Resumen: Este artículo sobre la arquitectura doméstica sevillana está basado en documentos históricos de las instituciones eclesiásticas más importantes de Sevilla en el siglo XVI, específicamente los libros de apeos de casas del Cabildo de 1542 del archivo Catedral de Sevilla. Estas fuentes no solo documentan la distribución espacial en varas castellanas sino también describen las características constructivas y dotaciones del interior de estas. El principal objetivo de este trabajo ha sido caracterizar el tipo de casa sevillana a partir de estos documentos históricos referidos a 46 casas de la céntrica collación de San Salvador. A partir de una metodología novedosa, en primer lugar, se ha realizado un análisis arquitectónico; en segundo lugar, se han establecido tipologías de espacios, usos, dimensiones, construcción, acabados, etc.; en tercer lugar, se ha elaborado un glosario de términos arquitectónicos propios de los alarifes que permite entender de manera rigurosa la arquitectura doméstica en Sevilla en el siglo de Oro; y, por último, se han incluido dibujos de cada apeo documentado para facilitar la caracterización del tipo de casa sevillana del siglo XVI. Entre las conclusiones a las que se han llegado destaca que las viviendas de este periodo conservan una terminología, arquitectura, construcción y acabados típicos de la Andalucía islámica, pero con características específicas del caserío sevillano, como por ejemplo la casapuerta.

Palabras clave: casa, Sevilla, siglo XVI, arquitectura doméstica, glosario.

Abstract: This study is based on historical documents belonging to the most important ecclesiastical institution in Seville during the 16th century. The Cathedral’s archives have been consulted, with special focus on the section devoted to books of written descriptive records of houses (called ‘apeos’) that belonged to the Cabildo (Chapter) in 1542. These records not only documented the physical distribution of the houses with measurements in Castilian yards of the different parts of the house, but also described the more qualitative features of the interior architectural design. The main purpose of this study is to characterize the typical Sevillian houses from historical documents of the period focused on the collation of San Salvador. By way of a novel methodology, the following steps have been developed: first, an architectural analysis; second, a typology of houses based on functions, dimensions, construction, lay-out, etc.; third, a detailed glossary of architectural terms listed to permit a rigorous understanding of the domestic architecture in 16th century Seville; and finally, an example of every documented record has been drawn. Among the most significant conclusions is that the Sevillian dwellings of that period reflected the Islamic terminology, architecture, construction and lay-out typical of Andalusia, but with distinctive features of Sevillian housing.

Keywords: Seville; 16th century; domestic architecture; apeo; glossary.
INTRODUCTION

The present study is the result of several years of research into housing in Seville, based on historical documents belonging to the most important ecclesiastical institution in the city during the 16th century.¹ The Cathedral of Seville’s archives have been consulted, focusing on the section devoted to books of written descriptive records of houses (called ‘apeos’) that belonged to the Cabildo (Chapter) in 1542. The ‘apeos’ were made by master builders (‘alarifes’) contracted by the owners or the tenants to leave testimony of the sale or renting of the properties. These records not only documented the physical distribution of the houses with measurements in Castilian yards of the different parts of the house, but also described the more qualitative features of the interior architectural design. The main purpose of this study is to characterize the typical Sevillian houses from historical documents of the period, with the district of San Salvador as a point of reference. Some of the outcomes of the study can be applied across the rest of the city. By way of a novel methodology (study, interpretation and evaluation of historical documentation), the following steps have been developed: first, a catalogue of the files analyzed; second, a typology of houses based on functions, dimensions, interior construction, layout, etc.; third, a detailed glossary of architectural terms has been listed in order to permit a rigorous understanding of the domestic architecture in 16th century Seville; and finally, an example of every documented record has been drawn. Among the most significant conclusions is that the Sevillian dwellings of that period reflected the Islamic lexicon, architecture, construction and lay-out typical of Andalusia, but with distinctive features of Sevillian housing in the space design of entrances (the element of ‘casapuerta’ is unique), courtyards and rooms.

URBANISM AND POPULATION IN 16TH CENTURY SEVILLE

Seville’s strategic geographical location, on the valley of Guadalquivir, has been an important advantage for economic and cultural relations with the rest of the peninsula and maritime trade routes, throughout its history. The city was conquered by the Muslims in the eighth century and was the first capital of Al-Andalus. Later, during the recovery process of the ancient Christian territories, it was taken by King Fernando III in the middle of the thirteenth century, in 1248. Territorial, economic and cultural importance during the Muslim period had remained with Christians over the centuries. However, its peak was recorded during the sixteenth century, also called Golden Age. American discovery, the establishment of the House of Trade (Casa de la Contratación) and the monopoly of the Indian trade based in Seville since 1503, the accumulation of wealth and, ultimately, the development of the capitalist market economy, made the city during the sixteenth century the capital of two worlds or as has been said many times, made her port and door of the Indias. Economic facts produced marks in all walks of life. From a demographic point of view, the city and its surroundings grew uninterruptedly: in the late fifteenth century, before the American discovery, Seville had only about 15,000 inhabitants, but since the early sixteenth century Seville received so much foreign population that it became the third or fourth European capital in line with Paris, London and Naples, at the end of the century. In the 1530s it reached 45,000 inhabitants and the population rose to 129,000 in the 1590s, almost three times more.

Although it had been three centuries since the city passed into Christian hands, in the sixteenth century Seville was still enclosed and had an irregular design. The closure was represented by its wall built...
by the Almohads, while in their homes their wives were dressed in a Muslim style. The irregularity was evidenced by its cosmopolitan life, in its planning and blocks, whose façades did not maintain a parallel alignment. You cannot make a radical break between the Islamic and Christian city. Although centuries had passed between Islamic and Christian Seville, the similarities were still apparent. Housing still maintained an intimate and enclosed character. The layout of homes and especially the constructive elements that were being used, had clear influences and Islamic roots, such as wooden ceilings loop, the carpentry, the octagonal pillars or doors originating from Ceuta. Furthermore, this character is expressed with the lack of windows facing the street. Finally, another significant feature of Islamic influence in the sixteenth century Sevillian architecture focuses on the construction and architectural terminology. This is because most masters, builders and carpenters were Mudéjar or Moorish, which helped to maintain the old Muslim customs in the construction processes.

Awnings and the narrowness of the streets prevented the sun from penetrating properly, but at the same time, with its sinuous shape, facilitated defense against internal danger. Near the religious and political center, near the cathedral (former main mosque) there were some main streets being used for the economic and popular life of the city. These streets lead to narrower side streets where silence prevailed against noise and movement of trade. Christians tried to fill the city with squares in front of temples, palaces and public buildings. Many of them are market squares, simple urban outpourings, or settings for shows. Seville, unlike other cities of the peninsula or America, did not have those great places that we can find in them, because urbanism and land value were a corset for any expansion or enlargement.

Seville was organized administratively by collations (collaciones), like neighborhoods and Islamic suburbs. They were composed of houses and neighborhoods around a temple, and they could live independently. Within the collation or parish or on its periphery, the established neighborhoods were inserted, in the Muslim case for an economic or bureaucratic activity, or for an ethnic group or nationality (coopers, abbots, carpenters, frans, etc.). In the first part of the century, Seville had 27 parish churches and two free jurisdictions. The collations were named after their parishes: Santa María la Mayor (Sagrario), San Salvador, San isidro or Isidoro, Santa Ana, San Ildefonso or Alfonso, San Pedro, San Andrés, San Juan de la Palma, San Martín, Santa Catalina, Santiago, San Román, San Marcos, Santa Marina, San Julián, Santa Lucía, San Gil, Omnium Sanctorum, San Lorenzo, San Vicente, La Magdalena, San Miguel, San Nicolás or Santa María del Sotarreño, San Esteban, San Bartolomé del Campás, Santa María la Blanca and Santa Cruz. Among the collations of Seville in her Golden Age, San Salvador stands out due to simultaneously being a business and residential area. According to activity data and demographic and economic trends in Seville in 1533, collected by Carretero, the collation of San Salvador was in the center of the city, and hosted a large amount of daily activity. Also, it was a neighborhood with many mechanical trades. According to the data of 1533, the collation did not suffer swings in its demography because many commercial activities were carried out there. Its location, bordering the parish of Santa María la Mayor and La Magdalena, was strategic, being at the same time near Las Gradas and the Arenal. The shopping areas of the collation were: alcaicerías (type of Arab bazaar), especerías (spice stalls), the square of Poyo de las Hogazas or Square Below, the Fish Square or Square Above and the Butcheries, almost bordering the San Isidro collation. In these streets and squares, shops and shop houses abounded, which were minor buildings.
Figure 1. Location map of San Salvador, approximate area of the old Moorish quarter or Adarvejo. Scale 1:5000.
with little surface, in one level, for trade or market stalls. It was very common for shopping areas to be closed at night. For this reason, at that time there were doors to enter the espejerías and alcaicerías. This can be interpreted as an Islamic influence of the souk or shopping center, whose essence was maintained until well into the sixteenth century and beyond. In the early years of the reconquest the Mudejares occupied a specific area of the city named Adarvejo or Morería (Figure 1).

The enclosure bordered upon the collations of San Salvador, San Pedro, Santa Catalina, San Ildefonso and San Isidro. It is claimed, according to Lopez, that the Mudejares owned confectioneries and shops of hemp, linen, and spices, as well as vegetable, meat and poultry stores. Additionally, they plied their trades as blacksmiths, shoemakers, builders, carpenters, and stonemasons. The conversion of Mudejares to Christianity, the changes of addresses of the Moriscos to other collations and new laws of the Catholic Monarchs, led to the extinction of the Adarvejo. This is another reason for choosing the collation of San Salvador for the analysis of Seville housing in the sixteenth century and its Islamic characteristics.

**SPATIAL ANALYSIS AND ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN OF HOUSING IN THE COLLATION OF SAN SALVADOR**

To carry out this research two archives were consulted: The Historical Archives of the Provincial Council of Seville and the Archives of the Archbishop Palace in Seville. In relation to the study of Sevillian houses, different document types could be read among those found in the Capitular Archive at the Archbishop Palace: surveys books called apeos, trades, transfers, exchanges, etc. Unlike those files found in the Archives of the Provincial Government (dating from the seventeenth century) which are mainly graphics, books of apeos provide much written information about: the tenants who lived and rented the houses, the detailed situation on the street and collation, the sequence of rooms, and dimensions, decoration, structure and interior details.

Focusing on the collation of San Salvador, the location chosen for study, it can be seen that the Cabildo had 85 buildings, the Fábrica of the Cabildo had 35 and the Communal just 1. Of these 85 apeos, those belonging to the Cabildo were chosen, since it was estimated that the number of properties was enough to advance some conclusions. It was interesting, in this case, the study of the typology of the residential private home, so, as a basis, 46 records were taken belonging to the Cabildo, and those other surveys that were not helpful for this work were discarded.

One thing to keep in mind, before developing a typological analysis of the uses, is that the descriptions of the houses in the surveys defined the spaces but not the uses. In this regard, in most cases, the space described is very conditioned by use, such as the kitchen or the cellar, but in others such as casa-puerta or soberado (attic), the definition of those uses is unclear.

The spaces in the homes studied are: roof terrace, balcony, cellar, stables, alley, camera, yardroom, casapuerta, shed, kitchen, barnyard, pantry, palacio, patio, porch, reception, kitchen facilities, service of women (servicio de mujeres), soberado, basement and entranceway. In this chapter I focus on the use of the more representative pieces in the Sevillian house of San Salvador. The most repeated, and therefore the most common elements of this type of Sevillian house are the casapuerta, the palace, the patio or courtyard, the porch, the kitchen, the backyard (“corral”) and the roof terrace (Figures 2, 3, 4 and 5).
Below there is a definition of each of these spaces, according to data emerging from the sources used, and adding information from the literature used for this work.

The ‘casapuerta’. It is the first item that appears in all the houses once the gateway has been crossed. Of generally rectangular shape, the average surface area found is 19.63 m². It can be defined as the first space after crossing the front door, very wide and sometimes has some quarters or rooms (called ‘palacios’). Sometimes it served as stables or cellar, and, on many occasions, the stairs started from it into the top floor. It was separated from the rest of the house through a door or door bars or “middle door” and therefore it could have a defensive use and meaning, in the sense that it isolated the unknown visitor from other areas of the house and kept the privacy of its residents.

The palace. Palacio is referred to as a mixed-use room, encompassing a living room and a bedroom. It served as a place to sleep and the place where daily life unfolded. Its location within the house depended on two factors: the width of the facade and the existence of a patio or courtyard. Given these conditions, the “palacios” had two locations within the house: it was the area that was entered from the ‘casapuerta’ and abutted the street, or it was the area that was accessible from the courtyard or from it through a portal or porch. According to the information gathered, the average number of palaces per house was two and the average area was 14.15 m², so it could be understood that the houses were small to medium size depending on the number of their bedrooms.

The courtyard or patio. It was the backbone of the house and offered a variety of shapes. It was entered from the ‘casapuerta’ or from a doorway.
Figure 3. Drawing of a house in Jeseros Street. 01 CP: casapuerta; 02/04 PAL: palacio; 03 PAT: patio; 05 CDC: cocina; 06 COR: backyard; 07/08 SOB: soberado; AZO: roof terrace. Scale: 1:300.

Figure 4. Drawing of a house in Jeseros Street. 01 CP: casapuerta; 02 PAT: patio; 03/05/07 PAL: palacio; 04 POR: portal/porch; 06 ally of the well; 08 AZO: roof terrace; CH: chimney; L = latrine. Scale: 1:300.
or portal in between. It connected with the “palacios”, the kitchen, the pantry or the backyard. The most modest patios did not offer balconies or portals, although many of the houses had one or two on its sides, forming corridors on the upper floors. Associated with the appearance of these corridors there were stairs or a ladder to climb to the ‘soberados’ overlooking the courtyard. The most common pavement in this space was the mortar (revocado). Its surface was highly variable and depended on the total floor surface of the house: the smallest measurement studied was 8.15 m² and the largest 72.58 m², with a calculated average of 23.42 m² per household; it could therefore be considered as the interior lung of the house. It is striking that unlike the houses of other collations that have been studied, especially Santa Maria, there did not exist arcades in the courtyards in San Salvador houses. The reason for this is believed to be its relation to the quality of housing and tenant, its price, etc. However, this is a fact which needs to be verified. Finally, the most characteristic elements associated with the yard always appeared to be the well and the sink. In houses with courtyard corridors, staircases stood in them for access to the upper floors.

The porch or portal. This element served as a communication link between the yard and the rest of the household. It could be associated with the ‘casapuerta’, working as an intermediate space between it and the patio, or it could be linked to the “palacios” giving access to them. In this way, we can distinguish two types of portals: (almost) closed when connecting the ‘casapuerta’ and ‘palacios’ with the courtyard, and open when they appeared in the courtyards associated with corridors or balconies of the upper floors. Although, as stated, its function was to be a place of passage, sometimes it contained the fireplace and/or the well.

![Diagram of a house in Sierpe Street](image-url)
The kitchen. It appeared in houses with courtyards, through which you had access to it. Typically, when it existed, it was associated with the backyard or corral. Only a quarter of the houses under study had a kitchen, and in all cases the kitchen was connected with the backyard of the house. Most of them had a tile roof on one side, and just a few had a second floor or had a roof terrace. Although most of the ‘apeos’ do not describe elements which were associated to it, it is interesting to point out that the primary function was as expected, and surely a chimney was found inside. If there were pantries, they would have been located in its walls, and they could be either within a partition or made of cane. The average area of the kitchen was 8.23 m².

The backyard or ‘corral’. Among the 46 studied items, only 8 had backyards (17.39%) with an average surface area of 13.87 m². The backyards appear in middle or upper class homes and were lacking in most houses of Cabildo in San Salvador that were small. Its location within the outline plan occupied the latter part. Although it is not the case of these houses, fruit trees, small vegetable gardens, chicken coops, dovecotes and pools could usually be found in them. They had a utility for household subsistence. Also, if the house had a kitchen, the access normally was through it (out of eight with backyards, five had kitchens), but there were cases where the entrance was through the patio. If the house had a corral, the essential element associated with it was the toilet or latrine, which could be placed under a shed.

The ‘soberado’. It was the piece located above the ground floor spaces. Its use seemed variable and, in any case, it was not described in the “apeos”. If we take the descriptions made by other authors, we can see that it was the upper space of the house, where life developed in winter and served as a warehouse in summer, as well as an air chamber isolating the lower parts of the house from the Seville heat. Mainly, it appeared above the casapuerta and portals, and in some “palacios” or rooms. Its size was nearly the same as the space immediately below. It was accessed through the stairs which started in the casapuerta, the portal or the patio (with corridors upstairs), and it used to be connected when there were more than one.

The roof terrace or rooftop. It was the most common type of roof, the same as the one water tile roof. Its use can be related to housework and it can be considered as an open space used for multiple activities. The most repeated pavement in terraces was ajembrilla, a type of brick floor with small pieces of tile. It was accessed from a staircase, usually a removable wooden stair, from the immediate floor below. It had pipes to the street or the courtyard to evacuate rainwater, and parapets around, presumably to prevent falls and preserve the façade. The roof was clearly North-African influenced, because it is an almost indispensable element in Muslim architecture, as it can be seen in the cities of Fez, Tangier and Tunisia, especially in the Magreb area.

CONSTRUCTION TECHNIQUES IN THE SEVILLIAN DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

After the taking of Seville, most of the Muslim population left the city, but some decided to stay. This group was granted the title of mudejares. Centuries later, after the Capitulation of Granada, the mudejares of the disappeared Andalusian
Nazari kingdom were forced to accept Christianity, becoming Moorish at the beginning of the sixteenth century. This process of forced acculturation had more influence on architecture than in other aspects of their material culture and customs. Constructive, decorative and typological characteristics of the Nazari house techniques were kept alive in domestic architecture of the Moriscos until their expulsion in the early seventeenth century, and they were even taken to their places of emigration in the Maghreb. These techniques and structures were also common, as it is understood in the Granada Nasrid houses, of which dozens of homes still remain. This issue has been thoroughly investigated by Professor Orihuela-Uzal, of the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, at the School of Arabic Studies in Granada. In addition, there are other studies on medieval housing in Spain, collected in national research projects led by Díez-Jorge and Navarro-Palazón.

Structures

It is said that those who worked in a job related to architecture (builders, carpenters, masters, etc.), were of Muslim or Moorish origins in Seville in the sixteenth century. Bearing this in mind, the representative structures in Sevillian architecture were:

Walls. According to the developed hypothesis from the documentary sources, the walls were made of rammed earth or brick, depending on the quality of the building. The thickness of the walls, according to this hypothesis, was half a yard (one and a half feet), equivalent to 45 cm. approximately.

Porticoes supports in patios. They could be made of stone (marble), brick (usually octagonal, although square section was also used) or wooden studs. The stone and brick type were usually used on the ground floors and the wooden type, upstairs.

Ceiling (floors). The most repeated solution was composed of beams or asnados, alfajías and tables (or brick instead of tables). Sometimes, in the less modest houses, they were adorned with zaquizamis and plasterwork around.

Roofs. There were two types of roofs: pitched or flat (roof terrace). The sloping roofs were made of tile to one or two sides (also there were cases with four sides, but they were scarce between the studied documents). The gable roofs were solved by wooden structures of king trusses (par y nudillo), with braces or crosspieces.

Staircases. The most common type was made of masonry and wood. Rare cases were made of stone. The surveys barely described the layout of the stairs, but according to the cases where they did, the staircases were built in one or two sections (two flights with a landing).

Decoration

The decorative techniques directly exemplify the Islamic influence in the Sevillian domestic architecture. The use of tiles, plasterwork and many other details made on wood doors or ceilings are representative of Andalusi culture, which is reflected in the houses of Seville. These techniques were:

Tiling. Tiles were used on baseboards, door jambs, almatrayas and glazed frames located on the pavement of the main rooms, facing the access. They also appeared in pipes and parapets of wells (Figure 6).

Plastering or plasterwork. They were used in the arches of access to rooms, located on their
doorph posts and around arches, shaping a square called alfilz (alízarado arch), placed inside the richest rooms of the houses.

Doors. In all documents consulted, doors were defined as “ladder”. The exact meaning of the term is unknown to date, but I’m currently working on a correct definition. The doors had one or two leaves, depending on their situation and use. Thus, the entrance doors used to be made of one leaf, and those situated in the entrance of the main rooms were double-leaf doors. Those who were in the house entrance could be decorated with curbs of brick, wood or stone, and the nails were defined as half an orange (half-sphere) or half a lemon. In some cases, those doors as claimed in size, shutters came up. The interior doors could be decorated with plasterwork too.

Windows. Like the doors, the most common were the ladder. However, in this case, we also find doors made with planks or windows simply without doors. Concerning windows of upper floors, the existence of voids defined by two arcs of moldings on a marble pillar with base and capital has been traced.

Pavements. The houses had many types of pavements, either brick (the most widespread) or ground (in the humblest houses). Depending on the layout and bond of the bricks, they could be: of mortered (rebocado), ajembrilla, rowlock or fish spine bond. In some cases, where the house was an important dwelling, there were pavements with elaborate details or carpets of tiles or marble (almatrayas) at the entrance of the main halls or around the main rooms.

Wells. All the houses studied so far had a well. The parapet could be made of rammed earth, brick, stone or wood (square, circular or octagonal sections). They could include details with tiles around. However, in some cases there were no parapets.

**TERMINOLOGY OF THE MASTER BUILDERS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY IN SEVILLE**

First, I would like to highlight the difficulties in the translation of the literary language used by the master builders into a graphic language, due to the lack of a specialized popular architectural dictionary of this historical period. To elaborate the definitions, I have taken as a reference the website of the Royal Spanish Academy of Language (R.A.E.9)

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*Figure 6. Alizar made of glazed tiles in Royal Alcázar of Seville.*
The terms of Andalusi, Mudejar or Morisco Architecture that remained in use in Seville during the sixteenth century, collected in the consulted books of apeos (surveys), corroborate the influence and permanence of Muslim traditions in building and living, in Seville.

Some words and expressions found in the books of apeos, actual examples of the permanence of these traditions in the architecture and the heritage of Seville, are discussed below:

**Alcatifa:** From Hispanic Arabic *alqaṭīfa*, and that from the classic Arabic *qatifah*: wool or silk rug or cover that was used to cover tables or benches. Also: brushwood or filler cast on the floor before paving to plane it or on the roof before tiling.

**Alfarjía:** From the Hispanic Arabic *'alfarsiyya*, adj. of *'alfārs* 'alfarje'. Each of the wooden beams that intersect with the main beams to form the roof frame.
‘Egyptian’, demonym of *misr* ‘Egypt’. Said of a tile, of a brick, etc.: square shape.

Sardinel: When talking about building, it refers to an arrangement of bricks placed on edge, in vertical position. In Andalusia, step in the entrance of a house or room.

Zaguan: From Hispanic Arabic *istawán*, and this from classic Arabic *ustuwán*[ah]. Hallway.

Çaquizami (zaquizami). From Hispanic Arabic *sáqf* fassamí ‘fragile ceiling’; literally ‘ceiling in the sky’. Wooden frame or plaster boards in a ceiling. In some surveys, it could be understood referring to a type of carpentry decoration on ceilings (Figure 7).

In addition, nearly eighty words or composed words, with or without Arab relation, have been compiled as a glossary of terms used by *alarifes* in 16th century Seville.

CONCLUSION

Upon analyzing a representative number of houses in 16th century Seville, we can conclude that the Mudejar and Morisco influence was still deeply rooted. The use of glazed bricks and tiles, the expertise in carpentry of roofing and doors, decorative plasterwork techniques, floors and baseboards designs with tiles, as well as the spatial distribution of the house and construction techniques with octagonal brick pillars and arches *alfizarados* are clear examples of that root. The highlights of this study are: firstly, that it has been able to develop a typological hypothesis about housing in Seville in its Golden Age from written sources, secondly, that this hypothesis gives us valuable information regarding spaces and building techniques at that time, and finally specific vocabulary to understand...
in depth the history of domestic architecture in Seville in the Modern Age. Both spaces as well as construction elements and terminology have a clear Arab essence, as long as those who worked in a job related to architecture, were of Andalusian, Mudéjar or Morisco origin.

It should also be noted that the city was in transition from the Middle Ages to the Modern Age, and with the movement of population and the new Renaissance culture, the Sevillian housing was beginning to change.

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