Sevilla, ensayo histórico sobre sus orígenes, progresos y vicisitudes (1220 – 1599)* (Seville: S. Antonio, 1953)*,* 666. However, José Sanchez Herrero notes the distinction between older forms of confraternities (which may have been linked to the cult of the Passion) and the penitential confraternities that expanded in Spain in the sixteenth century; José Sanchez Herrero, "Las Cofradías Sevillana. Los Comienzos," in *Las Cofradías de Sevilla, historia, antropología, arte*, ed. José Sánchez Herrero, et. al. (Seville: Secretariado de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla, 1985), 9-34, 28.

[47] Archivo Hermandad Vera Cruz Sevilla (AHVCS), *Libro I de Protocolo*, 1720, unfoliated.

[48] AHVCS, *Quentas de capilla desde 1640 – 1650*, Libro 19, 11^{v}.

[49] *Ibid*, 30^{r}.

The *cofradía de la Vera Cruz* of Seville was part of an institutional family; in addition to having a vertical tie with the Franciscan Order, it also had horizontal ties with *cofradías de la Vera Cruz* across Spain and the Americas. These *cofradías de la Vera Cruz* spread through institutional mushrooming: the first *cofradía de la Vera Cruz* was established in Toledo, and when the *cofradía de la Vera Cruz* began to develop in Seville it borrowed from the privileges that had already been granted to Toledo before receiving its own.[50] From 1561 the *cofradía de la Vera Cruz* in Seville shared its privileges with a confraternity in Rome, further evidence of the process of institutional mushrooming.[51] The Rule indicated the hierarchical nature of the confraternity and emphasized both good governance and the obedience of members, who were also known as *disciplinantes*.

As lay brotherhoods, confraternities institutionalized a kind of betweenness. As religious institutions they were affiliated to the secular Church (paying priests for masses and the administration of sacraments) and to the religious orders (the *Vera Cruz* was closely linked to the Franciscan Order), but they were independent of both of these institutions. Confraternities transcended the parish structures which had governed so many aspects of people's daily lives. Parish structures were usually peoples' primary liturgical communities, where they would attend mass and receive sacraments such as marriage, where they would register births and deaths, and determined how they would pay one of their main taxes (tithes), and how they would receive charity. The *cofradía de la Vera Cruz* offered members the opportunity to join a community which transcended the parish.

The earliest surviving record of brothers (dating from 1598) indicates that the membership of the *Vera Cruz* reflected some of the diversity of the city.[52] There were two types of members, *cofrades de luz* (brothers of light) and *cofrades de sangre* (blood brothers). *Cofrades de luz* paid the full membership fee (46 *reales*) and tended to be more affluent professionals.[53] They did not participate in the public flagellation of the penitential processions but carried candles. The *cofrades de sangre* paid half the membership fees and actively participated in the penitential acts of the procession. These tended to be tradesmen, but some professionals also chose to join as *cofrades de sangre*. The membership fees (and fines associated with breaking any rules) meant that the

[50] The first rule of the *cofradía de la Vera Cruz* was approved in 1501, and in 1538 another 42 articles were added. *Regla de la Cofradia de la Santisisima Vera Cruz*, Biblioteca Universidad de Sevilla (BUS), ms. 331/224, fol. 4r-v. See Teresa Laguna Paúl and José Sánchez Herrero eds, *Regla de la Cofradía de la Santísima Vera Cruz* (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla Fundación El Monte, 1999).

[51] AHVCS, *Bulas de privilegios e indulgencias que no corren: concediendo a esta Capilla de la Santísima Vera Cruz todas las Gracias e Indulgencias concedidas a dicha Iglesia de San Juan de Letrán*, D002.

[52] AHVCS, *Libro de hermanos del año desde 1598*, Libro 10.

[53] Many different professions were listed, and others were simply listed *licenciado* and doctors. For an indication of the proportion of Seville's population which was professional in the sixteenth century see Pike, *Aristocrats and Traders*, 74.

city's poor tended to be recipients of the confraternities charity rather than members, however the account books show that membership fees might be paid as charity for those who couldn't afford it, as was the case in 1580 for the carpenter Diego Lopez.[54] Many of Seville's illustrious elite joined this confraternity, and Juan de Mesa (1583–1627) and Bartolomé Esteban Murillo (1617-1682) appear as members.[55] In 1598 Philip II, upon whose empire the sun never set, became an honorary member.[56]

Women could be members of the confraternity, but they were not allowed to govern, and their processional roles were restricted.[57] The confraternity's archive offers some insights into the lives of women in the city. The main charitable activity of the confraternity was to provide dowries for *doncellas*. These were unmarried girls who might be orphaned or come from poor families, often they were the daughters of poorer members of the confraternity. The *Libro de cabildos de doncellas y cautivos* (Book of the Chapters of Maidens and Captives) recorded the names of the women who received dowries, but not much further information was given about these girls apart from whose daughter they were or which house they came from (presumably as a servant).[58] This form of charity and the way in which they were recorded tells us about the patriarchal system in which these girls and women lived.[59] The brotherhood kept a separate list of the girls who had received dowries, and the confraternity continued to support them and the names of these females appear elsewhere in the account books. Women also appear as significant patrons of the confraternity, indicating that their roles were not limited to being recipients of charity

Members joined the *cofradía* from across the city. The earliest rule book occasionally noted where members were from. Members could be listed simply as "from the city of Seville," or outside the city "from Triana" (across the Guadalquivir). Sometimes an address was given which could give clues about their origins since certain groups tended to live together and form new communities when they moved to Seville in the early modern period. Francisco de Avia, a *cofrade de luz* who joined in 1595, lived in *Calle de Gallego*, which could indicate that he had Galician heritage. Prosopographical analysis of names could also shed light on the diversity of members; for example, Juan de Gamboa could be one of the many Portuguese who moved to Seville after the union of the crowns in 1580. Elsewhere the evidence is more explicit, as for

[54] AHVCS, *Quentas de Maiordomos desde 1575 hasta 1589 y ynventarios de vienes*, Libro 16 (unfoliated).
[55] AHCVS, *Libro de hermanos del año desde 1598*.
[56] AHCVS, D.0014.
[57] Chapters XIV and XVIII of the *Regla de la Cofradia de la Santisisima Vera Cruz* refer specifically to *cofrada*, female members. For more on the restrictions on women in confraternities see Maureen Flynn, "Rituals of Solidarity in Castilian Confraternities," *Renaissance and Reformation* (1989): 53 – 68, 61-62.
[58] AHVCS, *Libro de cabildos de doncellas y cautivos, 1599 - 1632*, Libro 130 (caja 43).
[59] For more on this see Kathryn Burns, *Colonial Habits, Convents and the Spiritual Economy of Cuzco, Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999).

Alonso Pérez who joined in 1612 and was a *cofrade de sangre* from the Kingdom of Sardinia (a Spanish territory between 1323 and 1708).

The *cofradía de la Vera Cruz* did not, however, reflect the cosmopolitan demography of Seville. Members, of course, had to be Catholic. Spanish society reflected particular anxiety about this. Jewish communities had been expelled in 1492 and *conversos*, Jews who had been forced to convert (also known as New Christians) faced a difficult time in the Iberian Peninsula where the Inquisition was active. In 1519, *the cofradía de la Vera Cruz* in Zamora opposed the formation of the *cofradía de la Pasión*, part of the Dominican monastery, because it was formed by New Christians.[60] In Seville, many people who worked for the inquisition were also members of the *cofradía de la Vera Cruz*, including don, Juan de Carrillo and Baltasar Lopes who were listed as *familiar del Santo Oficio* indicating that they worked for the inquisition.

Seville at this time had the largest enslaved population in Europe, but slaves were not allowed to join the *cofradía de la Vera Cruz*.[61] It is also unlikely that free blacks or mulattos were admitted, as these groups came to have their own separate institutions in Seville.[62] Like many of the more affluent citizens of early modern Seville, confraternity members were often slave owners. The confraternity rule took some measures to regulate against the inclusion of slaves within the spiritual community of the confraternity in life and in death; it stated that the confraternity did not have an obligation to bury slaves and it was its wish not to bury slave in this brotherhood.[63]

The confraternity played a role in negotiating the relationship between confraternity members and their slaves, including their manumission. The testimony of one *cofrade*, Andrés de la Bastida, and his wife, Maria Hernandes, shows that he was a slave owner who paid for the manumission for his slave, a black slave woman, Catalina de Escala, on 25 May 1553. The remaining money was left to say prayers in the chapel of the *Vera Cruz*. What makes this collection of documents unique for the late sixteenth century is that it includes a copy of the testimony later left by Catalina de Escala, the freed black women. Catalina de Escala, a Catholic, wrote her will because she was "of sick body."[64] Catalina named the *cofradía de la Vera Cruz*, which resides in the Franciscan monastery, as her heir, and requested that the Franciscans of the *Casa Grande*

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[60] *Archivo General de Simancas* (AGS), CRC,482,10.

[61] We know that 7.4 % of censured inhabitants in the mid-sixteenth century were slaves; Alessandro Stella, *Histoire d'esclaves dans la péninsule ibérique* (Paris: Editions de l'École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 2000), 76; cited in Tamar Herzog, "How did Early-Modern Slaves in Spain Disappear? The Antecedents," *Republic of Letters: A Journal for the Study of Knowledge, Politics and the Arts* 3, no. 1 (2012): 1 – 7, 2.

[62] For more on the *cofradía de los negritos* and the *cofradía de los* mulattoes see Ignacio Camacho Martínez, *La Hermandad de los Mulatos de Sevilla, Antecedentes históricos de la Hermandad del Calvario* (Seville: Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, Area de Cultura, 2001).

[63] *Regla de la Cofradía de la Santísima Vera Cruz,* Laguna Paúl and Sánchez Herrero ed., 75.

[64] AHVCS, *Expediente sobre un tributo que paga Andrés de la Bastida, vinculado a la memoria fundada en 1583 por Catalina de Escalante, negra. Años 1583-1651*, Caja 90.

pray for her in the event of her death.[65] The document survived in the records of the *cofradía de la Vera Cruz* because it was part of a dispute about the property of Catalina that should have been inherited by the confraternity. Catalina's testimony offers a glimpse of the life of an emancipated black slave in sixteenth-century Seville. The document involved public scribes and legal witnesses and indicates that affiliation to the confraternity also enabled marginalized groups to access the law and to manage their property, if it was in the interest of the confraternity. It also highlights the importance of the relationship between the confraternity and the Franciscan convent, as Catalina was able to specify that her bequest to the confraternity be used to pay for masses for her soul in the Franciscan monastery which was the institutional home of the confraternity.

The *Libro de hermandades* often listed the trade of the members who were joining the brotherhood, and these reflected the diverse economy of Seville.[66] Members included metal workers, merchants, wine makers, mule herders, and laborers. Members were also linked to Spain's global trade network, which was organized through Seville: Melchior Maldonado (*luz*) was a treasurer in the *Casa de Contratación*, Felipe Manrique (*luz*) was an official judge of the *Casa de Contratación*, Miguel de Chacavete (*luz*), was a chaplain on the galleons, Antonio Moreno was a cosmographer of the king, Francisco García (*sangre*) was a seaman (*marinero*) from Triana, Jacome de Rica was a barrel maker.[67] Cristóbal Ortiz was a *procurador*, a type of lawyer who often managed the estates of people leaving Spain to travel to the Indies.[68]

Given the composition of the confraternity, it is unsurprising that the institution was the beneficiary of New World wealth. While much of the silver arriving in the city was minted at the *casa de moneda* and sent elsewhere, some of this wealth remained in the city of Seville, a city which was home to the very rich and the very poor. The surviving inventories of the confraternity's goods and their property and charity portfolios testify to the wealth this institution had accumulated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Its earliest inventory from the late sixteenth century included references to four bars of silver, intended for the processional *palio* (canopy) for the float (paso) which a sculpture of the weeping virgin (*dolorosa*) was carried upon), which undoubtedly came from the Americas.[69] The chapel of the *cofradía de la Vera Cruz* in the *Casa Grande* of the Franciscan convent was adorned with paintings by Seville's leading artists. Francisco de Herrera el Viejo painted the *Inmaculada con doncellas de la Hermandad de la Vera Cruz* between 1614 and

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[65] AHVCS, *Expediente sobre un tributo que paga Andrés de la Bastida, vinculado a la memoria fundada en 1583 por Catalina de Escalante, negra. Años 1583-1651*, Caja 90.

[66] This diversity indicates another key difference between the penitential confraternities that developed in the Iberian world from the sixteenth century and the older spiritual guilds (*gremios espirituales*).

[67] AHCVS, Libro 10.

[68] Pike, *Aristocrats and Traders*, 79.

[69] AHVCS, *Quentas de Maiordomos desde 1575 hasta 1589 y ynventarios de vienes*, Libro 16.

15 and in 1653 Murillo painted the *Inmaculada con Fray Juan Quirós* for the *Hermandad de la Vera Cruz* (both now in the archbishop's palace). The confraternity goods had a range of spiritual and commercial values; liturgical and processional goods (such as candle holders) and the confraternity's rule book were all cast in silver. So much money was spent on confraternity processions that in 1592 the vicar general of Seville condemned the excessive expenditure, but this did not stop the investments in confraternities and their processions.[70]

It is difficult to connect these goods to the different sources of income, and the AHVCS has a relatively small collection of testimonies compared to its assets. Confraternity members traveled to the Americas and left donations to the confraternity in their wills. For example, in 1619 Juan Bautista de Urbina made a petition in the name of the *cofradía de la Vera Cruz* of Seville, regarding certain goods of Sebastian Pérez (a *vecino* of Seville), who left a donations for the marriage of orphaned girls, under the patronage of Francisco de Collantes.[71] Elsewhere, in the account book, certain incomes were simply listed as *penas*, or penance. The expenditure of the confraternity also reflected its diverse spiritual economy, in addition to investing in expensive confraternity goods and in charity many of the outgoings were for masses to be said in various chapels around the city.

The *cofradía de la Vera Cruz* had a complex revenue stream. In addition to receiving personal contributions in the form of membership fees, fines and donations, the confraternity also managed long-term endowments, collecting rents for properties in different parts of the city. The account books also show that confraternity also collected taxes such as the *alcabala* (tax on sales). Most interestingly, the confraternity was firmly embedded in the transatlantic economy since it dealt with *Almojarifazgo de Indias* (customs revenues).[72] As Regina Grafe has explained, individuals could donate *juros* (redeemable bonds) to religious institutions such as confraternities which could collect returns on these based upon rent they were designated, which included the *Almojarifazgo de Indias*.[73] However, the *cofradía de la Vera Cruz*'s collection of the *Almojarifazgo de Indias* indicates the extent to which this institution was systematically entangled in transatlantic trade.

As with the *Casa Grande*, while the confraternity's income streams predominantly came from the city of Seville and its transatlantic trade, it was redistributed not only across the city but also globally. Like the *Casa Grande*

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[70] APAS, Hermandades, Legajo 201, "Autos de reducción," cited by Susan Webster, *Art and Ritual in Golden Age Spain*, *Sevillian Confraternities and the Processional Sculptures of Holy Week* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 140.

[71] AGI, Contratación, 949, n.1, r.25.

[72] AHVCS, *Quentas de capilla desde 1640 – 1650*, Libro 19, 25^{v} – 26^{v}.

[73] Regina Grafe, "An Empire without Debt? The Spanish Empire and its Colonial Realm," in *A World of Debts: A Global Political History*, ed. N. Barreyre and N. Delalande (to appear in 2019). See also Regina Grafe and Alejandra Irigoin, "A Stakeholder Empire: The Political Economy of Spanish Rule in America," *The Economic History Review lxv,* ii: 609-651.

the confraternity had made regular payments to other charitable institutions in the city, including the hospitals of the *spiritus sanctos*, *paz*, and *amor de dios*.[74] The *cofradía de la Vera Cruz*'s expenditure on charity was immense; German Rubio calculated that it distributed an extraordinary 12,000 ducats a year in its early years, when confraternities and brotherhoods were only just beginning to develop their charitable dimensions.[75] Like the *Casa Grande* charity was not confined to Seville and also sent money to the Holy Lands, acting as a conduit between Atlantic and Mediterranean connections.[76]

The Atlantic and Mediterranean network of the *cofradía de la Vera Cruz* is laid out in particular in its *Libro de cabildos de doncellas y cautivos*.[77] This book shows the brotherhood's project to govern the place of women in the city and to free Christians from Muslim captivity around the world. There was a high number of Christian captives in Muslim territories and Muslim captives in Christian territories and ransoming captives was an important part of the early modern Mediterranean economy.[78] These captives were part of the human collateral of the ongoing struggle between the Spanish and Ottoman Empires. Whether we think of these people as captives, slaves, or prisoners of war, confraternities saw their ransoming as a worthy act of charity.[79] This charitable investment in freeing captives was a shrewd choice as this participation in international politics also raised the social status of the confraternity locally.

The *cofradía de la Vera Cruz* played a role in the ransoming of captives, using donations that were the result of transatlantic business to ransom captives held across the Mediterranean in the Ottoman Empire. In 1610, the confraternity gave 200 ducats in support of twenty captives who had fled from their Muslim captors. The recipients of this charity were not only citizens of Seville but from across Andalusia and other parts of Spain. In 1615 the confraternity paid for the release of twenty-nine captives in Muslim lands *tierra de Moros*, and the list of captives included people from Seville, other parts of Andalusia including Jaén, Málaga, Jerez de la Frontera, Almuñécer, Cádiz, Ayamonte and Gibraltar, as well as people from the Basque Country and Galicia.[80] These captives from

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[74] AHVCS, *Quentas de capilla desde 1640 – 1650*, Libro 19, 31^{v}.

[75] Rubio, *La Custodia de Sevilla*, 669.

[76] For example, the account book for the years 1612 – 1639 contains an entry indicating that the confraternity send 1500 *maravedís* to the Holy Lands in Jerusalem: AHVCS, *Libro de quentas de maiordomos desde el ano de 1612 hasta 1639*, Libro 18, 92.

[77] AHVCS, *Libro de cabildos de doncellas y cautivos, 1599 - 1632*, Libro 130 (caja 43).

[78] Wolfgang Kaiser and Guillaume Calafat, "The Economy of Ransoming in the Early Modern Mediterranean: A Form of Cross-Cultural Trade between Southern Europe and the Maghreb (Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries)," in *Religion and Trade: Cross-Cultural Exchanges in World History, 1000–1900*, ed. Francesca Trivellato, Leor Halevi and Catia Antunes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 108–130.

[79] See Cecilia Tarruell, "Prisoners of War, Captives of Slaves? The Christian Prisoners of Tunis and la Goleta in 1574," in *Micro Spatial Histories of Global Labour*, ed. Christian De Vito and Anne Gerritsen (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 95 – 122.

[80] AHVCS, *Libro de cabildos de doncellas y cautivos, 1599 - 1632*, Libro 130 (caja 43), 133^{v} - 134^{v}.

across Spain were being held in Tetuán (a Moroccan port town), Túnes in Tunisia, and Argel (Algiers) in Algeria.[81] In 1619, the confraternity paid for the release of more captives, and this time Constantinople was also listed amongst the places where captives were held.[82]

The *Libro de cabildos de doncellas y cautivos* offers some clues about the captives who were ransomed as part of the charitable activities of the *cofradía de la Vera Cruz*. The lists include people of different ages and sexes. The first list for 1619 refers to captive women. The next item in the book, in August 1619, lists many women and children from the island of Lanzarote who held in Tetuán. [83] The record not also includes the names of men who contributed to the cost of the redemption of their wives and children. For example, Francisco Gutiérrez of the Isla de Lanzarote paid six ducats to help rescue his wife and three children.[84] The confraternity did not only engage in the ransoming of women and children, the lists also include references to mariners and missionaries. Through their role in freeing captives, the *cofradía de la Vera Cruz* intersected many of the complex networks of movement and exchange taking place in the Mediterranean and Atlantic.

Freeing captives was a vast enterprise that involved coordinating hearing the appeals of families with missing relatives across Spain and the Canary Islands, raising money, and liaising with the captors, who tended to be Muslims based in North African ports, and later also in Constantinople. The *Libro de cabildos de doncellas y cautivos* indicates that the confraternity formed a committee and kept a record of the names of the people they were freeing and the costs attached. To arrange the liberation of the captives it is likely that the confraternity used a network of intermediaries. For example, one entry for 1609 includes a list of the names of a team of eight Franciscans who were negotiating the release of forty-two captives from the Basque Country (Vizcaya and Guipúzcoa) being held in Muslim territories (it does not say where).[85] The confraternity paid 108,000 *reales* on this case alone. The confraternity wanted to assert its influence when engaging with these Franciscan intermediaries, requesting that the release of children be prioritized. The list of indicates the captives were a mix of adults and children, men and women.[86]

Ransoming captives and providing dowries for poor women were central to the business of the confraternity, connecting transatlantic donations and Mediterranean captive ransoming with Seville's civic life. While the chapel of the *cofradía de la Vera Cruz* was housed within the complex of the *Casa Grande*, the confraternity was intrinsically linked to Seville's civic life. Its membership was drawn from across the city and included elites as well as the

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[81] Ibid., 133^{v} -134^{v}.

[82] Ibid., 153^{v} -154^{v}.

[83] Ibid., 161^{v} – 163^{v}

[84] Ibid., 163^{v}.

[85] Ibid.

[86] Ibid.

middle classes. It owned property across the city and distributed charity to associated institutions. However, the most important time for cementing its links to the city was *Semana Santa*, when members of the confraternity paraded the streets in a procession to celebrate the Passion.[87] This highly routinized performance of ritualized humility was central to the spiritual economy of the confraternity. Members walked barefoot, and the *cofrades de sangre* engaged in acts of flagellation. These penitential acts were designed to gain remission of sins and shorten time in purgatory. As Asuncion Lavrin summarizes: "in the spiritual economy [of confraternities], the first prize was eternal salvation, but since few souls achieved this goal without suffering in purgatory, indulgences offered a way to remedy the sins of life little by little."[88] This offer of remission from sins proved exceedingly popular in this hub of empire that was also known as "new Babylon." During these processions *cofrades* carried floats laden with the gold and silver from the Americas seeking the remission for the sins by which they had acquired it.

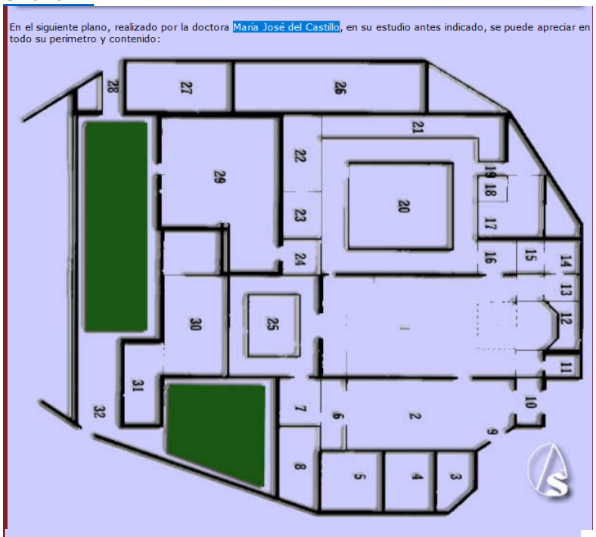
When Fernando de Herrera (d. 1597) described Seville as not a city but a world, he was no doubt inspired by the visual and material traces of Spain's global connections that had, by the end of the sixteenth century, become a key component of the life of the city. Seville's global connections were reflected in its diverse population, which included Africans, Americans, and Europeans. These people were merchants and missionaries, rich and poor, free and slaves. The global connections were reflected in the range of goods available, silver and gold from the Americas and silks and porcelains from China. Many of these traces of Spain's global connections were located in Seville through the transactions of the religious institutions. This micro-historical approach to the regional institutional headquarters of the Franciscan Order and its daughter institution the *cofradía de la Vera Cruz* that it housed show the way religious institutions were the local sites of macro-process. The history of these institution shows how there were worlds within worlds in early modern Seville.

[87] For more on the significance of confraternity processions to city life see Bullen Presciutti, Diana, *Space, Place and Motion: Locating Confraternities in the Late Medieval and Early Modern* (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

[88] Asuncion Lavrin, "Cofradías novohispanas: economía material y espiritual," in *Cofradías, Capellanías, y Obras Pías en la América colonial*, ed. Pilar Martínes López-Cano, Gisela von Wobseser, Juan Guillermo Muñoz (Mexico: UNAM, 2015), 49-64, 52.

Appendix

Figure 1: Floor Plan of Casa Grande, reconstructed by María José del Castillo, available at, http://www.conocersevilla.org/templos/conventos/casagrandesanfrancisco/index.html



1.	Iglesia	17.	Capilla Vera Cruz y Patio
2.	Atrio	18.	Capilla de Belén
3.	Capilla Burgaleses (Concepción)	19,	Puerta de Belén
4.	Capilla San Onofre y Hospital de Ánimas	20.	Claustro Grande
5.	Capilla Portugueses y patio	21.	Capillas del Claustro
6.	Portería	22.	Refectorio
7.	Patio Portería	23.	Sala de Profundis
8.	Hospedería de Indias	24.	Tránsito y escalera principal
9.	Puerta de Tintores	25.	Claustro chico
10.	Arco del Atrio	26.	Cocinas y Patio
11.	Ayuntamiento	27.	Hospitalito y Patio
12.	Oratorio	28.	Puerta
13.	Antesacristía	29.	Noviciado y Patio
14.	Sacristía	30.	Enfermería y Patio
15.	Patio Sacristía	31.	
16.	Panteón	32.	

Figure 2: ‘Plan to widen the chapel of the Convent’, 1622, *Archivo Histórico de la Nobleza*, OSUNA,CP.16,D.6