

GOLD

**PROCEEDINGS OF THE
SOCIETY OF ARCHITECTURAL HISTORIANS
AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND
VOL. 33**

Edited by AnnMarie Brennan and Philip Goad

Published in Melbourne, Australia, by SAHANZ, 2016

ISBN: 978-0-7340-5265-0

The bibliographic citation for this paper is:

Sing D’Arcy “Gold in Spanish and Spanish-American Ecclesiastical Interiors of the Early Modern.” In *Proceedings of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand: 33, Gold*, edited by AnnMarie Brennan and Philip Goad, 144-154. Melbourne: SAHANZ, 2016.

All efforts have been undertaken to ensure that authors have secured appropriate permissions to reproduce the images illustrating individual contributions. Interested parties may contact the editors.

GOLD IN SPANISH AND SPANISH-AMERICAN ECCLESIASTICAL INTERIORS OF THE EARLY MODERN.

The colonisation of the Americas by the Iberian powers of Spain and Portugal in the late fifteenth century was to radically alter the cultures, societies, economies and politics of the Atlantic realm. One of the most significant changes in terms of the built environment was the implantation and dissemination of European models of urbanism, architecture and aesthetics within the newly colonised continents – the cathedral, church and chapel as central architectonic and symbolic devices. For the colonising cultures the new flow of resources, particularly precious metals such as silver and gold, altered the economies of production leading to design innovations born from the spoils of conquest and later, the pain of crisis. The models developed in Spain and Portugal were then cycled back to their colonies for further development and refinement. This paper proposes to analyse the use of gold within Spanish and Spanish-American ecclesiastical interiors starting from period of the colonisation of the Americas through to the end of the eighteenth century. Rather than undertaking a formal analysis of the architectural space or forms, the use of gold will be contextualised through texts from the period and recent scholarship, presenting the political and symbolic justifications used by clergy and designers.

Introduction

Gold is, without doubt, the characteristic that most singularly defines the interiors of early modern ecclesiastical interiors of Spain and its colonies. From altars to organ cases, the interior spaces of cathedrals, churches and chapels throughout Spanish empire were populated with gilded elements whose scale and range from interior architectural elements, down to discrete objects of liturgical furnishings. These elements collaborate to form the overall experience of the space and the religious rite. For some the predominance of the glowing, glittering gold transports their senses into an altered-reality of exaltation and admiration; for others, it is an unpalatable reminder of the turmoil of colonisation and the misery of human exploitation. Within this highly volatile dualism the construction of an architectural historiography that navigates its way between the two polarities is a complex endeavour. This paper seeks to open the channels of debate in relation to the thematic by presenting an investigation of the rationale of the use of gold within the Spanish and Spanish-American church interior during the peak of its deployment, that is the end of the fifteenth century – the colonisation of the Americas – through to the end of the eighteenth century – the rebuke of Enlightenment critics.

Rather than address the formal aspects of the use of gold within the architectural modes of the period, the analysis will encompass the aspects that are believed to be highly influential in the development of the use of gold within the ecclesiastical architecture of the period: the symbolic and theological importance of gold within the contexts of Spanish culture and Roman Catholicism. The importance of gold as a symbol within the theology of Spanish Roman Catholicism will be presented through an analysis of texts from the period, highlighting the connections between the auric material and the temple of Solomon, the Virgin Mary, pre-Columbian religions, and the eschatological programme of the Christian – and in particular – the Spanish Church.

Gold and God

*De auro: de oro ha de ser, porque siendo el oro mas precioso de los metales, ha de amar la alma à Dios con el primer aprecio, sobre todo: De auro.*¹

[Gold: it must be of gold, because gold is the most precious of metals, we must love the spirit of God with the utmost esteem, above all: with gold.]

These words from the influential Spanish bishop and theologian José de Barcia y Zambrana (c. 1650-96) were preached to the monks of the Abbey of Sacramonte in Granada just after the Easter of 1680. During that time, in Granada, throughout Spain and the Americas, patrons, designers and craftspeople were implementing Barcia y Zambrana's vision by constructing golden altars, the likes of which had never been seen. These altars, or more precisely their retables – *retablos* – would continue to grow in presence and scale until, by the end of the eighteenth century, the interiors of every church through the empire were transformed into “gilded jungles”.² Contemporary eyes and minds struggle to process and interpret the sensory bombardment that occurs in such spaces (Fig. 1), yet many often have greater difficulty in trying to understand the rationale – both in a design sense and a theological one – for the use of such a precious metal, in such large quantities, over an extended period of centuries and throughout enormous geographic range. Whilst the interiors of these churches may leave many agog, the question of why inevitably arises. One of the most frequent and immediate responses from historians was to see the use of gold within the interior as part of an “orgy of construction”³ for a self-serving clergy, squandered at the expense of the pastoral and spiritual needs of the common people.⁴ This has led to what Clara Estow noted as a historiography that “introduced the anti-Spanish polemic based on greed that has informed general attitudes about Spain's historical role to our own day.”⁵

Even though an argument can be built to support this accusation, taking this as the premise for an investigation into the use of gold in the interior of Spanish and Spanish-American churches would lead to an immediate dead-end situation. Instead a more productive approach would be to question the justifications, which the Church used for such expenditure in seemingly non-performing investments.



FIGURE 1 The chapel the Virgen del Rosario located in the church of Santo Domingo, Puebla, Mexico, 1690. Author, Adam Jones. Source: https://www.flickr.com/photos/adam_jones/15514083836

The first step in developing an understanding as to the theological and symbolic significance of gold within early modern Spanish architecture is to contextualise the religious-political environment that permeated the end of the fifteenth century. 1492 was a momentous year in global history with Spain as its central protagonist. The 700-year war between Christian and Muslim Spain concluded with the fall of Granada in January and by October, Columbus had claimed the Americas for the Spanish crown. The end of the Christian “reconquest” of the Iberian Peninsula and the start of “conquest” of the Americas was viewed as a divinely ordained mission with Spain as God’s chosen expeditor, with the Catholic Monarchs – Isabel I of Castile and Ferdinand II of Aragon at its head.⁶ Columbus had envisaged that the gold of the Americas could be used by the Catholic Monarchs to mount a new crusade to re-take Jerusalem for the Christians.⁷ The historian Richard Kagan noted that Columbus and the Catholic Monarchs shared the view that the gold of the Americas held political-religious importance, concluding that there was far more to the Spanish conquest of the Americas than just pure profit.

Yet if Columbus is to be believed, royal support for his voyage was also predicated upon the monarchs’ image of themselves as messianic rulers with a divine mission to conquer Jerusalem, release Asia and Africa from the grip of Islam, and establish universal Christendom as a prelude to the millennium.⁸

The messianic programme of evangelising the world’s people with the bible in one hand, whilst stamping out heresy with the sword in the other, continued into the sixteenth century under Charles V and Philip II. The rapid clericalisation of the Americas and the Spanish-led religious wars within Europe – notably against Protestant England and the Low Countries, as well as the Ottoman Empire in the Mediterranean – were tangible outcomes of this self-ordained role. Undertaking God’s mission not only merited reward, it also came at a considerable cost, for which just recompense was required. The seizure of gold from conquered people, especially non-Christians, was viewed as just and appropriate, even more so if the gold was transformed for the purposes of the Christian Church. During the Reconquest the supply of gold came from the tributes of the conquered Muslim territories within Spain,⁹ whilst the colonisation of the Americas opened up unimaginable supplies both from the capture of artefacts as well as further extraction from mines (Fig. 2). The scholar Elvira Vilches noted that the initial sudden influx of gold into the port of Seville was seen as divine providence for Spain’s mission in the Americas.

The astonishment conveyed by these reports [of gold arriving in Seville] suggests that the influx of bullion created an experience of money organized around a conception of the event either assisted by either providence or fortune... contemporaries understood the outpouring of wealth produced by the Indies as the substantiation of a holy donation that established Spain as the nation chosen to expand the Church's dominion and defend the gospel.¹⁰



FIGURE 2 The retablo mayor (high altar) of Seville Cathedral, Spain, 1482-1564. Author, Gonzalo Malpartida. Source: Wikimedia Commons.

The moral and theological grounds for the colonisation of the Americas, the conversion of its peoples and the extraction of its riches were, in the minds of the Spanish, divinely sanctioned. The belief that they were God's chosen people of the Christian age, as the Israelites had been in the Old Testament, reinforced the eschatological *nomos* that like Solomon, the Spanish would build a New Jerusalem in the Americas, whilst rebuilding the actual Jerusalem – once conquered – in the name of Christianity. The central symbolic and architectural trope in this vision was of course the Temple of Solomon that not only represented the spiritual temple of the Spanish programme but also its physical presence in the built church.¹¹

*Donde le muestra que assi como Dios proveyo a Salomon de aquel oro y plata que se traya para edificar el templo material para que fuesse el mas rico y solemne del mundo, assi quiso que los españoles traygan de partes tan remotas y apartadas tanto oro y plata y otras riquezas para edificar el templo spiritual que es traer los infieles al gremio y ayuntamiento de la sancta madre yglesia.*¹²

[And so it shows one that just as God provided to Solomon the gold and silver that was brought to build the material temple, so that it should be the grandest and most sumptuous of all the world, so too, He wished that the Spanish brought gold and silver, and other riches from the most distant and remote parts, to build a spiritual temple so that the unbelievers might be brought into the brotherhood and council of the Holy Mother Church.]

In the following section of the paper the connections between the Solomonic temple and its re-envisioning into the design of churches will be discussed, particularly the justification for the use of gold.

Gold and the Temple

*En vuestros felicissimos dias el culto divino se ha ampliado, y quasi toda España de edificios se ha mejorado y con thesoro se ha enriquecido, pues se han traydo tantas delas indias que pesce que sobrepujamos a el templo de salomon quando trayan el oro de ophir: y digo que mas apropósito consideradas la armadas de oro y plata que a V.M. traen tan ordinarias le convenia a este tiempo o siglo llamar le era dorada que no ala de saturno.*¹³

[In your most happy days the Christian faith has been extended, and almost throughout all Spain its buildings have been improved and with treasures enriched, such as has been brought from the Indies that it would appear that we have surpassed the Temple of Solomon whence they brought the gold from Ophir: and I would say that considering the fleets that so regularly bring gold and silver to Your Majesty that it would appear that these times should be called the Golden Century rather than that of Saturn.]

The letter that Martín Cortés de Albacar (1510-82) dedicated to the Emperor Charles V details the material benefits of the colonisation of the Americas. A new continent of souls was being saved, grand churches were being built on both sides of the Atlantic, and the coffers of the Church and crown were filling up. Spain had entered its 'Golden Century'. The use of the analogy of King Solomon, the gold mines of Ophir and the construction of the Temple of Jerusalem was common throughout the early modern period, and was particularly prominent in Spanish thought. As a conceit it conveniently appealed as a flattery of the wisdom and good governance of the monarch, blessed by God; boasted of the access to an exotic and non-depletable source of gold; and in architectural terms, praised the merits of new church design and construction through biblical provenance.

Spanish theologians and architects of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries theorised and designed cities and buildings that were thought to embody divine perfection in urbanism and architecture, the gridded city – *civitas dei* – and at its heart, the quadratic temple.¹⁴ The work that best illustrates the all-pervasive Solomonism that permeated Spanish architecture of the period is found in the four-volume publication by the Jesuit architect and theoretician Juan Bautista Villalpando (1552-1608) and fellow Jesuit scholar and sculptor Jerónimo de Prado y Villa (1547-93), *In Ezechielem Explanationes* (1596-1605).¹⁵ The books are richly illustrated with the authors' reconstructions of Solomon's temple (Fig. 3), whose forms closely resemble Philip II's Escorial monastery-palace (Fig. 4). This is no surprise seeing that Villalpando claimed to have been a pupil of the Escorial's primary architect Juan de Herrera (c. 1530-97), or that the Escorial was labelled as the "Other Temple of Solomon".¹⁶ The role of Solomonism in Spanish architecture has been widely investigated by contemporary scholars, principally dealing with the formal aspects of massing, planning and, in relation to the seventeenth century, the evolution and dissemination of the Solomonic column throughout the Peninsula and the Americas. The aspect of Solomonism that will be explored in this paper relates to the justifications of the use of gold within the interior citing the ancient Temple as its precedent.



FIGURE 3 A cross section through Villalpando's reconstruction of the Temple of Solomon. From Villalpando, in *Ezechielem explanationes*. Source: Wikimedia Commons https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/f/f7/Villalpando_09.jpg



FIGURE 4 The façade of the Basilica of the Royal Monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Spain. The statues depict the kings of the Old Testament, with David and Solomon located centrally over the principal doorway. Source: Author, Sing d'Arcy. Reproduced with permission.

In a theological and architectural sense the Spanish mined the past – utilising the biblical texts, and the Temple of Solomon as a concrete example – to develop new models that would serve for future, explicitly Christian and Roman Catholic, use.¹⁷ As has been discussed, Spain saw its monarchs as new Solomons, ruling during a blessed golden age, and its churches as new temples. Christian eschatology sees the Old Testament as the basis for the revelation that occurs through Christ in the New Testament that will eventually culminate in the Apocalypse. It should come as little surprise then that the Spanish viewed their role in the new divine order of things as equal to – if not superior because they were Christian – the Old Testament equivalents. In other words, as they were intent on building new temples of Solomon it was expected, just as the New Testament had superseded the Old, that their churches and cathedrals surpassed the splendour and richness of Solomon's.¹⁸ God had given them the gold, and it was just honour to utilise it for his glory.

Biblical precedence for lavish spending in the Lord's name was found in the example of King David giving his son Solomon all the gold and riches he had for the construction of the Temple, "I have a treasure of my own of gold and silver, and because of my devotion to the house of my God I give it to the house of my God".¹⁹ Despite the iconoclastic fervour that was sweeping through much of Protestant Europe at the time, the bible does not condemn the lavish appointment of holy interiors, only the worship of idols.²⁰ For the Spanish clergy there was no spiritual impediment to their designs, on the contrary, clear evidence for the complete opposite.

If one returns to the 1680 sermon of Barcia y Zambrana that opened this paper, it can be seen that God demanded high quality, high cost items that were to furnish his spaces of worship. Barcia y Zambrana is citing a passage from Exodus in which God is literally providing an exacting specification for a golden candelabrum that is to go into his temple.²¹ The demanding standard of the work order given to Moses and the high level of finish expected on the item can be seen to represent the concern that God has that any material manifestation of his cult on earth should be a "simulacrum" of His own dwelling in heaven.²² Citing the example of the candelabrum, the scholar Arthur Danto wryly commented that God's apparent predilection for gold was a sign that He was clearly not "an aesthetic minimalist".²³

The cost of these enormous projects was large and typically problematic, even for a country awash with gold like Spain. Chroniclers of the period commented on this in their writings, praising their efforts and divine benediction in the provision of funds. Recorded in a poem written as part of a literary competition held in honour of the inauguration of the church of the Sagrario of Seville Cathedral in 1662 (Fig. 5), one writer commented on the colossal structure and its mountainous cost:

Su cumbre pisa el Templo sumptuoso,

Fabrica grande, en todo peregrina,

En un monte fue el gasto montes de oro,

Sin faltar oro, como avia mina;²⁴

[At the summit stands the sumptuous temple,

Great a building, in all a pilgrimage,

In a mountain was spent mountains of gold,

Gold was not short, as there was a mine;]

This piece of positive propaganda belies the fact that the construction of this church was repeatedly delayed and design compromises made to its interior owing to chronic shortages of money throughout the financial crises of the seventeenth century.²⁵

For the development of Spanish and Spanish-American ecclesiastical architecture the recurring trope of Solomon, his temple and his gold, was repeatedly utilised to justify grand structures and sumptuous interiors. However, the Temple of Jerusalem is not the only temple form that may have influenced the use of gold within early modern church interiors, especially in the Americas, where references to indigenous architecture and religious beliefs resurface in relation to the golden altars that were constructed throughout the colonies.



FIGURE 5 The retablo of the Capilla de los Reyes, Mexico Cathedral, Mexico, 1718-37. The work of Jerónimo Balbás, it is believed that the model for this retablo was that which he completed for the Sagrario of Sevilla (demolished 1824). Author, Steven Zucker. Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/profzucker/24216944202/>

Temples of Gold

The chroniclers of the Spanish colonisation of the Aztec and Inca empires had polarised reactions to the religious practices of these cultures and the architecture of their temples. On the one hand, the practices of worship and sacrifice were considered idolatrous and demonic,²⁶ whilst on the other, there was admiration for the quality of the architecture, its construction and its splendour, notably the use of gold on the exterior and interior of the temples. In their writings Inca Garcilaso de la Vega (1539-1616) and Pedro de Cieza de León (c. 1520-54) described how the four walls of the Temple of the Sun in Cuzco were covered in sheets of gold, and how the main altar was a slab of gold twice as thick as that used on the walls. Even the doors of the temple were sheathed in gold.²⁷ When these structures were destroyed and cathedrals built on the sites, gold once again was used within these sacred spaces as a tactic of religious continuity, if not in terms of the actual practice, at least in a legible symbolic translation into Roman Catholicism and its associated liturgical spaces. The worship of solar deities had been transformed into the worship of the body of Christ.²⁸ The use of gold within the interior and its links to solar worship were explicit evangelical tactics used by the Church to facilitate acceptance of the newly imposed religion.

The central focus of this liturgy was on the Eucharist and in particular the real presence of the body of Christ as manifest in the Host. The altar, and its sacramental reserve, the tabernacle, was the primary element within Roman Catholic church interiors. Throughout the sixteenth century, and particularly following the reforms of the Council of Trent, the symbolic and physical importance of the altar grew within Spain and its sphere of influence.²⁹ The consecrated Host was often displayed within the apparatus of the *retablo* (Fig. 6). The monstrance or *ostensorium* – the vessel for the visible display of the Host – was commonly made of gold and took the form in the Spanish world as a resplendent sun. From the Christian tradition this came from the *sol invictus* motif derived from ancient Roman custom, whilst from the pre-Columbian tradition its significance derived from the worship of the sun god, “*En el Sol puso Dios como en vaso de oro el licor de todos sus beneficios*”.³⁰ [Like a cup of gold, God put in the Sun the elixir of all his goodness.] The complex aesthetics of the Baroque developed hand-in-hand with the dense pan-semiotic model of reading and representing the universe. Emblems, architecture and rhetoric fused into an inseparable unit of being. Games of iconographic and emblematic references, contortions, distortions and exaggerations were endemic within the architecture of the period as well in the myriad ways it was transformed again through symbolic re-interpretations of text, speech and allegory.



FIGURE 6 The retablo mayor (high altar) of the Convent of San Esteban, Salamanca, Spain. José de Churriguera, 1693-96. The vacant space in the small temple-like structure in the body of the retablo is designed to house the ostensorium when the Eucharist is displayed. Author, Zarateman. Source: Wikimedia Commons, 2010.

Sermons from the period make frequent reference to the use of gold within the altars and interiors of churches, particularly from preachers in the Americas. *Retablos* are variously depicted as “Mountains of gold”,³¹ “altars of gold”,³² “Ophir of timber”³³ and “gilded machine”.³⁴ In a sermon preached circa 1730 by Pedro Rodríguez Guillén, in the church of San Francisco, Lima, the Franciscan uses the analogy of God as the divine architect who crafts a *retablo* deploying the Solomonic order and has it gilded. This gilded “altarpiece of the universe and the earth” is lit by the “resplendent” rays of the sun.³⁵ Another Peruvian sermon from 1694, preached by the Jesuit José de Aguilar (1652-1708) for the inauguration of a new *retablo* dedicated to Nuestra Señora de la Soledad in the Augustinian convent in Cochabamba, depicts Mary as the *retablo* who is gilded by the rays of Christ’s sunlight.³⁶ Examples from Spain also testify to the recurrence of gold as a motif within predication, especially if it related to the dedication of a new altar. The Franciscan monk José de Asunción preached a sermon in 1733 for the inauguration of the newly gilded *retablo* of Nuestra Señora de la Portería in the chapel of San Antonio, Ávila. Asunción paints a curious analogy between a target and the *retablo*. He stated, “*El Altar ha de ser el objeto, y como otros tiran à un blanco, los Predicadores hemos de tirar al oro; aunque como todos Religiosos Franciscos, en esta ocasion sin culpa alguna el oro nos deve robar el afecto.*”³⁷ [The altar must be the target, and just as others shoot bullets, we preachers must shoot gold; although we are all Franciscans, on this occasion without any guilt, gold should steal our emotions.]

Conclusion

The expression by José Asunción that “gold should steal our emotions” best summarises the evolution of the symbolic role of gold within the early modern Spanish and Spanish-American ecclesiastical interior. Spain’s triumphant set of victories in the late fifteenth century were believed to herald a possible millennial apocalypse and the rhetoric and symbolism that programmed theological and architectural thought of the time reflected the important role of gold within this schema. A new age of Solomon was on the horizon, with Spain at its helm steering a Christianised globe into eternal salvation. Gold was seen as God’s gift (or recompense) to the Spanish for undertaking His evangelical work and in doing so, rebuilding his glorious temples on earth. However, with the passing of the 1500s Spanish fortunes also faded. With the decline in its political power, the spread of Protestantism and financial instability that marked the 1600s, the eschatological importance of gold diminished and its rhetorical and affectual power increased. The internal architectural ordering of *retablos* that used to be read from bottom to top in hagiographic and eschatological ordering were dematerialised into fields of gold that abandoned any sequential narrative, instead focusing on an atemporal experience of the Virgin Mary or Christ as embodied in the Host. Gold had ceased to symbolise the future promise of salvation, and instead had come to luxuriate in its own mysterious splendour.

Endnotes

- 1 **Note:** All texts in Castellano have been transcribed as found in original manuscripts without correction to modern orthographic convention. All texts in Castellano have been translated by the author.
José de Barcia y Zambrana, *Despertador christiano, divino, y eucaristico, de varios sermones de Dios, Trino, y Uno, y de Jesu-Christo nuestro Señor...*, 2nd edition (Madrid: por Juan Garcia Infançon, 1695), 184.
- 2 Jaime Lara, “Church: Interior – Spanish America,” in *Lexicon of the Hispanic Baroque: Transatlantic Exchange and Transformation*, eds. Evonne Levy and Kenneth Mills (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014), 48.
- 3 William Callahan, *Church, Politics and Society in Spain, 1750-1784* (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984), 46-53.
- 4 Joseph Townsend, *A Journey Through Spain In The Years 1786 And 1787...*, vol. 1, 2nd ed. (London: Printed for C. Dilly, in the Poultry, 1792), 310.
- 5 Clara Estow, “Reflections on Gold: On the Late Medieval Background of the Spanish ‘Enterprise of the Indies,’” *Mediaevistik* 6 (1993): 85.
- 6 Linda Hall, *Mary, Mother and Warrior: The Virgin in Spain and the Americas* (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 2009), 45 & 54.
- 7 Richard Kagan, “The Spain of Ferdinand and Isabella,” in *Circa 1492. Art in the Age of Exploration*, ed. Jay Levenson (Washington D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1991), 60-1.
- 8 Kagan, “The Spain of Ferdinand and Isabella,” 61.

- 9 Elvira Vilches, *New World Gold. Cultural Anxiety and Monetary Disorder in Early Modern Spain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 102.
- 10 Vilches, *New World Gold*, 28.
- 11 Estow, "Reflections on Gold," 104. See also 1 Peter 2:5 and 2:9.
- 12 Pedro de Medina, *El libro de grandezas y cosas memorables de España agora de Nuevo fecho y copilado por... Pedro de Medina* (Seville: e[n] casa d[e] dominico de Robertis, 1549), xliiii fol iir.
- 13 Martín Cortés, *Breve compendio de la sphaera y de la arte de navegar, con nuevos instrumentos y reglas, ejemplificado con muy subtiles demostraciones* (Seville: en la casa de Anton Alvarez, 1551), iiii.
- 14 Richard Kagan, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World, 1493-1793* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 166.
- 15 Juan Bautista Villalpando and Jéronimo de Prado, *Hieronymi Pradi et Ioannis Baptistae Villalpandi e Societate Iesu in Ezechielem explanationes et apparatus urbis, ac Templi Hierosolymitani: Commentariis et imaginibus illustratus opus tribus tomis distinctum quid vero singulis contineatur, quarta pagina indicabit*, 4 volumes (Rome: ex typographia Aloysii Zannetti, 1596 – 1605).
- 16 José de Sigüenza, *Historia de la Orden de San Geronimo, Libro Tercero y Cuatro. La Fundación del Monasterio de San Lorenzo el Real. Las partes del edificio de San Lorenzo*, modern transcription of 1605 text, (Valencia: CMC, 2010), 8. <http://esunmomento.es/documentos/EI%20Escorial%20L.pdf>
- 17 Manuel González Galván, "El oro en el Barroco", *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas*, 13, no. 45 (1976): 78.
- 18 González Galván, "El oro en el Barroco": 83.
- 19 Chronicles 1: 29 (NRSVA), "King David said to the whole assembly, 'My son Solomon, whom alone God has chosen, is young and inexperienced, and the work is great; for the temple will not be for mortals but for the LORD God. So I have provided for the house of my God, so far as I was able, the gold for the things of gold, the silver for the things of silver, and the bronze for the things of bronze, the iron for the things of iron, and wood for the things of wood, besides great quantities of onyx and stones for setting, antimony, coloured stones, all sorts of precious stones, and marble in abundance. Moreover, in addition to all that I have provided for the holy house, I have a treasure of my own of gold and silver, and because of my devotion to the house of my God I give it to the house of my God: three thousand talents of gold, of the gold of Ophir, and seven thousand talents of refined silver, for overlaying the walls of the house, and for all the work to be done by artisans, gold for the things of gold and silver for the things of silver. Who then will offer willingly, consecrating themselves today to the LORD?'"
- 20 González Galván, "El oro en el Barroco": 83.
- 21 Exodus 25: 31-40.
- 22 Arthur Danto, "Beauty and Beautification," in *Brand, Beauty Matter*, ed. Peggy Zeglin (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2000), 73.
- 23 Danto, "Beauty and Beautification," 73.
- 24 Antonio de Espinosa, "Cancion," in Fernando de la Torre Farfán, *Templo Panegirico, al Certamen Poetico, que celebro la Hermandad Insigne del Smo Sacramento, estrenando la Grande Fabrica del Sagrario nuevo de la Metropoli Sevillana...* (Seville: Juan Gomez de Blas, 1663), 77v.
- 25 For a detailed discussion on this church and its financial troubles, see Sing d'Arcy, "Ecclesiastical Architecture and the Castilian Crisis of the Seventeenth Century. Seville Cathedral and the Church of the Sagrario," *Architectural Histories* 2, no. 1 (2014), <http://journal.eahn.org/articles/10.5334/ah.cc/>
- 26 Andrés Prieto, *Missionary Scientists. Jesuit Science in Spanish South America, 1570 – 1810* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2011), 70.
- 27 Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, *Primera parte de los Commentarios reales que tratan del origen de los Yncas, Reyes que fueron del Peru..., y de todo lo que fue aquel Imperio y su Republica, antes que los Españoles passaran a el escritos por el Ynca Garcilasso de la Vega, natural del Cozco...* (Lisbon: En la Oficina de Pedro Crasbeeck, 1609), XX 76r-76v; and Pedro de Cieza de León, *Crónica del Perú. El Señorío de los Incas* (1553) (Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 2005), 108, 241 & 360.
- 28 Lara, "Church: Interior – Spanish America," 48.
- 29 Francisco Javier Herrera García, "Líneas de investigación en la retablistica iberoamericana: la función eucarística (el ejemplo de Sevilla)," in *Actas III Congreso internacional del barroco Americano: Territorio, Arte, Espacio y Sociedad* (Seville: Universidad de Pablo Olavide, 2001), 590.
- 30 Francisco de Sobrecasas, "Sermon Ultimo. Lunes de Pascua, predicado al Rey Nuestro Señor," in *Sermones sobre los Evangelios de las ferias mayores de la Quaresma* (Madrid: Por Roque Rico de Miranda, 1690), 433.
- 31 Juan Antonio Barbosa, *Monte de oro en cuya excelsa cumbre se divisa sin poder escoderse colocada, y por el vistosamente dorada, y adornada la santa Iglesia, el gran p.s. Augustin: Sermon, que en el día de su solemnidad, y de la dedicacion de el altar mayor de su iglesia, en el Colegio de sr. s. Joseph de gracia de la ciudad, y corte de Guadaluara predicó el r.p. fr. Jvan Antonio de Barbosa ...* (Mexico: Impr. real de el Superior gobierno, de Maria de Rivera, 1733).

- 32 Alfonso Ramírez de Vargas, *Sagrado padron y panegyricos sermones a la memoria debida al sumptuoso magnifico templo, y curiosa Basilica del Convento de religiosas del glorioso Abad San Bernardo...*, (Mexico: por la viuda de Francisco Rodríguez Lupercio en la Puente de Palacio, 1691), 3.
- 33 Ramírez de Vargas, *Sagrado padron y panegyricos sermons*, 23r.
- 34 Pedro Rodríguez Guillen, *El Sol, y Año Feliz del Perú San Francisco Solano, Apostol y Patron Universal De Dicho Reyno...* (Madrid: Imprenta de la Causa de la Venerable Madre María Jesús de Agreda, 1735), 73.
- 35 Pedro Rodríguez Guillen, *Sermones varios, panegyricos, historicos y morales predicados en los principales templos y mas autorizados concursos de la Ciudad de los Reyes Lima, Cabeza y Corte del Imperio Peruano...* (Madrid: Imprenta de la Causa de la Venerable Madre María Jesús de Agreda, 1736), 217.
- 36 José de Aguilar, *Sermones del dulcissimo nombre de Maria*, 2 (Seville: Por Juan Francisco de Blas, 1704), 239.
- 37 José de la Asunción, *Voces sonoras evangelicas: que salen a luz en sermones de varios assumptos...* (Salamanca: En la Imprenta de la S. Cruz, 1736), 6.